Dr. Martin Luther's

Complete Writings,

published by

Dr. Joh. Georg Walch.

Sixteenth volume.

Reformation Writings.

Documents belonging to the history of the Reformation.

New revised stereotype edition.

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1900.

Dr. Martin Luther's

Reformation Writings.

First part.

Documents belonging to the history of the Reformation.

Against the papists.

(Continued.)

From the years 1525 to 1537.

Published anew by order of the Ministry of the German Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other states.

St. Louis, Mo.

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Foreword.

This sixteenth volume of the complete writings of Luther brings the continuation of the Documente zur Reformationgeschichte from 1525 to 1537 in six chapters. The tenth deals with the peasant revolt and the death of Prince Frederick; the eleventh with the imperial congresses held in the years 1525 to 1529 in Augsburg, Speier, Esslingen, Regensburg and again in Speier; the twelfth with several alliances of papal princes against the confessors of the Protestant doctrine, and with the conventions of the Protestant princes and estates in Torgau, Rodach, Schleiz, Schwabach, Schmalkalden and Nuremberg; the thirteenth on the Imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1530 and the confession handed down at the same, also on Luther's stay at Coburg during the Diet; the fourteenth on the meetings of the Protestants at Schmalkalden and the so-called Schmalkaldic League, also on the first religious peace concluded thereafter; the fifteenth on the negotiations held between the imperial and papal envoys on the one hand and the Protestant estates on the other.

because of a concilium to be called. It should also be mentioned here that three confessional writings of our church, namely the Augsburg Confession, its Apology and the Schmalkaldic Articles, have been printed in this volume in their entirety and revised according to J. T. Müller, "Die symbolischen Bücher" ("The Symbolic Books"), and that several of Luther's main writings, as "Von den Conciliis und Kirchen" ("On the Conciliates and Churches"), are found in this volume.

We have omitted the duplicates of the old edition, namely No. 802, which belongs to an earlier section, and is already included in the 15th volume, Col. 2291; No. 1074, because duplicate of No. 12 in the appendix of this volume, and appendix No. 16, because duplicate of No. 1103. As worthless we have omitted what is offered to us in No. 826 of the old edition. This is a small collection of sentences and individual expressions which Aurifaber claims to be an extract made by Spalatin from the first sheet of Luther's intended rebuttal against the Mainz Council. For this we have taken the whole writing, as far as it is available, from the Erlangen Aus-.

inserted. Torn apart is united, as, No. 999 is brought after No. 1073, No. 1013 after No. 1011. Several time determinations are partly completed, partly corrected, as at No.801. 804. 854(11.). 877. 953. 978. 1004. 1073. 1075. 1165 and 1185. A large number of writings are improved after the originals, e. g. No.773. 782. 890. 891. 894. 895. 897. 910. 911. 912. 922. 923. 942 and others. The letters written by Luther in Latin are newly translated from Latin, as well as some other writings, as No. 902 and 904.

In the old edition, we often encounter Walch's distortions of meaning in print and other errors, some of which run through all previous editions. An outstanding example of this kind is found in No. 1247, § 135 (Col. 2706 f. of the old edition; also still in the second edition of the Erlangen edition, Vol. 25, p. 354): "One can see that this Concilium [at Nicaea] neither conceived nor established anything new, but condemned the old faith against the new error of Arii through the holy Scriptures. Here, without changing the least thing, the right sense could be established by transposing a few words, namely, thus: "It is well seen that this Concilium has neither conceived nor established anything new, but has condemned the new error of Arii against the old faith by the holy Scriptures." Of other errors we give here only a selection. It is found in Walch,

Col. 26: set instead of estimate; 28" measure - never; 40 envy - children; 49 given - admit; 52 use - irritate; idiä. Waare - delusion; 53 divine - amicable; 93 because-will; 98 dead - dead; 142 thou - there; 183 their friends - their benefices; 183 the old lovers - lapsed; 205 judge-rich; 336 mandate - month; 350 getheilt - geurtheilt; 398 undue - and due; 405 have - half; 408 rightly - rightly; 443 would be someone - who someone; 762 Barcelona - Bononia; 764 with - nit; 793 Chemnitzer - Zwickauer; 943 Speier-Steier[mark]; 944 grunzet - grenzet; 1053 Palmen - Psalmen; 1078 if.- wem; 1097 Stengler - Spengler; 1115 Freude - friends; 1123 Bösem - bosom; 1171 Nun - None [9. Hour]; 1200 served - mean; 1273 pagans - saints; 1357 because - will; 1538 Uebermacht- superpowers; 1684 Schulhändel - Schuldhändel; 1706 still remained - nachblieben; 1737Lehren-Lehen; 1840 Stritten - cities; 1872 change - Verendung [termination]; 1888 Spanish - Speierian; 1892 try -disposition; 2090 entertainment - negotiation; 2119 a correctness - inaccuracy; 2120 Christian-explain; 2156 honor - chur[d]; 2193 provociren - procuriren; 2222 unterbringen - to kill; ibid. ought - desolate; 2212 and 2237 betriegen - to war; 2275

1) For the sake of brevity, we leave the word "Columne" before the numbers and the colon after them, and put a dash (-) for "instead".

scatter - shout; 2383 Eßdram - Heraklam; 2386 aus - without; 2436 unbetrüglich - fraudulent; 2764 zu antilogisiren - zerantilogisiren; 2829 Jenischen Boten - des Jonas (*Jonensem*) Boten. In this last error Walch has the excuse that De Wette also has the reading *Jenensem.* From this indication it is easy to see that one must often get into quite an embarrassment when reading Walch's old edition. Of course, we have not been able to make everything smooth, but we have done our best to smooth the way for the reader.

Also in this volume, as in the previous one, we have added a chronologically arranged index of Luther's documents, letters, and concerns.

May God also bless the course of this volume. We learn from the writings contained therein how wonderfully God has protected and preserved his church, which teaches and confesses his holy and pure word, against all the violence and attempts of the adversaries, however powerful they were and however evil they meant it. May he keep us in his truth until our blessed end, amen.

St. Louis, on Reformation Day, 1900.

A. F. Hoppe.

Inhalt

of the

Sixteenth part of the complete writings of Luther,

which contains the documents on the history of the Reformation from 1525 to 1537.

Against the Papists. (Continued.)

The tenth chapter.

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First part: Historical documents.

A. Against the Papists.

Continuation.

Chapter Ten.

Of the peasants' uprising in 1525 that occurred almost all over Germany, especially in Swabia and Thuringia, mainly instigated by Thomas Münzer, as well as of the death of Elector Frederick of Saxony.

First paragraph.

About Münzer's trouble at Allstädt, and how Luther warned the castle there, as well as, after Münzer's escape from this place, the council of Mühlhausen and the princes of Saxony about him.

760 Luther's report to Spalatin that he had admonished the Schösser at Allstädt, when he was with him, to keep the spirit of the prophet Thomas away from him, and asked him to urge Thomas to discuss his doctrine with the Wittenbergers. 3 Aug. 1523.

See Vol. XV, Appendix, No. 125.

761 Some questions sent to Thomas Muenzer in 1524, about which he should give reason and cause for his faith.

Latin in Kapp's Nachlese nützlicher ReformationUrkunden, Th. 2, p. 630. - These questions may perhaps have reference to the interrogation which was held with Münzer in Weimar on Aug. 1, 1524.

Verdeutscht.

1. what the true Christian faith is.
2. how faith comes into being.
3. from whence it may be obtained.
4. how to obtain it.
5. how we are to be usefully and wholesomely instructed in the faith.
6. how we may be sure of our faith.
7. how every man may prove his faith

and had to.

008 Which are the true believers in Christ.

009 Under what trials faith cometh into being, is preserved, and groweth.

010 How faith abideth and overcometh in the midst of temptation.

011 Which faith maketh blessed, and how that

be done.

762: D. M. Luther's warning letter to the council and the congregation of the city of Mühlhausen because of Münzer, who sneaked in there without being called.

Dat. Weimar, 21 August 1524.

The original, whose variants are given in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, IV, 377, is in the city archives of Mulhouse, but has not yet been used to correct this letter. First printed under the title: "Ein Sendbrieff an die ersamen vnd weysen Herrn Burgermeyster, Rhatt vnd gantze Gemeyn der stadt Mülhausen. M. Luther. M.D. ZMiij. " 2 sheets in 4. Further in 1533 by Hans Lufft in Wittenberg, together with Luther's letter to the at Frankfurt am Main. Of the latter printing appeared a reprint by Friedr. Peypus in Nuremberg. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1551), vol. II, p. 10; in the Jena (1585) vol. II, p. 440; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 789; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 235; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 536 and in the Erlangen, vol. 53, p. 253. On the determination of the time, see the last note to this writing.

To the honorable and wise mayor, council and entire community of the city of Mulhouse, my dear gentlemen and good friends.

Grace and peace in Christ our Saviour. Honourable, wise, dear Sirs! Good friends have asked me, after it has become known how one, called Magister Thomas Münzer, is willing to go to you in your city/) to advise you faithfully in this matter and to warn you of his teaching, which he praises highly from Christ's Spirit; which, as Christian loyalty and duty admonish me, I have not wanted to omit; I would also have been quite willing and inclined, because I am here outside 2) in the country, to ask you personally myself. But my business, in printing at Wittenberg, does not leave me further time nor space.

(2) Therefore pray, beware of this false spirit and prophet, which cometh in sheep's clothing, and is inwardly a ravening wolf [Matt. 7:15]. For in many places, especially in Zwickau and now in Allstädt, he has shown what kind of a tree he is, because he bears no other fruit than to commit murder and riot and shed blood, for which purpose he has come to the city of Zwickau.

1) Münzer had escaped from Allstädt by night shortly after August 3 and had already taken up residence in Mulhouse when Luther wrote this letter. This warning therefore came too late.

2) In the old printing: heraußen.

Allstädt preached, wrote and sang publicly. The Holy Spirit does not do much boasting, but does great things before he boasts. But this spirit has now boasted and raised itself up for three years, and yet it has not yet done a single thing, nor has it shown any fruit, except that it would gladly murder, as you may well know, both from Zwickau and Allstädt. Also he sends only countrymen, whom God hath not sent (for they cannot prove it), nor are called by men, but come ^) of themselves, and go not in at the door; wherefore they do also, as Christ saith of them, John 10:8, "All that came before me are thieves and murderers." Over this no man can make them come to the light, and stand to answer them, except they be of their own kind: he that heareth them, and followeth them, is called the elect son of God; he that heareth them not, must be ungodly, and want to kill him. How great a thing their doctrine is, there is much to be said, but it will soon come to pass.

003 But if my words will not move you, do so, and put off the matter with a delay, until ye know truly what manner of children they are. For it is begun, it shall not long remain in darkness. I am faithful to you, God knows that, and I will gladly forestall your journey and harm, if God wills it; I hope you will bear me good witness of this yourselves. For I can boast in Christ that I have never harmed anyone with my teaching and counsel, nor have I ever wanted to, as this spirit intends, but have been comforting and helpful to everyone, so that you have no just cause to despise this counsel of mine.

004 But if ye despise these things, and receive the prophet, and mischief cometh unto you therefrom, I am guiltless of your hurt, because I have warned you Christianly and kindly. Let an honorable council take him before them, even before the whole congregation (it may happen), and ask him who sent him here or called him to preach? The honorable council has not done so.

3) In the old print: to boast.

005 If then he say that God and his Spirit have sent him as the apostles, let him prove it by signs and wonders, or forbid him to preach: for where God would change the ordinance, he doeth miraculous signs every way. I have never preached nor wanted to preach where I have not been asked and called by men; for I cannot boast that God has sent me from heaven without means, as they do, and run themselves, though no one sends them nor calls them 1) (as Jeremiah (Cap. 23,21.) writes); therefore they do no good.

May God grant you His grace to faithfully recognize and accomplish His divine will, Amen. At Weimar, on Sunday (after) Assumptionis Norme (21 August),?) ^. nno 1524.

763 V. Mart. Luther's letter of July 1524 to the princes of Saxony concerning the spirit of sedition, in which he admonishes them to prevent it according to the power granted to them by God, otherwise they would not be excusable before God and the world.

This writing was published by Lucas Cranach in Wittenberg under the title: "Eyn briesf an die Fürsten zu Sachsen von dem auffrurischen gehst. Martin Luther. Wittemberg. 1524." In addition, several more individual editions; the Erlangen correspondence lists five in all. In the collections: in the Wittenberg (1551), vol. II, p. 6; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 441; in the Eisleben, vol. II, p. 223; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 790; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 236; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 255; and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 538. Vincentius Obsopoeus translated this letter into Latin and included it in his larra^o spistolarum. Printed from it in the Wittenberg (1558), tom.VII, toi. 506, and in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 223. - Obsopoeus and both the Latin and German Wittenberg editions give no date; all other editions have the wrong date: August 21, 1524. As early as August 3, Münzer, in a letter to the Churfürst Friedrich (Förstemann, Neues Urkundenbuch,

1) In the old print: "loads".

2) The letter is written from Weimar, because Luther, prompted by the letter of the council and the congregation in Orlamünde of August 16, 1524 (St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. XV, No. 683), was on the journey there. In the editions this letter has the wrong date: "on Sunday Assumptionis Dlarias, Vnno 1524", because in 1524 Assumptionis, August 15, was a Monday. This error has already been recognized several times-as by Grotefend, Chronologie, p. 39 and by Lingke, Reisegesch. Luthers, p. 147. It is to be read: post Assumptionis 2c.
p. 248 a) of our writing as a mention already made against him, therefore it will have to be put into July. Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p.580, dated: "Last half of July."

To the most illustrious, highborn princes and lords, Herr Frederick, Elector of the Roman Empire, and Johann, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious lords.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus our Saviour! The holy word of God is always fortunate, when it comes to pass that Satan opposes it with all his power: first, with his fist and with outrageous violence; where this does not help, he attacks it with a false tongue, with false spirits and teachers, so that, if he cannot restrain it by force, he may suppress it with elevation and lies. So he did in the beginning; when the gospel first came into the world, he attacked it mightily by the Jews and Gentiles, shedding much blood, and making Christendom full of martyrs. Since this did not help, he raised up false prophets and false spirits, and made the world full of heretics and sects, except for the pope, who even with vain sects and heresy, as befits the last and mightiest antichrist, has brought it to the ground.

002 So must it be now, that it may be seen how the righteous word of God is, because it goeth as it hath always gone. Then the pope, emperors, kings, and princes attack it with their fists, and want to suppress it by force; they condemn, revile, and persecute it unheard and unrecognized, as the foolish. But the verdict and our defiance have long since been pronounced, Ps. 2:1, 2, 4, 5: "Why do the nations rage, and the peoples write in vain? The kings of the earth are rebellious, and the princes contend with one another against the Lord and his anointed. But he that dwelleth in heaven mocketh them, and the LORD laugheth at them: then shall he speak to them in wrath, and they shall be afraid in fury." Surely it will be the same with our rulers who rage. And they will have it so: for they will neither see nor hear. God hath blinded and hardened them, that they should run to destruction. They have been sufficiently warned.

(3) Satan sees all this, and perceives that such raging will not penetrate; yea, he feels and senses that (as is the way of God's word) the more one presses it, the further it runs and increases; therefore he now also starts it with false spirits and sects. And we must consider this, and not be deceived; for it must be, as Paul says to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 11:19), "There must be sects, that they which are approved may be made manifest."

4th Thus, after the exorcised Satan has now wandered for a year or three through arid places, seeking rest and not finding it [Luc. 11, 24.), he has settled in E. F. G. Fürstenthum and made a nest in Allstädt, and thinks to fight against us under our peace, shield, and protection. F. G. principality, and made a nest at Allstädt, and thinks to fight against us under our peace, shield, and protection. For Duke Georgen's principality, although it lies close by, is all too kind and gentle to such an intrepid, unconquerable spirit (as they boast) that they may not show such bold courage and defiance there; therefore he also cries out horribly and complains that he must suffer much, although no one has yet touched them with fist, mouth, or pen, and they themselves dream of a great cross that they are suffering. Satan must lie so easily and without cause, for he cannot hide himself.

005 Now this is a peculiar joy to me, that not ours have begun such a being, and they themselves also want to be praised, that they are not of our part, have neither learned nor received anything from us; but they come from heaven, and hear God himself speaking with them as with the angels; and it is a bad thing that one teaches the faith and love and cross of Christ at Wittenberg. God's voice (they say) you must hear yourself, and suffer God's work in you, and feel how heavy your pound is; it is nothing with the Scriptures; yes Bible, Bubel, Babel 2c.

006 If we should speak such words of them, their cross and suffering (I think) would be more precious than Christ's suffering, and would praise it more and more. So gladly would the poor spirit have the sufferings and cross of him praised, and yet might not suffer one to doubt or consider a little their heavenly voice and God's work.

but want to have believed it by force, without hesitation; that I have neither read nor heard of a haughty, proud holy spirit (if it were). But now there is neither time nor space to judge their doctrine, which I have twice before well recognized and judged, and where it will be necessary, still well can and will judge by God's grace.

(7) I have given this letter to E. F. G. solely for the reason that I have heard, and also understood from her writing, as if the same spirit did not want to leave the matter in the word, but intended to enter into it with his fist, and wanted to set himself by force against the authorities, and therefore immediately cause a physical uproar. Here Satan has his mischief kicked; that is too much given in the day. What would the spirit do if he gained the followers of the mob? I heard it before from the same spirit here in Wittenberg, that he thinks this thing must be done with the sword. Then I thought it was intended that they would overthrow worldly authorities and be lords in the world themselves, when Christ denies this before Pilate and says (Jn 18:36): his kingdom is not of this world; and also teaches the disciples (Luc 22:25, 26): they should not be like worldly princes.

8) Although I now assure myself that E. F. G. will know how to behave in this matter better than I can advise, I am nevertheless obliged to do my part, and to humbly ask and exhort E. F. G. to have a serious understanding in this matter and, out of duty, to use proper force to ward off such mischief and to put an end to the riot. F. G. to have a serious understanding in this matter, and out of duty and obligation to use proper force to ward off such mischief, and to put an end to the uproar. For the authorities are well aware that their authority and temporal rule is given and commanded by God for the purpose of keeping the peace and punishing the unruly, as St. Paul teaches in Romans 13:4. Therefore, the authorities are not to sleep or delay here, for God will demand it and want an answer for such negligent use and seriousness of the commanded sword. Thus it would not be excusable before the people and the world, that E. F. G. should tolerate and suffer rebellious and free fists.

009 But whether they will pretend (as they do in fine words) that they are driven by the spirit, that it must be done, and that they must put their fists into it, I answer, First of all, it must be a bad spirit, which cannot prove its fruit otherwise than by breaking up churches and monasteries, and by burning the saints. Which the most wicked of men on earth might well do, especially where they are safe and without resistance. But I would think more of it if the spirit of Allstädt led to Dresden, or Berlin, or Ingolstadt, and stormed and broke monasteries there and burned saints.

010 Secondly, that they glory in the spirit is not true, for we have here St. John's saying [1 Ep. 4:1], that spirits ought first to be tried, whether they be of God. Now this spirit is not yet tested, but goes on with impetuosity, and rumbles according to its will. If it were good, it would let itself be tested first and judged humbly, as Christ's spirit does.

011 This would be a fine fruit of the spirit, by which he might be tried, if he would not thus crown himself in angles, and shun the light, but stand openly before his enemies and adversaries, and confess, and give answer. But the spirit of Allstädt avoids such things as the devil avoids the cross, and yet in the meantime he utters the most fearless words in his nest, as if he were full of three holy spirits, so that even such unskilful fame may be a fine indication of who the spirit is. For in his writing he claims that he wants to stand and answer publicly before a harmless congregation, but not in the corner before two or three, and that he has offered body and soul in the most free way. 2c.

012 Tell me, my beloved, who is that valiant and defiant holy spirit, that telleth himself so straitly, and willeth not but stand before a safe congregation? Item, he will not answer in the corner before two or three? What manner of spirit is this, that is afraid of two or three, and cannot bear a dangerous congregation? I will tell thee, he revengeth the roast; he is once or twice beaten out of his nose before me at Wittenberg in my monastery, therefore he is afraid of the soup, and will not answer in the corner before two or three.

For there are those who are his, who say yes to his excellent words. If I (who am of no spirit at all, and hear no heavenly voice) had let myself hear such words against my papists, how should they cry out, and shut me up!

(13) I cannot boast nor defy myself with such high words; I am a poor, miserable man, and did not begin my cause so well, but with great trembling and fear (as St. Paul also confesses of himself 1 Cor. 2, 3./) who would also have known how to boast of heavenly voices). How humbly I first attacked the pope, how I pleaded, how I sought, as my first writings show. Nevertheless, in such a poor spirit I have done that which this world-eating spirit has not yet attempted, but has so far shunned and fled in a chivalrous and manly manner, and also boasts honestly of such shunning, as a chivalrous and high spirit deed.

(14) For I stood in Leipzig [1519] to debate before the most dangerous congregation. I appeared at Augsburg [1518] without an escort before my highest enemies. At Worms [1521] I stood before the emperor and the entire empire, even though I knew beforehand that my escort had been broken and that wild, strange treachery and cunning were directed at me.

(15) Though I was weak and poor, yet my heart stood at the time thus: If I had known that so many devils had aimed at me as there were tiles on the roofs of Worms, I would still have ridden in, and had not yet heard anything of the heavenly voice and God's pounds and works, nor of the universal spirit. Item, I had to stand in angles one, two, three, who, where and how one wanted. My stupid and poor spirit has had to stand free as a field flower, and no time, person, place, way, or measure has been right; has had to be ready and willing for anyone to answer, as St. Peter teaches [1 Ep. 3:15].

016 And this Spirit, which is as high above us as the sun is above the earth, which scarcely looketh upon us for little worms, tuneth to himself vainly

1) In the editions, "1 Cor. 3, (6.)".

harmless, friendly, and safe ^healers and hearers, and will not answer to two or three in but places. He feels something he does not like to feel, and means to frighten us with pompous words. Well, we can do nothing, except what Christ gives us; if he will let us go, a sounding leaf may frighten us; but if he will keep us, the spirit shall know his great glory.

(17) And I hereby beseech E. F. G., if it be necessary, I will tell how it was between me and this spirit in my room, so that E. F. G. and all the world may feel and grasp that this spirit is certainly a lying devil, and yet a bad devil. I have had one angry with me, and still have. For the spirits that thunder and rumble so proudly do not do it, but creep secretly, and do harm before they are heard.

(18) For this reason I have had to tell them that the F. F. G. should not be afraid or shy before this spirit, and should give an earnest command that they should keep their fists within, and leave their monastery and church-breaking and saint-burning in order, but, if they wish to prove their spirit, they should do so as is proper, and try themselves beforehand, whether before us or before the papists. For they think (praise God) that we are worse enemies than the papists. Even though they use and enjoy our victory, they take wives and reproach papal laws, which they did not win, and their blood did not stand in danger for it, but I had to obtain it with my life and limb, which I have hitherto dared to do. I must boast, as St. Paul did, 2 Cor. 11:16, though it is foolishness, and I would rather leave it alone, if I could, before the lying spirits.

019 But if they say, as they do, that their spirit is too high, and ours too low, and that their thing may not be known of us, I answer, St. Peter also knew well that his spirit, and the spirit of all Christians, was higher than

1) In the first printing and in the Wittenberg: "uncertain". Obsopoeus: tavsutes.

of the Gentiles and the Jews; nor does he give sl. Ep. 3,16.]: We are to be ready and willing to answer every man meekly.

020 Christ also knew that his spirit was higher than that of the Jews, nor did he let himself down, and justified himself, saying [John 8:46], "Who accuseth me of sin among you?" and before Annas [John 18:24], "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of it." 2c. I also know and am certain by the grace of God that I am more learned in the Scriptures than all the Sophists and Papists; but from pride God has yet graciously protected me, and will also protect me, that I should refuse to answer and be heard before the very least Jew or Gentile, or whoever it may be.

021 Why also do they themselves send forth their things in writing, if they will not stand before two or three, nor in a dangerous congregation? Or do they think that their writing comes before a harmless congregation, and not before two or three in particular? Yes, it amazes me how they forget their spirit, and want to teach the people orally and in writing, when they boast that everyone must hear God's voice for himself, and mock us for speaking God's word orally and in writing, as if it were of no value or use, and have a much higher, more exalted office than the apostles and prophets and Christ Himself, all of whom have spoken God's word orally or in writing, and have never said anything about the heavenly, divine voice that we need to hear. So this spirit of the heavens pretends that he himself does not see what he is saying.

022 But I know that we which have the gospel, and know it, though we be poor sinners, have the right spirit, or, as St Paul saith, Romans 8:23, krimitias 8pircku8, the firstfruits of the spirit, though we have not the fullness of the spirit. For there is none other, but the same one Spirit, which divideth out his gifts whimsically. We know what faith and love and the cross are, and there is no greater thing on earth to know than faith and love. From this we also know and can judge which doctrine is right or wrong, according to faith or not. As we also know this lying spirit.

and judge that this is what he has in mind: he wants to abolish the Scriptures and the oral word of God, and to abolish the sacraments of baptism and the altar, and to lead us into the spirit, where we are to tempt God with our own works and free will and wait for his work, and to set the time, place and measure for God, if he wants to work with us.

023 For such abominable presumption is evident from their writing, that they write, even with expressed words, against the gospel of St. Mark, saying, Ooutra Nareum uUimo oax. , as if St. Marcus had written wrongly of baptism. And since they are not allowed to strike St. John in the mouth as St. Marcus did: "He that is not otherwise born of the Spirit and water," Joh. 3, 5. r., they do not interpret the word "water" to mean anything, and badly reject bodily baptism in water.

024 But I would gladly know, because the Spirit is not without fruit, and their spirit is so much higher than ours, whether it also bringeth forth higher fruit than ours; yea, it must indeed bring forth other and better fruit than ours, because it is better and higher. So we teach and confess that our spirit, which we preach and teach, brings forth the fruits mentioned by St. Paul in Gal. 5:22, 23, as love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, faithfulness?) Meekness and temperance; and as he saith Rom. 8:13, that he put to death the works of the flesh, and crucified with Christ the old Adam with his lusts, Gal. 5. And summa, the fruit of our spirit is the fulfilling of the ten commandments of God.

(25) Therefore the universal spirit, which will not let our spirit be anything, must certainly bear something higher than love and faith, peace, patience, 2c., since St. Paul says that love is the highest fruit, 1 Cor. 13:13, and must do much better than God has commanded. I would like to know what that would be, since we know that the Spirit, acquired through Christ, is only given to us to fulfill God's commandment, as Paul says Rom. 8, 3. 4.

026 But if they will say, We live not as we teach, neither have we such a spirit.

1) In the old editions: "Traw" - faithfulness and faith.

I would gladly suffer them to say such things, for in doing so one might palpably feel that there is not a good spirit speaking out of them. We confess this ourselves, and it is not necessary for us to get it from a heavenly voice and a higher spirit, because we unfortunately do not do everything we ought to do. St. Paul says in Galatians 5:17 that all things will never come to pass, because the spirit and the flesh are both with and against one another on earth.

(27) Thus I do not yet sense any special fruit of the All-City Spirit without it wanting to strike with its fist and break wood and stones. Love, peace, patience, kindness and gentleness have been spared so far, so that the fruits of the spirit do not become too common. By the grace of God, however, I can show many fruits of the spirit among our people, and I would still like to set my person alone, which is the least and most sinful, against all the fruits of the whole spirit of the city, if it is to be praised, however highly it reproaches my life.

028 But to reprove any man's doctrine for the infirmity of his life is not the Holy Ghost. For the Holy Spirit reproves false doctrine, and tolerates the weak in faith and life, as Rom. 14:1, and 15:1, St. Paul teaches, and in all places. Neither do I mind that the universal spirit is so unfruitful, but that it teaches and wants to establish other doctrines. I would have little to do with the papists, too, if they only taught rightly; their evil life would not do great harm. Because this spirit wants to go out and take offense at our sick life, and so insolently judges the doctrine for life's sake, he has sufficiently proved who he is; for the Spirit of Christ judges no one who teaches right, and tolerates and bears, and helps those who do not yet live right, and does not so despise poor sinners as this Pharisaic spirit does.

29.. Well, this is the doctrine, which will be found in time. Now let this be the summa, most gracious sirs, that E. F. G. shall not resist the office of the word. Let them only preach confidently and freshly what they can, and against whom they will: for, as I have said, there must be sects [1 Cor. 11:19.], and the word of God must be in the field.

And they lie down and fight: therefore also the evangelists are called hosts, Ps. 68:12, and Christ a king of hosts in the prophets. If their spirit is right, it will not be afraid of us, and will be at ease. If ours be right, neither will he be afraid of them, nor of any. Let the spirits burst upon one another, and let them meet. But if some are deceived, then let it be according to the course of the war: where there is strife and battle, some shall fall and be sore: but he that fighteth righteously shall be crowned.

030 But if they will do more than fight with the word, and break and smite with the fist, let the Lord take hold, whether it be we or they, and straightway forbid the land, saying, We will gladly suffer and see that ye fight with the word, that the right doctrine may be established; but hold your fist still, for that is our office, or else lift you up unto the land. For we who guide the word of GOD are not to fight with our fists. It is a spiritual strife that winneth hearts and souls from the devil, and is also thus written by Daniel sCap.8,25.] that the antichrist shall be destroyed without hand. Thus also saith Isaias, Cap. 11:4, that Christ shall fight in his kingdom with the spirit of his fine mouth, and with the rod of his lips. To preach and to suffer is our office, but not to strike with fists and to defend ourselves. So also Christ and his apostles did not break churches, nor cut down images, but won hearts with the word of God, after which churches and images themselves fell.

Thirty-one: so shall we do. First, tear the hearts away from the monasteries and spirits. When they are gone, and churches and monasteries lie desolate, then let the sovereigns do with them what they will. What is wood and stone to us, if we have the hearts away? Behold, as I do, I have never touched a stone, neither have I broken nor burned any monastery: nor by my word are the monasteries now in many places made desolate, even among the princes who are opposed to the gospel. If I had attacked with the storm, as these prophets did, hearts would have remained captive in all the world, and I would have broken down stone and wood in some place or other.

...that would have been useful? Fame and honor may be sought with it, but the salvation of souls is not sought with it. Some think that I have done more harm to the pope without any fist than a mighty king would do. But because these prophets would like to do something special and better, and yet they cannot, they leave the souls to be saved, and attack wood and stone; this is the new and wonderful work of the high spirit.

(32) But whether they would argue that in the Law of Moses the Jews were commanded to break down all idols and to destroy the altars of idols, (Deut. 7:5, 12:2, 3) the answer is that they themselves know that God has done many works from the beginning through one word and one faith, through many saints. And the Epistle to the Hebrews, Cap. 6, 12, also interprets this, saying, "We are to follow the faith of such saints, for we cannot follow the work of all saints. Now when the Jews broke down altars and idols, they had at that time a sure commandment from God for the same work, which we have not at this time. For when Abraham sacrificed his son, he certainly had God's commandment for it; and yet afterward all did wrong who sacrificed their children according to the work. It is not necessary to imitate 2) the works, or we should also be circumcised, and do all the Jewish works.

033 Yea, if it were lawful for us Christians to break churches, and to storm as the Jews did, it would follow that we should bodily slay all unbelievers, even as the Jews were commanded to slay the Canaanites and Amorites, Deut. 7:1, as hard as they break images. By this the Spirit of God would gain nothing more to do than to shed blood; and those who did not "hear his heavenly voice" would all be strangled by him, so that the offenses would not remain among the people of God, which are much greater in the living unbelievers than in the images of wood and stone.

034 For this purpose was such a commandment given to the Jews...

1) In De Wette's, in Erlanger's, and in Walch's, here is still inappropriate: "! Mos^l1,2."

2) In the first edition and the Jena: "nachomen"; Wittenberg: "nachkamen", so also De Wette and the Erlanger.

than to the people who were proved by the miracles of God, who were certainly God's people, and yet did so with proper authority and sovereignty, and did not separate themselves into a group. But this spirit has not yet known that there are God's people, with some miracle; for he is dividing himself as if he alone were God's people, and is feeding without the proper authority of God, and without God's commandment, and wants to have his spirit believed.

(35) The removal of the vexation must be done by the word of God. For though all outward vexations be broken and removed, it is of no avail, if the hearts be not brought from unbelief unto the right faith. For an unbelieving heart always finds new vexations, as it happened among the Jews, that they set up ten idols, when before they had broken one. Therefore, in the New Testament, the right way must be used to drive out the devil and the evil, namely, the word of God, and with it the hearts of the faithful.

If you turn away from him, the devil and all his splendor and power 1) will fall from him.

(36) I will leave it at that this time, and I have humbly asked E. F. G. to be serious about such storming and raving. F. G. that they do so with earnestness, so that only the word of God may be acted upon in these matters, as is proper for Christians, and that the cause of sedition, to which He Omnes is otherwise more than too much inclined, may be prevented. For it is not Christians who are willing to fight with their fists over the word, and are not rather willing to suffer anything, if they are full of ten holy spirits. May God's mercy strengthen and protect E. F. G. forever, Amen.

E. F. G. subservient

Mart. Luther.

1) In the first edition: "and all his"; in the other editions: "and all his"; in Obsopoeus una eurri tota xomxa ste.

- The second section of the tenth chapter.

Of the outrage of the Bauerü in Swabia, which broke out in 1525. Of the demands of duration".

764: The complaint and request of the peasants, written in 12 articles. Before April 1525.

Complaints and friendly requests, with attached Christian prayers of the whole community, now assembled, in twelve main articles in the shortest possible way.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1551), vol. II, p. 75; in the Jena edition (1553), vol. III, p. 115; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. III, and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 250. Sleidanus considers the author to be Christoph Schapler, preacher in Memmingen, a follower of Zwingli, in his eommout. d6 "tat" rslix., x. 118, Christoph Schapler, preacher at Memmingen, a follower of Zwingli, while Elias Frick, in the German Seckendorf, p. 681, considers Joh. Heuglin, whom the Bishop of Constance had burned at Mersburg, May 10, 1527. Luther, in his admonition to the peasants (No. 767 in this volume, K35), says: "He who has written your articles is not a pious man." - It should also be noted that a large number of scriptural passages are cited in the margin, which do not serve any purpose at all (in the Gan
33), in order to give the impression as if the articles were thereby proven from Scripture". Luther 1. e. speaks of this also. - Luther began the "Exhortation to Peace on the Twelve Articles of the Bauerschaft," 2c. at Eisleben, April 19. Thence our determination of the time. When Luther began this writing, "! the articles of the Bauerschaft would already have gone out in print, as he says at the very beginning. Köstlin, M. Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 734 states that these articles had been circulated since the month of March.

To the Christian reader peace and grace of God through Christ.

I. There are many unbelievers who now take occasion to revile the gospel on account of the assembled peasantry, saying: These are the fruits of the new gospel, to be obedient to no one, to rise up in indignation and revolt in all places, to run with great violence to the multitude and to gather together, to reform and to destroy ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, and perhaps even to slay them.

(2) To all these ungodly, sacrilegious judges answer these articles that follow. First of all, that they have brought this dishonor to the word of God.

annul. On the other hand, the disobedience, yes, the indignation of all peasants, Christian excuse.

003 In the first place, the gospel is not a cause of rebellion or sedition, because it speaks of Christ, the promised Messiah, whose word and life teach nothing but love, peace, patience, and unity, so that all who believe in this Christ may become sweet, peaceful, patient, and united. If then the reason of all the articles of the peasants (as is clearly seen) is to hear the gospel, and to live according to it, how then may the antichrists call the gospel a cause of indignation and disobedience?

004 But that some unbelievers and enemies of the gospel should rebel and rise up against such affections and desires, the gospel is not the cause, but the devil, the most pernicious enemy of the gospel, who through unbelief awakens such in his own, that the word of God (which teaches love, peace, and unity) may be suppressed and taken away.

5th Secondly. For it follows clearly that the peasants, desiring in their articles such a gospel for doctrine and life, may not be called disobedient, rebellious. But whether God wants to hear the peasants (anxiously calling for His word to live): who wants to rebuke the will of God, who wants to reach into His judgment, yes, who wants to resist His majesty? If he has heard the children of Israel crying unto him, and settled out of the hand of Pharaoni s^2 Mos. 3, 7. f. ^j, may he not this day save his own? Yea, he will save, and in a short time s^Luc. 18, 8.]. Therefore, Christian reader, read such following articles with diligence, and judge afterwards.

The following are the 12 articles of the Bauerschaft:

I. First, it is our humble request and desire, as well as the will and opinion of all of us, that we now want to have the authority and power to have a whole congregation choose and elect a pastor themselves, and also have the authority to remove him again if he behaves improperly. The same chosen pastor shall preach the holy gospel to us loudly and clearly, without any human addition, doctrine, or commandment; for^) always proclaiming the true faith to us gives us a reason to ask God for His grace, and to imagine and confirm the same true faith in us. For if his grace is not imagined in us, we always remain flesh and blood, which is of no use; as it is clearly stated in the Scriptures that we are saved by the true faith alone.

1) So the Jenaer. Wittenbergers: then.

We need such a forerunner and pastor, who is founded in the Scriptures. Therefore, we need such a forerunner and pastor, and this is founded in Scripture.

Secondly, after the right tithe has been established in the Old Testament, and all things fulfilled in the New, nevertheless we will gladly give the right tithe of grain 2) as it is due. Accordingly, it is to be given to God and distributed to his own; if it is due to a pastor who clearly proclaims the word of God, we are of the will henceforth to collect and collect this tithe from our church priests, if a congregation is established, and to give it to a pastor, who is chosen by a whole congregation, his fairly sufficient stay, to him and his own, according to the knowledge of a whole congregation; And what is left over shall be given to the poor of the same village, according to the manner of the things, and the judgment of the congregation.

What is left over is to be kept, whether one has to travel because of the need of the land; so that no land tax may be levied on the poor, it is to be paid out of this surplus. Even if it were the case that one or more villages had sold the tithe themselves, out of some necessity, those who have to show it in the form of a whole village, shall not be compensated, but we shall compare ourselves with him according to form and substance, and redeem it to him again with due aim and time. But whoever has not bought such from any village, and their ancestors themselves have given them such, we do not want to, shall not, and are not obliged to give them anything else, but only, as stated above, to maintain our chosen priest with it, to pay it off afterwards, or to give it to the poor, as the holy scripture states, whether they are spiritual or secular. We do not want to give the small tithe at all, because God the Lord created cattle free from man, which we consider an unseemly tithe) that men have invented, therefore we do not want to give it any further.

III Thirdly, the custom has hitherto been that we have been taken for their own people;

2) "gladly" is missing from the Wittenberger.
3) So the Jenaer. Wittenberger: Ueberflusse.
4) This is the reading of the Jena edition. Wittenberger: "dieselbigen so der, um zu zeige" 2c. The meaning of this somewhat obscure passage will be: He who can show documents that he has bought the tithe of a whole village, he shall not pay it 2c.
5) So the Wittenbergers. Jenaer: "set".

Which is to be pitied, that Christ hath redeemed and bought us all with the shedding of his precious blood, even as the shepherd, and as the most high, no man excepted. Therefore it is in accordance with the Scriptures that we are and will be free. God does not teach us to be free or to have no authority. We are to live in commandments, not in the free will of the flesh, but to love God as our Lord, to recognize in him our neighbor, and to show him all the things 1) that we would like to have, which God commanded us at the Last Supper; therefore we are to live according to his commandment. [This commandment does not indicate and instruct us that we are not obedient to authority; not only to authority, but we are to humble ourselves against everyone, so that we also gladly obey our chosen and appointed authority (appointed to us by God) in all proper and Christian matters. 2) There is no doubt that you will gladly relinquish our status as true and right Christians, or tell us in the Gospel that we are. 3)

IV. Fourthly, it has hitherto been the custom that no poor man has had the power to see game, birds or fish in the flowing water, which seems to us to be quite unseemly and unbrotherly, but selfish and not in accordance with the word of God. In some places, too, the authorities want the game to be defiant and to do us great harm, and our own (which God has made grow for man's benefit) the unreasonable animals must eat uselessly, suffer wantonly, and keep silent about it, which is against God and our neighbor. When God the Lord created man, he gave him power over all animals, over the bird in the air and over the fish in the water [Gen. 1:28, 30]. Therefore our desire is, if any man have water, that he may prove it with sufficient writing, that the water was thus knowingly purchased, we desire not to take it by force, but that there should be a Christian understanding in it, because of brotherly love. But if any man cannot give sufficient notice of this, let him communicate it to a congregation in a proper manner.

V. Fifth, we are also burdened with timber. For our lords have given them all the timber they need, and if the poor man needs any, he must buy it for two pence. It is our opinion what kind of woods they are,

1) Inserted by us,
2) In the Jena: to be obedient; in the Wittenberg: obedient, to be 2c. - Property - serfdom.
3) "That we may be," namely, bondmen.

If the clergy or seculars who have not bought it have it, they shall be returned to the whole community, and the community shall be quite free to let anyone take his need into the house, to burn, for free. Even if it were necessary to build, they could do so free of charge, but with the knowledge of those chosen by the community to do so. But if there be none, but that which hath been honestly purchased, they shall be compared with them in a brotherly and Christian manner. If, however, the property had been taken from among them at the beginning, and had been sold later, they should compare themselves according to the condition of the property and the knowledge of brotherly love and holy scripture.

VI. sixthly, because of our hard labour, which is increased day by day, and daily increaseth: we desire that there may be some understanding in this, and that we may not be severely afflicted, but that we may be graciously regarded in this, as our parents served, according to the word of God alone.

VII Seventh, that we henceforth will not let a manor be burdened any further, but as a manor fairly bestows it upon one, so he shall possess it, according to the union of this lord and peasant. The lord shall not urge or compel him any further, nor demand more service or anything else from him in vain, so that the peasant may use and eat such property without complaint 4). If, however, the master needs services, the farmer shall be willing and obedient to him before others, but at the proper hour and time, so that the farmer is not disadvantaged, and shall do so for a fair penny.

VIII. For the eighth time we are burdened, and of those who have estates in their possession, that these estates cannot 5) bear the taxes, and the peasants forfeit theirs on them and perish: that the lordship have these estates inspected by respectable people, and create an interest 6) according to equity, so that the peasant does not do his work in vain. For every day laborer is worthy of his wages.

IX. In the ninth place we are accused of great iniquities, which are always made new statutes; not that we are punished according to the form of the thing, but at times because of great envy, and at times because of

4) Walch: "measure". - Immediately following should probably be read "dem Herrn" instead of: "des Herrn" in the editions.
5s "Gült" - levy, tax, land rent.
ß) By us "am" l-ein) is put instead of: "am"; for this is a South German document.

great favour; is our opinion to punish us by old written punishment, according to which the matter is acted, and not according to favour.

X. For the tenth time we have been complained of, that some have appropriated to them meadows, such fields as belong to a commonwealth; the same we shall take again into our common hands, unless it be that they have purchased it honestly. But if they have bought it unjustly, they shall settle it amicably, brotherly, according to the state of the case.

XI. In the eleventh place, we want to completely abolish the custom called death, which is not to be suffered, nor to allow widows and orphans to be deprived of their property against God and honor in such a disgraceful way, as has happened in many places (in various forms), and of those who were supposed to protect them *) and guard them, they have harmed us and harmed us, and if they had had little reason, they would have even taken this; which God will have no more, but shall be all gone; no man shall owe anything for it, neither little nor much.

XII. Twelfthly, it is our decision and final opinion that if one or more of the articles, as stated here, were not in accordance with the word of God (as we do not think they are), we would refrain from these articles, if they were explained to us on the basis of Scripture, if some of the articles were permitted to us now, and if it were subsequently found that they were unlawful, they would be dead and gone from that time on, and would no longer be valid. Such things, if there are more articles in the Scriptures that are contrary to God and detrimental to our neighbor, we also want to reserve and decide, and to practice and use all Christian doctrine. Therefore we will ask God the Lord, who can give us these things, and no one else. The peace of Christ be with us all, amen.

B. How Elector Ludwig of the Palatinate consults Melanchthon about the demands of the walls, and of Luther's and Melanchthon's writings published in this matter.

765. letter of the Elector Ludwig of the Palatinate to Melanchthon, in which he asks him for

1) Wittenberger: own.

2) Jenaer: to handle; this comes from the fact that in the original script it says "hand" instead of "have".

his opinion on the twelve articles of the peasants, if he could not come in person to Heidelberg. Dat. Heidelberg, 18 May 1525.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 345.

By the Grace of God Ludwig Palatine of the Rhine, Elector and Prince 2c.

Our greetings to you, dear friend, We do not doubt that you have heard and know well the extent to which the uprising and elevation of the common man against all authority is also taking place around and in our principality in a noticeable way and with great difficulty, in an appearance of handling the Gospel, but in addition to this there is much unscrupulousness with robbery, fire, death and other unchristian acts against us the nobles, We have ordered the churches and the cloisters, where they would have a great deal of trouble, to do something about it, although we now have good reason to act against these disobedient and insubordinate assemblies. Thus we, as the sovereign prince, have borne a burden of our own people and Christian blood to soak up") and spill, and thereby to prevent further losses^) bequeathing and inheriting land and people to us the way of goodness, The same persons have ridden to two assembled houses, and have agreed to deal with them in good faith, and have done so much with them, that we have not been able to find out about the XII. Article XII, which they have requested of us, as you will note here, we will further consider and act upon, which may or may not be held, a Diet which is to be held in the next week after Pentecost, in the manner which we may compare them with you, that has its way, but which we could not tolerate, that should stand with the princes and sovereigns of the realm, what they commonly decided to grant and do in what they consider good, that we also want to let us be sociable and comply with it. Because now not only us, but all the sovereignty and authority for the preservation of the peace and right noticeably and much in it, also smelting further aftertaxes and damage, to which for the striving Landt

3) durchechtern (durcbechtenj - to pursue. Compare St. Louis edition, Vol. XIV, 793.

4) "lests" will probably be as much as: Setzens, Schädigens.

We have shed our blood and Christian blood, which we have taken the greatest pains to bring about, and also that we do not want to establish justice and righteousness with God, and that you, as a born and bred man, have experienced and practiced the care of others in the Holy Scriptures, and are undoubtedly inclined to peace and righteousness, to which you are named in such articles as a juror. Therefore, we kindly ask and request that you take good care of the matter and appear before us here in Heydelberg at the next Pentecost in one of our persons, or if it should not be possible, at least give us your counsel and good advice from the divine law of the Gospel Scriptures, indicating the end and place where it is written, which we, as a secular authority, find to be kept in the XIIth article. Article XII, which we, as a secular authority of this XIIth Article, find it our duty to keep, the like of which the opponents owe to us in the same rejoinder, to send to us in writing in the above-mentioned time 1) In which we graciously acknowledge a good work also acceptable to us, D. Heydelberg, Thursday after Cantate [18 May] Anno MVXXV.

To our dear faithful Philippo Melanchthon now at Wittenberg.

766 Philipp Melanchthon's writing against the articles of the Bauerschast. End of May or beginning of June 1525.

This writing has appeared in a single edition in quarto; then in the Wittenberg edition (1551), Pd. Since the Elector of the Palatinate informs Melanchthon in his previous letter that "in the next week after Pentecost (Pentecost fell on June 4) a Diet is to be held" for the discussion of this matter, our writing must be set at the end of May or beginning of June. But the "Appendix" shows that it was not printed until after the victory over the peasants.

001 Forasmuch as the brotherhood appeals to the holy gospel, and uses the same for a pretence, it is necessary at first to know what the holy gospel requires of us, or does not require; that the brotherhood may be judged articles, which they all suppose to enforce under the pretence and name of God, and be heard that all their articles are a reason to hear the gospel, and to live according to it, but they do not know what the holy gospel requires of us.

1) This Melanchthon will have fulfilled by the next writing.

The peasantry covets much that it has no right, that it also does not call the gospel. To this end they exercise violence, and seek to carry out their intentions with riots and insurrections, and with murder.

002 But now they have offered themselves to be instructed with the gospel. Wherefore it is right that the gospel and true Christian doctrine should be reproached unto them: for there are doubtless many among the common multitude that sin through ignorance, who, if they were rightly instructed, it is to be hoped would desist from such wickedness, and consider the judgment of God, their souls, and their poor wives and children.

003 But many are so wilful, and so blinded of the devil, that they will not, neither suffer peace. And these in many places, though they have been warned and exhorted to peace by the scriptures and preaching of godly men, are not helped; and because they anger God more, they become only more wicked and obstinate from such exhortation. Of these we will speak hereafter. Now, however, let us understand what the Gospel demands, and how a Christian heart is to be kind to God, to his neighbor, and to the authorities.

4 St. Paul saith, 1 Tim. I, 5, that this is the content of the law, recently formulated: "Love from a pure heart, with a good conscience, and true faith." With faith one acts against God, with love against one's neighbor and authorities. Now what is faith? This is faith, when God shows sin to the conscience, and truly frightens it, so that it begins to heartily fear God's judgment. For God has commanded to punish sin and to preach repentance. When the heart hears from Christ that grace and forgiveness of sins have been granted through him without our merit, it feels comfort and joy, so that it stands at rest before God, certain that God has been reconciled, and therefore, in afflictions such as death or other hardships, it relies on God, knowing that God has an eye on us and will help us, and can therefore be satisfied, because it is certain of such comfort. This is called faith, which the gospel preaches.

005 When the king of Assyria was before Jerusalem, and Ezekiah was much too weak to smite him, a heart without right faith either would have despaired, and have yielded to the enemy, or else would have fled, or else would have killed himself, or else would have ventured to do something in despair, and have smitten with the enemy, thinking, If it succeed, it shall profit; but if it fail, it shall not.

we must perish. But what does Ezekiel do? Because his heart knows God, believes and looks to God for help, he asks God to advise him. God helped him, as it is written in Isa. 37.

006 Paul saith, that it should be faith without hypocrisy. For there are many people on earth who call themselves Christians, and boast of faith, but when it comes to the point, they realize that they do not believe. For as soon as misfortune comes, they despair of God, thinking that he does not respect us, and does not care for us as much as is preached, and seek help as long as they can from their own power, wisdom, or strength, even from the devil, as Saul did; when he was anxious, and the enemies had "drawn near," he sought help and counsel from the sorceress.

007 So many boast of faith, and say that they are Christians, as also the company will be called Christians. But let every man know, if his heart have not sincere fear of the judgment of God, and trust in God in all offences, but his heart throb for good, for power, for heaps, that he is no Christian. For Isaiah 66:2 says that God dwells with those who are of a fearful and lowly heart; and John 3:14: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

(8) Such a right faith cannot be imagined by human reason or will by its own power, but the Holy Spirit works and creates it in the hearts of many; as John 6:45 is written, "They must all be taught of God," and Romans 8:14, "They are the children of God whom the Spirit of God impels.

(9) Thus the chief thing of a Christian life is such faith, by which he becomes one with God and is reconciled, and comes to rest in all cases. And as your faith is inward in the heart, so Christian being is primarily an inward being. And one must strive for the main part and the seal, as it is called John 6:27, of the Christian being. For this is where the glitter separates itself from true piety, which God works.

010 God also commands this faith throughout the Scriptures, and especially in the first commandment, Jer. 9:23-24: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the mighty man in his power, nor the rich man in his wealth: but let every man glory in this, that he knoweth me, that I am a God which have mercy upon the earth.

To do justice and judgment, and to help the righteous; these things please me," that is, to keep and believe in God, and to provide oneself for God, that is right worship and godliness.

Of love.

(11) The other part is: love from a pure heart and a good conscience. For when the heart thus recognizes how great a mercy God has shown us, it knows that it should in turn show gratitude to those whom God has commanded us to love and serve. Now God has said: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself, you shall not kill, you shall not commit unchastity, you shall not steal" 2c. Thus, a Christian heart desires to please God in these things; it serves its neighbor, it is kind to him, it demonstrates discipline and chastity in him, it helps him to preserve his goods. These things are required by Christ Matth. 5, 20. ff. and Paul Rom. 12, 8. ff.

From the Superior.

(12) And especially does the gospel demand obedience to authority. And because this article is so despised by those who call themselves evangelicals, let us hold up the gospel and God's word to them, in which they see how hard they fight against God under the appearance of the gospel. Paul to the Romans on the 13th, v. 1 ff., speaks thus: "Let every man be subject to the authority that rules over him; for there is no authority but from God alone, and all authority is ordered by God. Whoever resists the authority resists God's order, and whoever resists will be punished. And righteousness is not a terror to good works, but to evil. But if thou fear not the ruler, do good, and thou shalt have praise of him. For she is a servant of God, for thy good. But if thou do evil, fear her: for she beareth not the sword in vain, but is the servant of God, to avenge and punish him that doeth evil. Therefore it is necessary to be her servant, not only for the sake of punishment, but also for the sake of conscience. Therefore give to the womb, for they are servants of God, and have work to do. Therefore give to all that ye owe: to whomsoever the bosom belongeth, to him give the bosom; to whomsoever the toll belongeth, to him give the toll; to whomsoever fear belongeth, to him give fear; to whomsoever honor belongeth, to him give honor."

13 Here St. Paul teaches three things. First, from whence authority is instituted, saying that God has ordained authority. For because not

Since everyone is a Christian and willingly abstains from harming others, but there are also many wanton people who commit sacrilege against other people's bodies, goods, wives, or children, God has, in addition to the Gospel, instituted such secular government and discipline to protect the honorable and to create peace for them, and to punish sacrilege. For this purpose, the authorities have established a court and a law so that people may divide, possess and use their physical goods in peace, and have appointed judges, soldiers and the like to protect peace and prevent murder. Luc. 3:14: "Be content with your wages."

014 A Christian may use such a worldly ordinance, though it be not in one place as in another. For, as has been said above, Christianity is primarily an inward life and being, and is not bound to such an order, but should use it according to love and peace. Goods are divided differently in Saxony than on the Rhine, and it may be that one is more unpleasant than the other; nevertheless, for the sake of peace, a Christian should remain within the rights of his country, and this does him no harm to his soul; indeed, if he does not want to be satisfied, then he does harm to his soul.

015 So there is bondage in some places; he shall bear it for peace, though it be not in other dominions. The gospel doth not require that such country ordinances be changed, but enjoins obedience, without doing contrary to God, as the authorities enjoin. For there one should keep the rule of Apost. 5, 29: "One must be obedient to God more than to men."

016 And this is well to be remembered, that God hath appointed the rulers, that they, the rulers, might know that they were in a state pleasing to God. For one cannot serve God in works or positions that He has not ordained or instituted. This is also comforting to the authorities, so that they may have confidence and reason to believe that God will preserve them against the will of the rebellious, as God has often indicated. As with David, though his own son drove him out of the land, and the whole country had fallen from him, yet God restored him, and subdued the rebellious. For Solomon says Proverbs 21:30: "There is no wisdom, no understanding, no art against the Lord," and Paul says here that all who resist the rulers will be punished. And David asks God to

1) Wittenberger: "Christians" - a Christian.

and restore him to the office which he hath ordained, Ps. 7:7: "Judge thou the office which thou hast ordained."

(17) It is also comforting to the subjects that they know that God is pleased with their obedience to the authorities, and what they do for the good of the authorities, that they do this for God, and thus truly serve God in the burdens they bear from the authorities, whether it be traveling, giving tribute, or otherwise. And it is just as holy a work to do such things as when God especially blesses one from heaven. Raising the dead, or whatever you want to call it.

018 This also is terrible unto the rebellious, because they have a mighty great Lord for an enemy, against whom they fight. One may stand before guns and other weapons, but to stand against God is impossible. Now God's command is as good as if he had commanded each one in particular by an angel from heaven not to resist superiority. How hard the devil must have possessed the hearts that do not respect such words of God, and yet boast of the Gospel.

019 Secondly, Paul binds the conference, and teaches that one ought not to be obedient to authority merely because it has inflicted punishment, as I must be obedient to a robber, but for the sake of conscience, that is, God requires such obedience, and will condemn those who disobey. And even if the world were too weak to punish such an outrage, God would not let it go unpunished. God is not pleased with such disobedience to authority, unless he specially commands one to act against authority, as he commanded Mosiah or Jesus; then he gave signs and testimony, so that one might be sure whom he should obey, and whom he had made Lord.

020 Thirdly, St. Paul teacheth here, wherein we ought to show obedience to the rulers, saying, we ought to give the bounty and the toll, that is, to keep the peace, confess it much; to reward men, to build, 2c. we ought to give such money. If the princes use it badly, let them answer for it; we owe it to them to advance what is ours, for the sake of peace.

(21) Secondly, one should show fear, of which it has been said above that one should fear authority, because it has command from God. Therefore, one should fear the commandment of authority as if it had been commanded by God, and in service he should look to God's will, not only to the eyes of the ruler, as St. Paul commanded the servants, that they should not only look to the eyes of their masters.

but to serve from the heart 2c., because one serves God -aran sEph. 6, 5. 6. Col. 3, 22. 23.].

(22) Solomon teaches such earnest fear, Proverbs 16:14: "The king's displeasure is a messenger of death, but a wise man reconciles him"; and Cap. 20:2: "The king's wrath is as a lion's roar; he that enrages him denounces his life." This is a terrifying judgment, which God accuses of sin, and wants to punish those who anger the rulers. Therefore beware of the disobedient. For though the world were too weak to punish disobedience, yet God would not let it go unpunished; as is also said above of the saying of Paul, Rom. 13:5: "They are to be punished.

023 Fourthly, honour shall be offered unto them. To offer honor is not only to make outward gestures, to bow down and take off one's hat; it is to consider them, the rulers, wise and just, and therefore to be grateful to them. Now it happens, as in the game, that he who is entitled thinks he will do best. So the subjects often think, when they govern, that it would behoove them, that they would prevent much harm, and that they would do justice more favorably and more diligently. 2c. Some also often cry out that injustice is done to them or to others; and do not think that they are to bear God's will in authority, and that there has never been a rule on earth that has been without blame; one cannot dispute it all. There is no doubt that the two best rulers on earth were David and Solomon; nor did David hear from his own son, he did not hear the people, he did not judge the things. So Israel also complained, that they should bear Solomon's tribute longer.

(24) There is no reason on earth so great as to be sufficient for the regiment. Yes, where God does not give happiness, it is not possible to maintain a regiment for three days with human wisdom. Therefore St. Paul demands that one should give honor to the leadership, that is, that one should consider it wise and just. And if in the course of time other things please us, that we yield to their wisdom and righteousness for the sake of peace, and be thankful for other benefits, which we receive much by their toil, care, and labor. For though someone may be wronged, yet otherwise they help us to peace, that we may train our children in discipline and godliness, and seek nourishment for them. Is not this worthy of thanksgiving?

025 Now it would be great ingratitude if a friend had given me a hundred florins, and I found among them a florin or two that were too light; for this cause I murmured, and

...and did not thank him for the rest. So do the peasants in many articles. They want to hunt and fish, which is not very important to them, and so they insist on their landlords, not considering how much they would otherwise receive from them. As that the princes must prevent that each knave fall today to one, tomorrow to the other in his own, desecrate his wife and children, deprive them of their food 2c. Item, create peace, so that the children may be brought up in the fear of God and in respectability. Thus the gospel requires not only obedience to authority, but also reverence.

26 Therefore God also commanded in Exodus 22:28: "You shall not curse your ruler," that is, you shall show him honor, praise him, and consider what he decrees and establishes to be wise and right. For as one says: God is in the ship, so indeed God is in the government, and gives fortune and misfortune according to His will. Therefore Solomon says Proverbs 29:26: "Many seek the face of a prince, but every man's judgment comes from the Lord," that is, many take comfort in the grace and power of princes, but as God wills, so it comes to pass; Cap. 21:1.The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, like streams of water, and he inclines it wherever he wills"; and Cap. 16,10: "Divination is in the mouth of the king, his mouth does not fail in judgment", that is, the government is God's order, and God stands with the princes, and gives them wisdom to govern and maintains their government. For where God does not keep it, and where God does not give grace and wisdom, it may not be maintained by human skill.

27. sayest thou: But how if they reproach me too harshly or unjustly? Answer: Though a prince do iniquity, and flay thee, and scrape thee, yet it is not lawful to make insurrection; neither is it lawful, if any man kill thee a brother, to avenge the same with his own violence. God will not have it that iniquities should be committed against authority, or that any should presume to rule without orderly officers. For Christ says Matt. 26:52: "He that taketh the sword shall perish with the sword," that is, no one shall avenge himself with his own power, or be subject to the sword and rule, without orderly officers. St. Peter had a right cause in wanting to defend Christ, for Christ was being wronged. Nevertheless Peter did wrong, because he wanted to fight against the authorities, and he was not commanded to use the sword. It did not help, and Christ pronounced judgment on him.

appalling verdict, that he was guilty of death: "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword."

28. also rebellion is forbidden, Rom. 13, 2. since St. Paul says: "Whoever rebels against authority will be punished". God is hard on those who rebel against authority. Also the histories show that the rebellious have always been punished at last; as Gen. 16 Dathan and Abiram devoured the earth, and Judges 9:53. 9,53. a woman threw Abimelech to death. So also did Absalom, Siba perish. Zambri ^Simri^j, 1 Kings 16:18, burned himself. God also punished Baasha, that he stirred up a rebellion against Nadab, although the same king was not pleasing to God, 1 Kings 16:11. God has judged the like among the heathen Apium Decemvirum, Catilinam, and others much, at Rome and in other countries. For God wills in all the world that men should be obedient to authority, and punishes disobedience among all nations, whether they be called Jews, Gentiles, or Christians. Solomon also saith, Proverbs 24:21 f., My child, fear the LORD and the king, and mingle not with the rebellious: for their calamity shall come suddenly."

029 Above this the gospel requireth that one suffer iniquity, not of the rulers only, but of all men: as it is written, Match. 5:39: "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but if any man smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." And Rom. 12:19: "Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but rather give place unto wrath. For it is written: Vengeance is mine, I will repay." This is what Christians do; they do not take up the sword, and do not fall upon the goods of others; they do not, like these peasants who call themselves a Christian community, storm to the shame of Christ, because they not only intend disobedience, which God also punishes in the Gentiles and the Turks, but also commit robbery.

030 From all this we conclude that, because the gospel requires obedience to authority, and rebellion, even if princes do evil, and also otherwise require injustice, they act contrary to the gospel in this, that they rebel against their authority, and commit and use violence and iniquity against it. And they make themselves liars by writing that they desire to live according to the gospel, and yet they act so publicly against God that it may be assumed that the devil is driving them and intends to destroy them, body and soul. For be it as it may, this sacrilege will be punished in the end, just as the devil has done.

St. Paul says Rom. 13, 2: "Whoever rebels against authority will be punished," and as it is seen that no murder goes unpunished; for God, because of His order which He has made, keeps Gen. 9, 6: "Whoever spills the blood of man, his blood shall also be spilled by man," so also this outrage will not go unpunished, for a riot is manifold murder.

031 Therefore, though all the articles of the church were commanded in the gospel, yet they would do against God, that they should enforce it by force and sedition. They are still so wicked, and do such things of their own will under the appearance of God's name. But God says: "Whoever takes His name in vain will not go unpunished. Now let him who fears God, and out of foolishness would have consented to go with the mob, desist from it, and consider soul and body, wife and child; for it will not go unpunished.

(32) Let this be said in general of the farmer's action. Now let us talk about the articles.

033 First, I would that he that wrote the articles, and put on so much writing by mistake, had added his name. This would be done in the light. It has a very wicked appearance to make use of such blind tricks; to make the poor simple-minded people believe that such articles, though founded in Scripture, are in many places forgeries of Scripture. But whether such lies are of God or of the devil is to be well judged, for they are abominable lies that thus falsely put on the Scriptures.

To the I. Article

From Parishes.

034 It is the duty of the authorities to let the gospel be preached. For Christ saith, Matt. 10:15, That the city which will not hear the gospel shall be punished more severely than Sodoma and Gomorrah: and Proverbs 25:4, 5, When they separate the foam from the silver, it becometh a pure vessel. So also, when one takes away contempt of GOD from the king, righteousness will bring happiness to his throne." God also set Pharaoh as an example, so that the rulers would learn not to despise God's word, but to give it room.

035 But if any authority, being possessed of the gospel, would not suffer the gospel to be preached purely, yet let no sedition be stirred up, for God hath forbidden sedition; but let every one that believeth aright keep his faith for himself.

He shall confess and teach his household and anyone else who desires to learn. If any authority does anything to him, he should suffer for it, and not seek revenge or help from the mob. Yea, this is no Christian that seeketh help of the multitude: for Paul saith Rom. 12:19, "Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto wrath." So Christ punished Peter when he wanted to fight, and he also asked that the disciples not be harmed. He wanted to stand up for himself. It is not good to be a Christian and lay the cross on the backs of others; you must bear it yourself.

036 So shall it be done also with pastors. Where a tyrant will not suffer right preachers, thou shalt not do violence to false teachers, but, as Christ is called, shun them. For Christ did not command that the goods of the Pharisees should be taken away, that they should be put to death, but that their doctrine should be shunned.

(37) If thou wilt have one that teacheth rightly, keep him at thine own expense, if the superintendency will not let him follow the goods of the parish. For even if a pastor is received from a parish, that parish has no power to withdraw the use of the property from him to whom it has been given by a superior, but to change the order of such use rests solely with the superior who has hitherto had such property in his power. Where the authorities have placed a priest in such property, it is robbery if you want to expel him without the authority's will. The goods or use which you are accustomed to give to the authorities are no longer yours, but the authorities'; to take anything away from them is violence and sacrilege.

038 Wherefore, if thou wilt have a better preacher, it is expedient that thou reward him of thine own, without robbery: Gal. 6:6, "He that is taught shall divide with him that teacheth him." For even in St. Paul's time the authorities had not ordained anything for it; the heathen had all the use of it.

039 Wherefore, if an authority permit not the same, yet thou shalt not make a disturbance, but shalt go to the places where thou mayest hear right doctrine. If thou meet with any evil concerning it, thou shalt suffer it, and shalt not make a disturbance. I also speak of right doctrine, not seditious. The gospel teaches not sedition, but peace, discipline, and patience.

040 But where a godly government would have the gospel preached, it were well that the churches themselves should have power everywhere to elect and call pastors, as in Acts 6, the election of deacons. 6 the election of deacons. For even a whole

And Paul wants to banish the Corinthians 1 Cor. 5, 1. ff. not only, but with the whole church. That therefore to set up and to put down was the power of the church.

41 But in such an election there must also be a prince, who is entitled to see that nothing rebellious is preached. For a prince is set for the protection of the pious and the punishment of the wicked, Romans 13:3, 4. Now it has happened in many places in the German lands that the peasants themselves have accepted preachers, who have pretended to the mob, have taught that one should not give decimates, should not give interest, and the like much more, which has grown into a miserable outrage. Yea, whosoever hath taught obedience, or that one should give interest and decimas, they have sought to stone him, when the gospel teacheth, not only to give that which is ordained for rulers, but also to let go the cloak, when one taketh away thy skirt unjustly [Matthew 5:40].

042 Therefore St. Paul commanded Tito to ordain priests; and to Timothy he saith, Let none be chosen, except he be tried beforehand. Therefore let princes and churches search them out beforehand, that they may know what they are up to." Hitherto the bishops have taken up ordination, but have not tried any, but have made priests, as Jeroboam did, loose, careless, inexperienced men. What good will come of this is now being determined.

To the II. Article

From tithing.

(43) Tithes are not given by virtue of the Old Testament. For the Old Testament does not bind us, especially in matters of worldly order and government, how goods are to be divided, 2c. as St. Paul teaches in Col. 2 and Gal. 5. But one is obliged to give what a worldly authority has appointed, and where it has created it, it is called decimä or octavä. For Paul saith, Rom. 13:7, "To whomsoever the bosom belongeth, give the bosom: to whomsoever the toll belongeth, give the toll." For a ruler must have a great cost for the common need of the country. The Romans undoubtedly took much property that God had assigned to the priests or to the temple, and the Jews disputed whether they were obliged to give it otherwise than God had ordained. Yes, if the peasants now had such a note, how they would rage! Nevertheless, they have been guilty,

They let them go to the dominion, because they were no longer masters of their goods, but God gave them to other dominions. On this Christ says of the Didrachmo sLinsgroschen^: "Lest we offend them," 2c., Matth. 17, 27. So John Baptist" Luc. 3, 14. also approved such an order, that one gives to a dominion its pay, as he says to the Roman officials: "Be content with your pay."

044 Therefore it is necessary to tithe, because the government has made such an order with the goods. But if anyone rebels against this order, he will take away the authority's right. In Egypt they gave the fifth part, and all the king's goods were his own; and Joseph, who had the Holy Ghost, made such an order, and so burdened the people; yet they were bound to give it.

045 But thou sayest, The rulers have no need of it; the monks and priests have it, and do nothing for it. Answer: What is that to thee? Nevertheless thou shalt not take anything from authority, and shalt give what is laid up for thee where it is ordered, until it do otherwise; in this thou doest right; for to take anything from one's own authority is sacrilege. But I would that the authorities would have mercy on the foundations and monasteries; of this we will speak hereafter.

046 But in sum, the peasants have neither right nor justification to break off the tithes of the rulers, and to deal with them as they please. For to break the law of the land is to break the common peace, which is contrary to love.

047 In many places the tithe is of the temporal government; in many places it is bought of the temporal government. To seize it by force and take what does not belong to you is robbery.

(48) Of the small tithe they write that they do not want to give it at all, for God created the animals freely. Yes, God created them, but in addition to that He ordained that each one should use his own. Otherwise it followed that you would go into my stable and take from it according to your sense 2c. Free means that one may eat it without conscience complaint, which is not forbidden, as the swine were forbidden to the Jews; does not mean free, that one may take from another what is his. Therefore the author of the article has here used the Scriptures badly, and the peasants do wrong that they want to break off such a thing from a ruler with their own sin.

On the III article

Of serfdom.

049 It is also an abomination and violence, that they will not be bondmen. But that they put on scripture, that Christ hath made us free, is spoken of spiritual liberty, that we may be sure that through him our sin is taken away, without our satisfaction, and that we may lately provide, pray, and hope to God for good; and that Christ giveth the Holy Ghost to his own, whereby they resist the devil, that the devil may not cast them into sin, as the ungodly, whose hearts he hath power over, drives them to murder, adultery, blasphemy 2c.

50 Therefore Christian liberty is in the heart, and cannot be seen with carnal eyes. Outwardly a Christian patiently and cheerfully bears all worldly and civil ordinances, and needs them as food and clothing; he may be a serf and a subject; he may also be noble and a ruler; he may hold to Saxon rights or Roman rights in the use and division of goods. All these things do not deceive the faith; indeed, the gospel requires that such worldly ordinances be kept for the sake of peace. Paul to Eph. 6, v. 5-7: "Ye bondmen, be obedient to your fleshly masters with fear and trembling, with willing hearts, as to Christ, not with service only in view, as pleasing men, but as servants of Christ; and do such wills of God kindly from the heart. "2c., and to Colossians 3:22: "Ye bondmen, be obedient in all things to your fleshly masters. "2c. [V. 25.:] "He that doeth wrong shall receive what he hath wronged." So Joseph himself was a bondman in Egypt a long time, and other saints much.

011 Therefore the imposition of the peasants hath no appearance; yea, it were needful that such a wild, unruly people as the Germans were should have less liberty than they have. Joseph complained severely to Egypt that the people should not be allowed to go too far. But our rulers allow the people to be all brave, they only take money from them, and besides that they do not keep them in any kind of discipline; from this follows great evil.

To the IV. Article

Of hunting.

022 It is unlawful to hunt in the forests of princes. For Roman law also teaches that a man may forbid a man to enter his own territory.

But that the peasants say that God created it freely, let it be understood that each may use his own without harm to others.

053 Neither shall the princes hurt any man with the wild, as it may be ordered, or suffer any to fall upon his own.

054 Here the peasants themselves will judge, and demand that every man prove where he hath his water or the like. This is violence, for they are not judges. If a village has a complaint against the one who has taken a possession from a community, it may petition him legally. For thus saith God, Deut. 25:1, If there be a quarrel between men, let them be brought before the courts, and let them be judged: and Christ, Luc. 12:14, would not judge, saying, Who hath made me a judge, or a hereditary judge over you? but direct them to the proper officers.

On the V. Article

From forests

55 This also is my opinion, that they should not go by force. But if anyone has taken common forests, he is justified in asking for them. Also, a lord may often have cause to take possession of common lands, to cultivate them, or otherwise; and even if it were force, it is unjust to demand it with insurrection.

To the VI article

From Services.

(56) Let the ministries also act lawfully, for therefore in the world there is judgment and authority, as Paul saith Romans 13:3, for the fear of the wicked, and for the protection of the righteous, that no man should be oppressed contrary to law. Also, for the sake of peace, let the authorities yield a little, as the ancients advised Roboam to yield, 1 Kings 12:7. This is also an answer to the seventh article.

To the VIII. Article

From Zins.

(57) This is a wide matter, of interest, to speak of it shortly. In the first place, it is not wrong for a man to buy a servitude in another man's property, for God allows a man to give away his body; should he not also allow this in the property? Now where the property does not bear the interest, it may be rightly decided by any one. It often happens that the peasants themselves buy the estates.
and take up; is it fair that they should kick^) of goods? It is not so, that when they have made debts, they would call others to pay them. Paul 1 Thess. 4, 6. saith, "Let no man overreach, nor overcharge his brother in doing. For the Lord is the avenger of all these things."

To the IX Article

Of punishment.

(58) A government may inflict punishment according to the need of the land, for God has ordained it to ward off evil and to punish it. And are not the peasants right to want to make a rule, a law in it? They are such an unruly, wanton, bloodthirsty people, the Germans, that they should be held much more harshly. For Solomon saith, Proverbs 26:3, A horse shall have a whip, and an ass a bridle, and a fool a rod upon his back; and Sir 33:25, An ass his fodder, his whip, and his burden. So to the servant his bread, punishment, and labour.

59. God also calls the government of the world a sword. But a sword that shall cut, whether it be a punishment of goods, or of life, or of limb, as the iniquity requires. It is merciful when one cuts another, and damages him in the body, paralyzing him, so that one can pay with money. You can see how severely God punished in the wilderness. He also said in the Law, Deut. 19:13, 21: "You shall not show mercy." In this way he indicated that he wanted people to be serious in their conduct, but that no one should be wronged, and that there should be no violence done by authority, as Ahab did and others whom God punished severely. Now there is much beating without measure in Germany, also feasting and fornication, which sins God punished with death in the Old Testament. Deut. 21, 18. ff.

Before the tenth article is spoken above in the sixth.

To the XI article.

(60) The case of death is a servitude. Now we have said above that servitude is to be suffered, and also that it is not contrary to the gospel. But here in this place the sovereignty should depart, and look upon the poor orphans, whom they help.

1) This "they" will refer to those who bought the interest; the next "they" to the peasants.

guilty before God. Because so pleads court. 14, 4. 5.: If you have mercy on the fatherless, I will heal the wounds 2c. God has also commanded, Deut. 24, 17: "Thou shalt not take the widow's garment as a pledge." This is God's way of indicating that He wants the poor, abandoned orphans to be spared.

Decision.

(61) First, the community is wrong and acts against God by rebelling and using force against the authorities, if all articles were very Christian, for God demands obedience to the authorities, as St. Paul says in Romans 13:2.He that resisteth authority shall be punished"; and Proverbs 24:21 f.: "My child, fear the Lord and the King, and mingle not with the rebellious: for their calamity shall come suddenly; and who knoweth when the calamity of the rebellious shall come?

022 Secondly, the gospel is a pretext for suffering injustice; therefore the peasants act unchristianly, covering themselves with the name of the gospel. And hold that the devil provokes the peasants to this, only that the holy gospel is reviled and blasphemed, and thus false delusion is introduced from the faith, that the gospel again, as before, is obscured.

(63) Thirdly, it is wrong to make a disturbance, if the articles were all right, but one should give way to authority. Now the several articles are also unjust, as is shown above; that it is to be pitied that the blind people put their poor wife and child, their body and soul, in danger, because of such wicked things. Yea, by this it may be perceived that the devil is worshipped; he delighteth in death, as Christ saith John 8:44, "The devil was a murderer from the beginning."

(64) A prince deserves honor and all good things when he has made peace for a country, so that we may train the poor children to discipline and godliness. How blind we are to break the peace ourselves, and to deal dishonestly with those who have kept the peace, to whom we owe a great debt of gratitude. Consider this, every honorable heart, and think of God's will, which demands heartfelt gratitude toward the rulers, and refrain from iniquity and wantonness. God will show one day what displeasure He bears in such iniquity. For he says, Proverbs 24:22, "Their accident will come suddenly.

1) In Luther: "operation" - driving, instigating.

(65) Be not deceived, dear friend, that thou art called a hypocrite, or otherwise; God will judge the matter well, and hath already judged it in many places. The rebellious are still so possessed by the devil that they will not be satisfied; they despise their oaths; what they grant they do not keep, and cry out that it is evangelical. But it is written in the other commandment, that it shall not go well with any unfaithful man: for the text thus saith, God will not leave him unpunished that usurpeth his name."

66 Fourthly, I beseech the princes to do amicably at the first, and to forbear something that would be just, according to the counsel of the ancients, 1 Kings 12:7, who advised king Roboam that he had set up the grievances of Solomon, who without doubt had ruled very well, and had not grieved anyone unjustly.

67 Even though they have sinned in many ways, who knows what God will do to them if they do not humble themselves? For God has kept it this way, that He has cast down all rule from the beginning, when the will to reign has become too great. The Assyrians, the Syrians, the Greeks, the Romans, and Carthage were all destroyed; the Jewish kingdom, which God Himself had ordered and established, also fell apart, and which had such great promises from God that the Jews always thought that it would remain standing until the end of the world. But because one forgets God in great happiness, punishment always follows, as God especially showed in the case of King Nabuchodonosor. Dan. 4, 30.

68 It is also necessary that the princes take action with the monasteries and foundations, so that the great abuse that is in the mass may be stopped. For it is evident how carelessly the mass is treated, and how a great fair is made of it, when St. Paul says: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, lest he should distinguish the body of the Lord" [1 Cor. 11:27]. Now it is known how it goes on in the churches everywhere, how loose people let themselves be driven to mass for the sake of their bellies. Therefore God punishes the land and the people, as St. Paul also says that many weak and sick people were among the Corinthians because of the abuse of the mass [1 Cor. 11:30].

(69) The princes should also allow ecclesiastical persons to marry. For St. Paul says that they are devilish spirits who forbid marriage; and they should deal with the estates of monasteries and convents in such a way that the poor people who are in foundations or convents are primarily provided for from them.

and not cast out naked, as they are now, and driven out by the murderous peasants.

(Seventy) After that, such goods should be used for the benefit of the poor, especially for schools, so that Christian doctrine could be learned in earnest, and other things that serve to preserve worldly government. For everything that was given to the old monasteries by kings and princes was given so that they could receive Christian teaching, which the bishops did not consider for a long time. Wherever schools are not properly established, unlearned preachers will have to be set up everywhere, who will cause discord and the destruction of all things, as has already happened in many cases. In the same way, there will not be people in the government who are fit to rule.

Seventy-one: Now if the princes were thus kind to their own, and helped that some abuses were done away, it might be hoped that a good word would find a good place, as Solomon saith, Ussporisio mollis rriitiZat irain. Where there are some who do not want to accept the good opinion of the rulers, but continue to exercise their will, take what is theirs from the rich, disgrace their wives and children, and push the rulers to the ground, the rulers should try everything in their power to punish them as murderers; and they should know that they serve God in this, for God has appointed them to prevent murder, Rom. 13:4: "The rulers are God's servants and avengers, to punish the wicked.

022 So David fought against his own son, and slew twenty thousand rebels one day. So he also made war against Siba the rebel.

73. and let the princes pray God, that, since he hath established authority, and they are his servants, he will also preserve, protect, and shield them, for the sake of the poor people, of whom there are still many in all countries, who have no pleasure in rebellion, but would gladly be at rest, and have peace. If one knows what one is doing right and has a good conscience, one should flee to God, who calls Himself a helper in trouble, Ps. 9, 10. But rebels cannot have a good conscience, who have nothing else in mind but robbery and murder. May God grant mercy and peace. For where God does not protect the city, our watch is in vain, Ps. 127, 1.

044 Therefore, if God has given victory, and the murderous mob, which has not wanted peace, is punished according to God's order, let them

The rulers must be moderate, so that nothing unjust happens to the innocent; they must also show mercy to the poor, some of whom have sinned out of fear and some out of foolishness. But it is hard, if it be well. ...to be moderate. But should the lords, as the sensible ones, leave the best in them?)

75. Christ says Matth. 5, 5: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," that is, the world thinks it wants to gain and keep power and riches with revenge and defiance, but God refuses such pokes and gives happiness to the meek, and Solomon says Proverbs 20, 28: "Kindness and faithfulness protect the king, and mercy fortifies his kingdom. For God wants people to show love and to forgive one another, especially the mighty and wise for the weak and foolish, who are in need of love. Therefore he will again forgive us. To give happiness and salvation; and as Paul saith, To the members whom we count unrighteous we put the greatest honour; and to the members which are evil to us we adorn the most. In the same way, the mighty and the wise should deal with the poor, foolish, erring people, and show mercy to those who can be hoped to improve, help them up again, and wait for thanksgiving and reward from God.

Seventy-six: so David, after he had driven out of the land, and had slain his son that stirred up the rebellion, and was restored, said to Jordan, Let no man perish any more, and let live Shimei, which before had cast stones at him in the flight, and cursed him: but David slew no man more, save they that perish in the battle, which should not or could not be spared.

(77) Thus did David, who had the Holy Ghost. When it was necessary, he punished severely, but also showed mercy where he could. The heathen also behaved honorably in such a case. For God has set many examples before the rulers, not only through holy and Jewish princes, but also through pagan ones.

(78) It came to pass in Athens that many honest and wealthy citizens were driven out by thirty men who were in the regiment and who did much valiantly. But the game was turned around, as God does not allow any crime to go on for long, and the citizens who had been driven out returned by God's help and slew the thirty men. Now

l) So the Wittenbergers. It might want to read "see" far.

In the meantime, the properties of the expelled citizens had come into foreign hands; many had also committed other crimes, and during the Thirties had committed outrages against the oppressed citizens. But so that there would be no cause for further bloodshed and for the city to become desolate, it was decided that everyone should forget his loss, and no one would be expelled from the estates or otherwise accused of such an act that had occurred before the Thirty. This resulted in unity and peace in the city, since they forgave each other, and for the sake of common peace many forgave their hereditary estates.

79. so may God have mercy, that the lords also forget their harm, and forgive the poor, and not demand recompense with vehemence.

80 In Sicyon there was a still more praiseworthy thing done. There was a rebel there who was powerful and drove out Aratum, whose parents had ruled before, and thus chased away many other honest citizens. God helped Aratum after many years and punished the rebel, who up to that time had done much to provoke the rebellion, and had committed much murder, and had taken the goods of the citizens who had been driven out to his companions. Now that Aeratus had come back into power, and the citizens who had been driven out were to be given back their property, in the meantime a great change had taken place in the estates through marriages, inheritances, etc., so that it was very difficult to expel all those who were sitting in other people's estates. So he helped to make peace:

81. He borrowed a large sum of money from his friend King Ptolemao in Egypt, and appointed men to act between the rightful lords of the estates and the others, so that whoever wanted to give up estates should be given as much money as they were worth. And if any would not yield, they should make restitution of the money to the other. So everyone was satisfied, and there was joy, and the city prospered again.

82) This is called dealing kindly and nobly with the people; for it is the duty of princes not only to punish the wicked, but also to help the innocent, that they may live in peace and quietness, as St. Paul says. For this reason they should also help to ensure that what is conducive to peace and tranquillity is carried out, so that the courts are properly appointed and the youth is properly educated. The schools also ought to be well ordered, that Christian and other doctrines may be taught, so that the people may be educated to peace and respectability.

(83) Also, the authorities should be concerned that God's word be rightly preached, and that the ordinances be kept. If they changed the customs of the churches, which are against God, God would give them peace and happiness in their government, as He gave Ezekiel and other pious kings, who changed the old customs of worship. For he saith 1 Sam. 2:30. "Him that honoureth me I will honor again; him that despiseth me I will put to shame again."

767 and 768. D. M. Luther's "Exhortation to Peace on the Twelve Articles of the Bauerschaft in Swabia." May 1525.

This writing, which Luther had begun in Eisleben on April 19 in the garden of the Mansfeld chancellor Thür, was published in May by Joseph Klug in Wittenberg under the title: "Crmanunge auff die zwelff artikel der Bawrfchafft ynn Schwaben. Mart. Luther Wittemberg. In the same year, a large number of individual editions came out (the Erlangen edition (2) gives a total of 19 printings), partly in Wittenberg, partly in southern Germany, Nuremberg, Strasbourg and Tübingen, including one in Low German. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1551), vol. II, p. 77; in the Jena (1556), vol. III, p. 118; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 114; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 253; in the Erlanger (I), vol. 24, p. 259, and in the second edition of the same, vol. 24, p. 271. We have followed the text of the latter, comparing the Wittenberg and the Jena. Namely, we have quoted the scriptural passages, as these, according to the Bible. The refutation of the twelve articles, which Walch had separated from this writing as No. 768, we have reunited with it.

(1) The peasants who have now gathered in Swabia have written twelve articles of their unmistakable grievances against the authorities, and have undertaken to establish them with several sayings of Scripture, and to have them printed. In the twelfth article, they offer to gladly and willingly accept better instruction where it is lacking and necessary, and they want to be instructed, as long as this is done by clear, public, undeniable sayings of Scripture; as it is right and just that no one's conscience be instructed and instructed further or differently than with divine Scripture.

(2) Now if this is their earnestness and simple-minded opinion, as it is not otherwise to be interpreted by me, because they give themselves freely to the day with the same articles and do not want to shun the light, then there is still good hope that it will turn out well. And to me, as one that is

is reckoned among those who act divine Scripture now on earth, but especially if they call me by name in the other note and appoint me, it gives all the greater courage and confidence to give my instruction, friendly Christian opinion, according to brotherly love duty, also to the day publicly, lest by my silence I also be assigned and laid open before God and the world, if some mischief and accident should arise from it.

003 But if such things be offered of them only for colour and appearance, as there are no doubt some of that kind among them; for it is not possible that so great a number should be all true Christians, and have good opinion, but that a great part of the rest should need good opinion for their will, and seek their own under it; such, no doubt, will not succeed much, or ever succeed to their great hurt and everlasting destruction.

4. Because this matter is great and annual, as it concerns both God's kingdom and the world's kingdom; for if this rebellion should continue and gain the upper hand, both kingdoms would fall, that neither worldly rule nor divine word, but an eternal disturbance of the whole German land would follow: So it is necessary that we speak and counsel freely about it, no one regarded; again, that we also listen willingly, and let ourselves be told once, so that our hearts are not hardened and our ears blocked, as has happened so far, God's wrath gains its full course and momentum. For as many cruel signs as have hitherto occurred in heaven and on earth, a great calamity exists and indicates a great change in German lands, even though we unfortunately turn little away from it, but God nevertheless continues and will one day soften our hard heads.

To the princes and lords.

001 First, let us thank no man on earth for this mischief and sedition, but you princes and lords, especially you blind bishops and foolish priests and monks, who, still hardened this day, do not cease from raging and raging against the holy gospel, though you know it is right, and
(And you could not disprove it) and do no more in the worldly government than to flay and cherish your splendor and haughtiness, until the poor common man cannot bear it any longer. The sword is upon your necks; yet you think you sit so firmly in the saddle, you may not be lifted out. Such certainty and presumption will break your necks, and you will see it. I have told you before many times, beware of the saying, Ps. 107:40: DMnäit oontomptum super? rinoip68, "he poureth contempt upon 2) princes." ! You struggle for it, and want to be struck on the head, no warning nor admonition helps for it.

002 Well then, because ye are the cause of this wrath of God, it shall surely come upon you, if ye mend not your ways in time. The signs in heaven and the wonders on earth are for you, dear sirs; they do not signify any good to you, nor will any good happen to you. There is already a great part of wrath that God sends so many false teachers and prophets among us, so that we may first richly deserve hell and eternal damnation through error and blasphemy. The other part is also present, that the peasants are rooting themselves out, from which, where God does not defend us, moved by our repentance, ruin, disturbance and devastation of the German land must follow through horrible murder and bloodshed.

For this ye ought to know, good sirs, that God maketh it so, that ye cannot, nor will, nor shall your wantonness endure the length thereof. You must become different and yield to God's word. If you do not do it in a kind and willing way, you must do it in a mighty and pernicious way. If these peasants do not do it, others must do it. And though ye smite them all, yet are they undefeated; God will raise up others. For he will smite you, and smite you he will. It is not peasants, dear lords, who set themselves against you; it is God Himself who sets Himself against you to punish your desolation. There are some un-

1) In the old editions: "announces".
2) The Erlanger Vorlage offers: "over", but the first Psalter translation of 1524, the Wittenberg and the Jena editions read: "from", like our Bible.

They said to you that they would set the country and the people to work to destroy the Lutheran doctrine. How do you think? if you had been your own prophets, and had already set about the country and the people? Do not jest with God, dear sirs. The Jews also said, > "We have no king" [John 19:15], and it has become such a serious matter that they must be without a king forever.

004 But that ye might still further sin, and perish without all mercy, some have looked, and blamed the gospel, saying, This is the fruit of my doctrine. Nay, nay, blaspheme quickly, good sirs, ye will not know what I have taught, and what the gospel is. But he is at the door, who will soon teach you, if you do not amend your ways. You and everyone must bear me witness that I have taught with all silence, have fought fiercely against rebellion, and have kept and admonished the subjects with the greatest diligence for obedience and honor, even to your tyrannical and praising authority, since this rebellion cannot come from me, but the prophets of murder, who are as dear to me as they are to you, have come among this rabble, so that they have now been gone longer than three years, and no one has so nearly flourished and resisted as I alone.

005 If therefore God will punish you, and cause the devil by his false prophets to stir up a mad mob against you, and perhaps will that I should no more resist, nor be able: what can I or my gospel do thereto? Which hitherto, and yet, hath not only suffered your persecutions, and murders, and ravings, but hath also pleaded for you, that your sovereignty should help to protect and administer it among the common man.

006 And if I had a mind to revenge myself on you, I would laugh in my fist now, and watch the peasants, or even strike at them, and help to make things worse; but let my God keep me for that, as before. Therefore, my dear sirs, whether you are enemies or friends, I humbly ask you not to despise my loyalty, even though I am a poor man. Nor despise this sedition, that I pray. Not that I respect or fear that they should be too powerful for you, nor do I want you to be afraid of them for that reason.
But fear God, behold his wrath: if he punish you as ye have deserved, as I have done, he punisheth you, though the number of the peasants were a hundred times less: he can turn stones into peasants, and again, and by one peasant slay an hundred of yours, that all your armour and strength shall be too little for you.

007 Now if ye have any counsel, my lords, for God's sake give way a little to wrath. Let a cartload of hay give way to a drunken man; how much more should you cease from raving and unruly tyranny, and act with reason toward the peasants than toward the drunken or the insane. Do not start a quarrel with them, for you do not know where the end will be. Seek amicably beforehand, for you do not know what God will do, lest a spark be kindled and set all Germany on fire, so that no one can extinguish it. Our sins are there before God, because of which we have to fear His wrath, even if only one leaf rustles, let alone if such a crowd stirs. For ye lose nothing with goodness, and if ye lose any thing, it may be restored unto you tenfold in peace; for in strife ye may lose both body and estate. Why do you want to give yourselves up to the chase, if you could do more good with other good ways?

008 They have set forth twelve articles, among which some are so just and right, that they take away your glory from God and from the world, and make the Psalms true, that they pour contempt upon princes. But they are almost all set on their profit and their good, and not set on their best. I would have had other articles to put against you, which concern Germany and the regiment in general, as I have done in the book to the German nobility, which would have been more appropriate. But because you have thrown them to the wind, you must now hear and suffer such self-serving articles, and it serves you just as well as it should not be said to them.

009 The first article, where they desire to hear the gospel, and the right to choose a pastor, ye cannot with some appearance refuse. Although their own profit is involved in their pretending to receive tithes from such a priest, who is not a priest.

But if it is theirs, this is the sum of preaching the gospel to them. No authority can or should oppose this. Yes, authority should not prevent what anyone wants to teach and believe, whether it be the gospel or lies; it is enough that it prevents sedition and discord.

(10) The other articles, which refer to bodily burdens, such as the death of the body, taxes, and the like, are also just and right. For the government is not instituted to seek its benefit and good will in the subjects, but to provide benefit and the best for the subjects. Now it is not a length of time that they should be so unprofitable and so unjust. What good would it do if a farmer's field yielded as many guilders as stalks and grains, if the lordship only took more and more, and thus made his splendor greater and greater, and the manor were to be flung about with clothes, food, drink, building, and the like, as if it were chaff? They should take in the wealth and stop the spending, so that a poor man might keep some. You have heard further instruction from their notes, for they have made their grievances abundantly clear.

To the building community.

(1) Hitherto, beloved friends, ye have heard nothing else, but that I confess that it is alas all too true and certain that the princes and lords who forbid the preaching of the gospel, and who so blatantly afflict the people, are worthy and well deserving that God should overthrow them from the throne, as those who greatly sin against God and men; neither have they any excuse. Nothing less is to be prescribed for you, that you may do your things in good conscience and right. For if you have a good conscience, you have the comforting advantage that God will stand by you and help you through it. And even though you may for a time refuse to do it, or even though you may die for it, you will at last be forgiven, and your soul will be preserved for ever with all its saints. But if ye have not right, nor a good conscience, ye must perish: and though ye have temporally prevailed, and slain all princes, yet in the end ye shall be eternally lost in body and soul. Therefore is it unto you
Do not joke here; body and soul are eternally on your side. And the most important thing is to be aware of this, and to look at it with all seriousness, not only how powerful you are, and how great a wrong they do, but how good a right and conscience you have.

(2) Therefore my friendly, brotherly request is, dear lords and brethren, watch diligently what ye do, and believe not all manner of spirits and preachers, now that the wicked Satan hath awakened many wild riotous and murderous spirits under the name of the gospel, and filled the world therewith. Hear then, and be told, as ye then offer yourselves manifoldly. I will not spare you my faithful warning, as I am bound to do. Whether some, poisoned by the spirits of murder, will hate me for it and call me a hypocrite, I will not inquire; it is enough for me whether I save some of your good-hearted, righteous ones from the journey of divine wrath. I will fear the others so little, though they despise me; neither shall they harm me; I know one greater and mightier than they are, who teacheth me thus Ps. 3:17: "I fear not many hundred thousand that are set about against me." My defiance shall endure their defiance, that verily I know.

First of all, brethren, you take the name of God, and call yourselves a Christian group or association, and pretend that you want to act according to the divine law. Well then, you also know that God's name, word, and title are not to be used in vain or uselessly, as he says in the other commandment, Exodus 20:7, "You shall not use the name of God your Lord uselessly," and he adds, "For God is not to be used uselessly. 8]: "For God will not let him be innocent who takes His name in vain." Here the text stands bright and clear, which concerns you as well as all men, and, notwithstanding your great multitude, right and terror, dreads his wrath both for you, and for us, and for all others.

004 He is also, as ye know, mighty and strong enough unto you, to punish you, as he doth here, where ye take his name in vain and uselessly; that no happiness, but all mischief, is waiting for you, where ye are.

If he be false to his name, know ye how to judge, and be ye kindly warned. It is an evil thing for him to strangle or hinder so many peasants, who drown the whole world with the flood of sin, and sink Sodoma with fire. He is an almighty, terrible God.

005 Secondly, that ye are they which uselessly lead and profane the name of God, is easily proved; and that therefore in the end all calamities shall befall you, there is no doubt, except God be true. For here is the word of God speaking through the mouth of Christ [Matt. 26:52,P "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." This is no different than that no one should submit to violence with his own iniquity, but as Paul says [Rom. 13:1]: "Let every soul be subject to authority with fear and honor.

(6) How could you, before these sayings and judgments of God, who pride yourselves on following divine law, and yet take the sword yourselves, and rebel against the authority ordained by God? Do you not think that the judgment of St. Paul, Rom. 13:2, will come upon you: "Whoever resists God's order will be condemned"? That is to use God's name uselessly, to pretend to be doing God's right, and yet to strive against God's right under the same name. Oh, beware, dear sirs, it will not come to this in the end.

007 Third, Yea, say ye, the authorities are too wicked and unjust, because they will not let us have the gospel, and press us too hard into burdens of temporal goods, and so destroy us both in body and soul. I answer, That the authorities are wicked and unjust, excuseth neither rebellion nor sedition. For the punishment of wickedness does not belong to any one, but to the temporal authorities who wield the sword, as Paul says in Romans 13:4 and Peter in 1 Epistle 2:14, that they are ordained by God to punish the wicked. So there is also the natural law, and the law of all the earth, that no man should be his own judge, nor avenge himself. For the saying is true: He who strikes back is unjust. Item, who like

...and he that smiteth him maketh strife. Divine right agrees with this, and says Deut. 32:35: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." Now you may not deny that your rebellion is such that you make yourselves judges, and avenge yourselves, and will not suffer injustice. This is not only against Christian law and the gospel, but also against natural law and all equity.

(8) Now, if you are to stand firm in your undertaking, and yet you have both divine and Christian law in the New and Old Testaments, even natural law against you, you must bring up a new, special command from God, confirmed with signs and wonders, which will give you power to do this and will be called. Otherwise, God will not let his word and order be broken by your own iniquity, but because you praise divine law and yet go against it, he will have you, as those who bring his name to shame, fall and punish you most horribly and condemn you eternally, as was said above.

009 For here also it is according to the saying of Christ, Matt. 7:3, that ye see the mote that is in the eye of the rulers, and see not the beam that is in your own eye: according to the saying of St. Paul, Rom. 3:8, Let us do evil, that good may follow; which condemnation is just and right. For the authorities do wrong, it is true, that they hinder the gospel, and weigh you down in temporal goods. But much more do ye wrong, that ye not only reject the word of God, but also trample it under foot, and encroach upon its power and right, and also pass over God, and take from the authorities their power and right also, yea, all that they have; for what keep they, if they have lost their power?

010 I set you yourselves judges here, and put it to your judgment which robber is the worst: whether it be he that taketh away a great piece of another's goods, and yet leaveth him something; or he that taketh away all that he hath, and the body with it? The rulers take from you your goods, that is, a piece. Again, you take from them their power, in which all their goods, life, and limb, stand. Therefore are ye much greater robbers than they.

...and intend it worse than they have done. Yea, say you, we will leave them body and goods enough. Whosoever will, I'll not believe it. He that dareeth so much wrong as to take away a man's power, the greatest and chiefest part of it, shall not leave it; he shall take away the other and least part of it also. If the wolf eats a whole sheep, he will certainly eat an ear of it. And even if you were so pious that you left them enough body and goods, nevertheless this is all too much robbery and injustice, that you take the best, namely the power, and make yourselves masters over them. God will judge you to be the greatest robbers.

011 Can ye not think, or reckon, my good friends, that if your conduct were right, every one would be a judge against another, and there would be no authority, nor rule, nor order, nor justice, in the world, but murder and bloodshed? For as soon as he saw that any man had wronged him, he would come and judge and punish him himself. Now if this is unjust and cannot be done by a single person, it cannot be done by a mob or a group. But if it is to be inflicted on a mob or a group, it cannot be justly or rightly denied to the individual. For the cause is the same on both sides, namely, injustice.

012 And how would ye do, if such iniquity were begun in your company, that every one should set himself against another, and take vengeance on his offender? Would ye suffer it? Would ye not say, Let him judge and avenge others that are set by you? How then will ye stand before God and the world, judging and avenging yourselves against your offenders, yea, against your sovereignty, ordained of God?

013 Now all this is said of the common law, divine and natural, which the heathen, the Turk, and the Jew also must keep, if peace and order be otherwise in the world. And if ye keep all these things, yet do ye no better than the heathen and the Turk. For not to judge nor to avenge oneself, but to leave such things to the power and authority, makes no one a Christian.

Whether gladly or unwillingly. But because ye go contrary to this law, ye are manifestly worse than the heathen and the Turk, let alone that ye should be Christians. But what think ye that Christ will say to this, that ye bear his name, and call yourselves a Christian company, when ye are so far from it, ye do and live so abominably contrary to his law, that ye are not yet worthy to be called Gentiles or Turks, but much worse than they that are contrary to divine and natural law, which are common to all the heathen?

014 Behold, good friends, what manner of preachers ye have, how they mean your souls. I fear that there have come among you some prophets of murder, who would gladly become lords of the world through you, for which they have long since striven; and they ask not that they may lead you in body, and in estate, and in honour, and in soul, both temporally and eternally. If you now wish to do divine justice, as you boast, then do it, for God says, [Deut. 32:35], "Vengeance is mine, I will repay"; item [1 Pet. 2:18], "Be subject not only to good lords, but also to evil ones." If ye do it, well; if ye do it not, ye may do evil, but it shall come upon you at last, let no man doubt it: for God is just, and will not suffer it. Therefore beware of your freedom, lest you run away from the rain and fall into the water; and if you think you will become free in body, then you will lose your body, your goods and your soul forever. The wrath of God is upon you, be afraid, I counsel you; false prophets have the devil sent among you, beware of them.

015 Now therefore let us also speak of the Christian and evangelical law, which bindeth not the heathen, as the former. For if ye boast, and gladly hear that ye are called Christians, and desire to be accounted so, ye shall also suffer your law to be reproached unto you. Listen now, dear Christians, to your Christian right. Thus saith your most high Lord, Christ, whose name ye bear, Matt. 5:39-41, Ye shall not resist evil: but whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him two miles. And whosoever taketh away thy coat, let him have it also.

Rock. And he that smote thee on one cheek, turn the other also to him. "

016 Hear ye, O Christian assembly? How rhyme ye your nobleness with this right? Ye will not suffer evil and wrong to be done unto you, but be free, and suffer only good and right; and Christ saith, Let no evil or wrong be withstood, but let it always" be withstood, suffered, and taken. If ye will not bear this right, rather put away the Christian name from you, and boast of another that is according to your doings; or Christ himself will take away his name from you, which shall be too grievous for you.

017 So saith St. Paul Romans 12:19, "Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but rather give place unto the wrath of God:" 2 Corinthians 11:19, 20, he commendeth the Corinthians, that they suffer gladly when any man smiteth or robbeth them; 1 Corinthians 6:7, he reproveth them, that they judge for good, and suffer not injustice. Yea, our Duke Jesus Christ saith Matt. 5:44, "We ought to wish good to them that offend us, and to pray for our persecutors, and to love our enemies, and to do good to our transgressors." These are our Christian rights, dear friends.

018 Now therefore see how far the false prophets have led you away, and have called you Christians, when they have made you worse than the heathen. For by these sayings a child may well understand that Christian justice is: not to resist injustice, not to take up the sword, not to resist, not to revenge, but to go forth, body and soul, that he who robs may rob; for we have enough in our Lord, who will not leave us as he has promised. Suffering, suffering, cross, cross, is the Christian's right, and no other.

019 But now therefore ye fight for temporal goods, and will not leave the garment for the mantle, but repeat the mantle: when then will ye die, and leave the body, or love your enemies, or do good? O of loose Christians! Dear friends, Christians are not so mean that so many should be gathered together in one heap; it is a strange bird about a Christian; would to God we were the more part good,
pious heathens who held the natural law, I'll keep silent of the Christian.

020 I will also tell you some examples of the Christian law, that ye may see whither the foolish prophets have led you. Consider St. Peter in the garden, who sought to defend his Lord Christ with the sword, and cut off the ear of Malcho. Tell me, who can? Was not Peter right in this? Was it not a grievous wrong that they should take from Christ not only his goods, but also his life? Yes, they not only took away his body and his goods, but by so doing they utterly suppressed the gospel, by which they were to be saved, and so deprived them of the kingdom of heaven. You have not yet suffered all such injustice, dear friends.

021 Now behold what Christ doeth and teacheth here. How great such an injustice was, yet he defends St. Peter, and calls him to take the sword, and will not suffer him to avenge or defend such an injustice. For this he passes a fatal sentence on him, as on a murderer, and says, "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." Then we must grasp that it is not enough if someone does us wrong, and we have good cause and right, but we must also have the right and power of the sword, commanded by God to punish such. For this also a Christian must suffer, if the gospel be withheld from him; otherwise it is possible to withhold the gospel from any man, as we shall hear.

(22) Another example: Christ Himself, what does He do, when His life is taken from Him on the cross, and with it He lays down His ministry, for which He was sent by God Himself, to do good to souls? [Is.61,1.] This he does, as St. Peter sl. Ep. 2, 23J says: "He put it in the home of the one who judges rightly", and he suffered such grievous injustice. Above this he prayed for his persecutors, saying [Luc.23:34J: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Now that you are true Christians, you must truly do likewise, and follow this example. If ye do not, let the Christian name and the glory of the Christian law soon perish. For then ye are certainly not Christians, but-

1) "he" is missing in the Erlanger.

but against Christ and his right, against doctrine and example.

023 But if ye do, ye shall soon see God's wonders, that he will help you, as he did Christ, whom he smelled after the consummation of his passion, so that his gospel and kingdom prevailed and prevailed with power, in defiance of all his enemies. So would he also help you, that his gospel might spring up with power among you, if ye would first go forth, and give him the matter home, and withstand his vengeance. But if you yourselves fall into it, and would not conquer and keep it with suffering, but with your fist, you will hinder his vengeance, and will make it so that you will keep neither the gospel nor the fist.

024 I must also count myself as a present example of this time. The pope and the emperor have set and raged against me. Now how have I come to this, that the more the pope and emperor have raged, the more my gospel has passed away? I have never drawn a sword nor sought vengeance, I have not started a riot nor a rebellion, but have helped the temporal authorities, even those who persecuted the gospel and me, to defend their power and honor as much as I could. But in this I have remained secret to God, and have always relied on his hand in spite of myself. For this reason, in defiance of both the pope and all tyrants, he has not only kept me alive (which many, and rightly so, consider a great miracle, and I myself must also confess), but has allowed my gospel to increase more and more. Now you fall into my way, wanting to help the gospel, and do not see that you are hindering and suppressing it in the highest way.

025 All this I say, my dear friends, to warn you faithfully, that ye speak out in this matter of the Christian name, and of the glory of Christian right. For, be ye right as ye will, it behoveth no Christian to be right, nor to fight, but to suffer injustice, and to suffer evil; which is not otherwise, 1 Cor. 6:7. As ye yourselves confess in the preface, that all who believe in Christ become sweet, peaceable, patient, and of one mind. But by the deed ye vainly prove.

Impatience, strife, and evil against your own word. You would call those patient who do not want to suffer injustice or evil, but only right and good. But that is a fine patience, which even a knave can endure, let alone a man of faith.

026 Wherefore again I say, I will let your cause be as good and as right as it can be; but because ye will defend it yourselves, and suffer neither violence nor injustice, ye may do and forbear what God doth not forbid you. But the Christian name, the Christian name, I say, let it remain, and do not make it the cover of shame of your impatient, unpeaceful, unchristian conduct; I will not let you have it nor grant it to you, but tear both off from you with writings and words according to my ability, as long as a vein stirs in my body. For you will not succeed, nor will you be ruined in body and soul.

27. Not that I would justify or defend the authorities in their unmistakable injustice, which ye suffer; for they are and do grievous injustice, I confess; but this I will: Wherefore ye will not let both these things be rejected, and (as God is for) sit down together, and meet together, that on no part shall they be called Christians, but, as otherwise in the course of the world, one people contendeth with another, and (as it is said) that God punisheth one wicked man with another. Of this kind and name will I reckon you, whether it come to the dispute (which God graciously turneth), that the authorities may know how they dispute not against Christians, but against heathen; and ye also know that ye dispute not as Christians, but as heathen against the authorities. For Christians do not fight for themselves with the sword, nor with guns, but with the cross and suffering, just as their duke, Christ, does not wield the sword, but hangs on the coffin. Therefore also their victory does not stand in obedience and dominion or force, but in defeat and powerlessness; as St. Paul says 2 Cor. 10:4, "The weapons of our knighthood are not bodily, but mighty in God," and again, "Strength is made perfect through powerlessness."

028 Now therefore your title and your name shall be this, that ye are the people that

contending that they will not suffer wrong nor evil, as nature giveth; the name ye shall bear, and the name of Christ ye shall leave in peace. For this also is your work, and so do ye. If ye will not keep the name, but keep the Christian name, then I have no other understanding of the matter, but that it be unto me; and I will reckon and hold you to be enemies, who seek to hinder or suppress my gospel, more than the pope and the emperor have done hitherto, because ye go against the gospel in the name of the gospel, and do so.

(29) Again, I will not save you from what I will do. I will place the matter in God's hands, dare to take it on by the grace of God, and rely on him in defiance, as I have done so far against the pope and emperor, and pray for you that he will enlighten you and stand against your presumption, so that he will not let it happen. For I see that the devil, if he has not yet been able to kill me through the pope, seeks to destroy and devour me through the bloodthirsty prophets of murder and the spirits of the mob that are among you. Well, let him eat me, and his belly shall be tight enough with it, that I know. And though you win, yet shall you not much enjoy it. But I humbly and kindly beseech you to consider carefully, and so hold that I have no need of such defiance and prayer to God against you.

030 For though I am a poor, sinful man, yet I know and am sure that in this case I have a right cause when I contend for the Christian name, and pray that it may not be profaned. So also I am certain that my prayer is acceptable before God and will be heard. For He Himself taught us to pray in this way in the Lord's Prayer, where we say, "Let your name be hallowed" [Matt. 6:9], and forbid to profane it in the other commandment [Deut. 20:7]. Therefore I pray that ye will not despise such a prayer of mine, and of all them that pray with me. For it will be too powerful for you, and will awaken God against you, as St. Jacob says [chap. 5:16]: "The righteous prayer is able to do much where it endures," as Elijah's prayer did. And we also have the comforting promise of God that He will save us.

wants to hear, John 14:14: "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do"; and 1 John 5:14: "If we ask anything according to his will, he heareth us."

31. You cannot have such comfort and confidence to ask, because your conscience and the Scriptures convince you that your conduct is pagan and not Christian, and acts under the name of the gospel against the gospel and to the dishonor of the Christian name. I also know that none of you has ever asked nor called upon God in this matter, nor can you yet. For you must not lift up your eyes against him in the matter, but only defy him with your fists, which you have gathered together out of impatience and ill will, which will not go well with you.

If you were Christians, you would leave off fist and sword, defiance and anger, and go to Our Father, and with prayer promote your cause to God, and say: Match. 6,10.: "Thy will be done"; item, v. 13.: "Deliver us from evil, Amen." As you see, in the Psalter the true saints bear and lament their distress before God, and seek help from Him, not defending themselves nor resisting evil. Such prayer would have helped you more in all your troubles than if the world were full of you. Have also a good conscience and comforting confidence that you will be heard, as his promises are, 1 Tim. 4:10, "He is the helper of all men, especially of them that believe"; and Ps. 50:15, "Call upon me in trouble, and I will help thee"; and Ps. 91:15, "He hath called upon me, and I will hear him; I am with him in trouble, and I will pluck him out."

033 Behold, this is the right Christian way to be delivered from calamity and evil, namely, to endure and to call upon God. But because ye do none of these things, neither calling, nor forbearing, but helping yourselves with your own power, and making yourselves your God and Saviour, God must not and cannot be your God nor Saviour.

1) In the Wittenberg: "federn," which, as Dietz 8. v. indicates, can mean both "fordern" and "fördern"; we have preferred the latter meaning on account of the preposition "bei. Jenaer: "fordern"; Erlanger: "fodern"; a codex: "fürdern".

be. So you also, as pagans and blasphemers, may accomplish something, if God decrees it, for which we ask, but not that, for your eternal and temporal destruction. But as Christians or evangelicals you will gain nothing, I would bet a thousand necks on it.

(34) From this it is easy to answer all your articles. For though they were all naturally right and just, yet ye have forgotten the Christian right, that ye have not conquered and executed them with patience and prayer to God, as Christian men ought;) but with your own impatience and iniquity have undertaken to dissuade the superiority, and to compel them by force; which also is contrary to the law of the land and natural equity.

035 And he that wrote your articles is not a pious and upright man. For he hath drawn many chapters out of the scriptures in the margin, as the articles ought to be founded; and yet he keepeth the pulp in his mouth, and leaveth the sayings without, that he may make a pretence of his wickedness, and of your pretensions, to seduce you, and to stir you up, and to make you go astray. For these chapters, when they are read, do not speak much of your wickedness, but rather of the contradiction that you should live and drive in a Christian way. There may be a prophet of the Romans who will seek his strength through you in the gospel; may God prevent him and keep you from him.

036 In the first place, that ye in the preface anticipate and boast how ye will not be rebellious, but excuse yourselves, that ye desire to teach and live according to the gospel, 2c. your own mouth and work punish you. For ye confess that ye roll and revolt, and desire to beautify this with the gospel. Thus you have heard above that the gospel teaches Christians to suffer and to tolerate injustice, and to pray to God in all kinds of distress. But ye will not suffer, but, like the heathen, compel the authorities according to your will and impatience.

037 Ye also bring forth the children of Israel for an example, that GOD heareth their cry, and

I) "have" is missing from the Erlanger.

I have redeemed them. Why do you not keep the same example of which you boast? Call ye also thus unto God, and wait until he send you also a Moses, who shall shew you by signs and wonders that he is sent of God. The children of Israel did not put themselves to the sword against Pharaoh, neither did they help themselves, as ye have done. Therefore such an example is a reproach to you, and a condemnation to you, who boast of it, and yet do the contrary.

038 Neither is it true that ye boast that ye teach and live according to the gospel. There is not one article that teaches any part of the gospel, but all is directed to your having your body and goods free. And, in sum, they all set up worldly and temporal things, that ye should have power and goods, that ye should suffer no unrighteousness; whereas the gospel takes no notice of worldly things at all, and sets up the outward life only in suffering, unrighteousness, the cross, patience, and contempt of temporal goods and life.

039 How then doth the gospel rhyme with you? without seeking the appearance thereof of your unevangelical and unchristian conduct, and seeing not how ye thereby revile the holy gospel of Christ, and make it a cover of shame. Therefore you must change your position here, and either abandon this matter altogether, and commit yourselves to suffer such injustice, if you wish to be and be called Christians; or, if you wish to carry out the matter, put forward another name, and not be called and respected as Christians; there is no remedy, and will not be otherwise.

040 It is true that ye are right in that ye desire the gospel, if ye be otherwise earnest. Yea, I will make this article more severe than ye yourselves do, saying thus, It is ever an offence to shut up heaven to any man, and to cast him into hell by force: for no man shall suffer such things, neither shall he let a hundred necks pass over them. But he that rejecteth me the gospel shutteth heaven unto me, and forceth me into hell: because there is no other way nor means to salvation but the gospel, I shall not suffer this for the loss of my soul.

Forty-one: Behold, is not justice proved strong enough? It doth not yet follow that I am

I will set my fist against the authorities that do such wrong to me. Thus speakest thou: How then shall I both suffer and not suffer? Here it is easy to answer, "It is impossible for anyone to be denied the gospel. Neither is there any power in heaven or earth that can do this. For it is a public doctrine, which passeth freely under heaven, and is not bound to any place, as the star which shewed the birth of Christ to the wise men of the east, walking in the air.

042 It is true that cities, places, and regions, where the gospel is, or where preachers are, the lords of those places may well resist. But thou mayest leave the same city or place, and run after the gospel into another place; and it is not necessary that thou shouldest take or keep the city or place also for the gospel's sake; but let the Lord have his city, and follow the gospel; and so thou shalt suffer wrong to be done thee, and shun thee; and at the same time thou shalt not suffer the gospel to be taken from thee, or to be hindered. Behold, the two things come to pass, suffering and not suffering. Otherwise, though thou wouldest keep the city with the gospel, thou robest the lord of the city of his own, and pretendest that thou doest it for the gospel. But the gospel teacheth thee neither to rob nor to take, even though the lord of the manor usurp it against God, and unjustly, and to the hurt of it. The gospel must not be kept in a physical place or in a city; it must and will remain in the heart.

43 Christ taught this in Matthew 10:23: "If they drive you out of one city, flee into another. He saith not, If they drive you out of one city, tarry in it, and take it up for the praise of the gospel, and be cut off against the rulers of the city, as they will and teach now; but, "Flee ye always into another, until the Son of man come. "2c. "For I tell you, ye shall not align all the cities until the Son of man come."

(44) Thus saith he also Matt. 23:34, that the wicked shall drive out his evangelists from city to city. St. Paul also says in 1 Corinthians 4:II: "We are not in any place.

certain place." If, then, a Christian must always move from one place to another for the sake of the gospel, leaving everything he has and where he is, or if he sits uncertainly and waits all hours, he is doing just as a Christian should do. For because he will not suffer the gospel to be taken from him or to be withheld, he suffers cities, places, goods, and all that he is and has to be taken from him and withheld. Where then rhymes your nobility, which take and keep cities and places that are not yours, and will not suffer them to be taken from you, but take them from their natural masters, and resist them? What manner of Christians are these that become robbers, thieves, and husks for the gospel's sake, and say that they are evangelicals?

^Relocation of the twelve articles of the permanent chest. ^

On the first article.

A whole congregation shall have power to elect and remove a pastor. This article is right, if only it were applied in a Christian manner, so that the chapters, as indicated in the margin, would serve no purpose. If the goods of the parish come from the authorities and not from the congregation, then the congregation may not give the same goods to the one it chooses, for that would be robbed and taken away; but, if it wants to have a parish priest, it must first humbly request such from the authorities. If the authorities do not wish to do so, they should choose one of their own, and feed him from their own goods, and leave the authorities their goods, or obtain them from them by right. If, however, the authorities do not wish to suffer their chosen and nourished pastor, let him flee to another city, and let anyone who wishes flee with him, as Christ teaches. That is, to choose and have a Christian and evangelical pastor of one's own. Anyone who does otherwise is acting unchristian, like a robber and an outlaw.

I) This title is found in the Jena edition. In the table of contents, Walch recognizes it as a mistake that the following is made into a special number, since it belongs to the preceding number.

To the other article.

The tithes are to be distributed to the parish priest and poor people, and the rest is to be kept for the country's needs 2c. This article is vain robbery and public thievery. For they want to seize the tithe, which is not theirs but the authority's, and do what they want with it. Not so, my dear friends, that is to say, that the authorities are entirely deposed, since in the preface you stipulate that no one is to be deprived of what is theirs. If you want to give and do good, do it from your good, as the wise man says; for God says through Isaiah: "I hate the sacrifice that comes from robbery" [Is. 61, 8J.

You speak in this article as if you were already lords of the land, and had taken all the goods of the sovereignty to yourselves, and would neither be subject to anyone nor give them to anyone. By this you may take hold of what you have in mind. Gentlemen, cease, cease, you shall not end. The chapters of Scripture, which your false preacher and false prophet has smeared in the margin, do not help you, but are against you.

On the third article.

There shall be no bondman, because Christ hath made us all free. What is this? That is making Christian liberty quite carnal. Did not Abraham and other patriarchs and prophets also have serfs? Read St. Paul, what he teaches about servants, who were all serfs at that time. Therefore this article is contrary to the gospel, and is a robbery, that every man should take his own body, which is his own, from his lord. For a bondman may be a Christian, and have Christian liberty, even as a prisoner or a sick man is a Christian, and yet is not free. This article seeks to make all men equal, and to turn the spiritual kingdom of Christ into a worldly, external kingdom, which is impossible. For a worldly kingdom cannot stand where there is not inequality in persons, that some are free, some are captives, some are masters, some are subjects 2c. As St. Paul says in Gal. 3:28, that in Christ master and servant are one thing. Of this my lord and friend, Urban Rhegius, hath written well and enough; thou mayest read further.

Watch out for the owers*) Article.

The other articles, about the freedom of game, birds, fish, wood, forests, about services, interest, taxes, fees/) death 2c., I leave to the legal experts. For it is not for me, as an evangelist, to judge and adjudicate in this matter. I am to instruct and teach the consciences about divine and Christian matters; there are books enough about this in imperial law. I have said above that such things do not concern a Christian; he does not ask for them, he lets rob, take, press, torture, scrape, eat, and rage, whoever he wants, for he is a martyr on earth. For this reason, the community here should also bear the Christian name with peace, and act under the name as those who would like to have human and natural justice, not as those who sought Christian justice, which means that they stand still in all these matters, suffer, and complain to God alone.

Behold, my lords and friends, this is my instruction, which ye desired of me in another note; and I pray you, remember your offering, that ye may be gladly instructed in the scriptures. Now when this comes to you, do not cry out so soon, Luther pretends to the prince, he speaks against the gospel. Read first, and see my reason from the Scriptures, for it is for you. I am excused before God and the world. I know well the false prophets that are among you: obey them not; they deceive you indeed. They do not mean your consciences, but would gladly make Galatians of you, so that they might gain goods and honors through you, and afterward be eternally damned in hell with you.

Admonition both to the Superior and Bauerschast.

001 Now, gentlemen, since there is nothing Christian on either side, nor is there any Christian matter pending between you, but both lords and peasants have to do with pagan or worldly right and wrong, and with temporal good, and both sides are acting against God.

1) Not "nine," for in the 12th article the peasants demand nothing, but offer to be instructed.
2) "Zeise" is as much as Accise, vketiZal, tridutuin.

and are under his wrath, as you have heard: let yourselves be told and advised for God's sake, and attack the things as such things are to be attacked, that is, with justice, and not with violence nor with strife, lest you cause an infinite shedding of blood in German lands. For since you are both unjust in part and want to avenge and protect yourselves, you will ruin yourselves on both sides, and God will push one boy against the other.

002 Ye lords have the scriptures and history against you, as tyrants are punished, that even the heathen poets write, as tyrants die seldom of dry death, but are commonly strangled, and perish in blood. Because it is certain that you rule tyrannically and maliciously, forbidding the gospel and thus oppressing and oppressing the poor man, you have no consolation or hope, except that you perish as your peers have perished. Behold all kingdoms, how they have come to an end by the sword, as Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome, and so on, all of which have perished at last, even as they perished others before. So that God proves that he is judge on earth and leaves no injustice unpunished. For this reason nothing more certain than judgment lies on your neck, whether now or hereafter, if you do not amend.

(3) You peasants also have scripture and experience against you, that no rebellion has ever come to a good end; and God has always kept this word strictly: "He who takes the sword shall perish by the sword" Matth. 26, 52/. Because you do wrong by judging and avenging yourselves, and because you use the Christian name unworthily, you are surely under God's wrath. And even if you win and destroy all dominion, in the end you will have to tear yourselves to pieces among yourselves, like raging beasts. For since there is no spirit but flesh and blood ruling among you, God will soon send an evil spirit among you, as He did with those who were in safety and with Abimelech. 9,49. 53/. Behold, how all ruthlessness has finally come to an end, as Korah, Num. 1b,

1) Erlanger: "Jews" instead of: Greeks.

31. 32. item, Absalom, Seba, Simri, and the like s2 Sam. 18, 9. 14. jud. 8, 21. 1 Kings 1b, 9.18/. In short, both tyrants and mobs are God's. Therefore he incited them against each other, so that they would both perish shamefully, and so that his wrath and judgment would be executed against the wicked.

004 This is most grievous to me, and most to be pitied, and I would gladly buy it with my life and death, that two insurmountable losses should follow on both sides. For since neither side contends with a good conscience, but both sides look to maintain injustice, it must first follow that those who are slain are eternally lost, body and soul, as those who die in their sins without repentance and mercy, in the wrath of God; there is neither help nor counsel for them. For the lords would contend that they should confirm and maintain their tyranny and persecution of the gospel, and unrighteous afflictions of the poor, or ever confirm and manage those who are of such a nature; this is ever abominably unjust and contrary to God; whosoever is found therein must be eternally lost. Again, the peasants would contend to defend their ruthlessness and abuse of the Christian name, which is also both highly against God, and whoever dies in it and over it must also be eternally lost; there is no help for it either.

005 The other pity is, that Germany shall be laid waste, and where such bloodshed is once begun, it shall hardly cease, except all be destroyed. For the war is soon begun, but it is not in our power to stop it, if we will. What have you done to so many innocent children, women, and old men, whom you fools have taken with you on such a journey, to make the land full of blood, robbery, widows, and orphans?

006 O, the devil hath a great evil in his mind! God is greatly wroth, and biddeth us to let him go, and to chill his little weal in our blood and souls. Take heed, good sirs, and be wise; it is for you both. What does it profit you to condemn yourselves eternally and wilfully, and to leave behind you a desolate and bloody land for your descendants?

You can better counsel the things of time by repentance toward God, and friendly agreement or willing suffering before men. With defiance and strife ye shall accomplish nothing.

007 Therefore my faithful counsel would be, that some earls and lords of the nobility, and some aldermen of the cities, should be chosen, and that the things should be done and settled in a friendly manner; that ye lords should let down your stiff courage, which ye must leave at last, whether ye will or no; and depart a little from your tyranny and oppression, that the poor man also may gain air and space to live. Again, let the peasants also be instructed, and let some articles, which are too much and too high, be handed over and let go, so that the matter, though it may not be handled in a Christian way, may be settled according to human rights and contracts.

008 If ye will not follow such counsel, as God is for, I must leave you together; but I am innocent of your souls, blood, and goods; ye shall bear it yourselves. I have told you that you are wrong in both parts, and that you fight for wrong. Gentlemen, do not fight against Christians. For Christians do nothing to you, but suffer all things; but you fight against public robbers and desecrators of the Christian name; those who die among them are already eternally damned. Again, ye peasants also fight not against Christians, but against tyrants and persecutors of God and men, and against murderers of the saints of Christ: which die are they also eternally damned. Then you both have your part in the sure judgment of God, that I know for certain! Do now what ye will, if ye will not follow to preserve your body and soul.

009 But I will pray God with mine own, that he will either tolerate you both, and make you whole, or graciously prevent you from going out according to your will; although the terrible signs and wonders which have happened in these days make me heavy-hearted, and I fear that God's wrath is too strong, as he saith in Ezechiel chap. 14:14]: "If Noah, Job, and Daniel were before me, I would have no will against the people." Would God that you feared
you from his wrath, and amend yourselves, that the plague may have a delay and a longer respite. Well then, as my conscience testifies, I have advised you all faithfully enough in a Christian and brotherly way. God grant that it may help, amen?)

769. 9. Martin Luther's writing against the predatory and murderous mobs of the peasants. Boron mid-May 1525.

Luther wrote this writing soon after the previous one, still before the middle of May (Köstlin, M. Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 746), which went out under the following title: "WJder die mördischen und reubischen Rotten der Paurenn. Martinus Luther Wittemberg. Psalm vij. Seine tück werden in selbs treffen, Vnd sein mutwill Wirt über jn außgeen." Without place and year. 1 quarto sheet. Also together with the preceding writing with the superscription: "Widder die stürmenden bawren Martinus Luther." The Erlangen edition (2) lists twenty individual editions as a whole. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1551), vol. II, p. 87; in the Jena (1556), vol. III, p. 129; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 124; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 264; in the first edition of the Erlanger, vol. 24, p. 287, and in the second edition, p. 299. We have followed the latter, comparing the Wittenberg and the Jena.

Psalm 7:17.

"His calamity shall come upon his head, and his iniquity shall fall upon his crown."

001 In the former booklet I was not permitted to judge the peasants, because they offered themselves to be justified and better instructed, as Christ commanded that one should not judge, Matt. 7:1. But before I look around, they go on, and take hold with their fists, forgetting their commandments; they rob and rage, and act like mad dogs. Now they see what they have had in their wrong mind, and that what they have said in the name of the gospel in the twelve articles was a vain lie. In short, they are doing the devil's work, and it is especially the archdevil who rules at Mulhouse,

I) The Erlanger has here the words which Walch prefixed to the Scripture in German [Ps. 7,17.s: Oonvertetur äolor sjus, in ouput 6jus, et in vsrtiosni ipsins iniynits" one dssosn^at. In one edition they are from the title page in Latin, in the original of the Erlanger in German. The latter contains, besides our writing, also the next following one, to which, without any doubt, the words of the Psalm belong, but not to our "Exhortation".

and does nothing but rob, murder and shed blood, as Christ says of him, Jn 8:44, that he is a murderer from the beginning. Now that such peasants and wretched people have allowed themselves to be deceived, and do otherwise than they have spoken, I must also write differently of them; and first put their sin before their eyes, as God commands Isaiah Cap. 58,1. and Ezekiel Cap. 2, 7, if some would acknowledge themselves, and then instruct the consciences of the worldly rulers as to how they should conduct themselves in this matter.

(2) These peasants are charged with three grievous sins against God and man, by which they have deserved death in body and soul manifoldly. First, that they swore allegiance and obeisance to their superior, to be submissive and obedient, as God commanded when he said [Matth. 22, 211: "Pray to Caesar what is Caesar's"; and Rom. 13,1: "Let every man be subject to his superior" 2c. But because they break this obedience wilfully and with iniquity, and set themselves in opposition to their masters, they have thereby forfeited body and soul, as the faithless, perjured, lying, disobedient knaves and wicked men are wont to do. Wherefore also St. Paul, Rom. 13:2, pronounces such a sentence upon them, "They that resist authority shall be judged." Which judgment will also finally befall the peasants, be it sooner or later. For God will have kept faith and duty.

003 Secondly, that they cause sedition, rob, and plunder with iniquity monasteries and castles which are not theirs, that they alone, as public highwaymen and murderers, may be guilty of death both of body and soul; even a seditious man, whom it may be witnessed, is already in the custody of God and of the emperor, that he who first can and may slay the same doeth right and well. For over a public rebel every man is both chief judge and executioner. Just as when a fire starts, he who is the first to put it out is the best. For sedition is not a bad murder, but like a great fire that kindles and devastates a land; so sedition brings with it a land full of murder and bloodshed, and makes widows and orphans, and

like the greatest misfortune, therefore here let him throw, choke, and stab, secretly or publicly, whoever can, and remember that there can be nothing more poisonous, more harmful, more devilish than a rebellious man. It is as if a mad dog should be beaten to death; if thou beat'st not, he beat'st thee, and all the country with thee.

004 Thirdly, that they cover such horrible, abominable sin with the gospel, calling themselves Christian brethren, taking oaths and oaths, and compelling men to hold with them to such abominations. So that they become the greatest blasphemers and desecrators of his holy name, and honor and serve the devil under the appearance of the gospel, by which they deserve death ten times over, both in body and soul. And beware also that the devil may feel the latter day, that he should do such unheard-of things. As if he should say, 'Tis the last, therefore it shall be the most grievous, and will stir the ground, and cast out the and even expel the bottom. God forbid him. Behold, what a mighty prince the devil is, how he has the world in his hands, and how he can mix it together, and how soon he can catch, seduce, blind, harden, and outrage so many thousands of peasants, and do with them whatever his most furious fury wills.

005 Neither doth it avail the peasants to pretend, Genesis 1:28 and 2:15, that all things are created free and common; and that we are all baptized equal. For in the New Testament Moses neither holds nor applies, but there stands our Master Christ, casting us body and estate under Caesar and temporal law, saying [Matt. 22:2.], "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." So also Paul saith Rom. 13:1. to all baptized Christians: ,-Every man be subject to authority"; and Peter sl. Ep. 2:13.], "Be subject to all human order." To this doctrine of Christ we owe to liveJ) as the Father beareth from heaven, saying, "This is my dear Son, whom hearken ye" [Matt. 17:5. Marc. 9:7. Luc. 9:35.].

006 For baptism doth not make free bodies and things, but souls. Also the evan-

1) Wittenberger and Jenaer: "gleuben".

The apostles and disciples of Acts 4:32, who did not demand that the goods of Pilate and Herod be common, as our foolish peasants do, but their own goods. 4, 32. who did not demand that Pilate's and Herod's foreign goods be common, as our foolish peasants rage, but their own goods. But our peasants want to have other people's goods in common, and keep their own for themselves; these are fine Christians to me. I think that there is no devil in hell any more, but that all the peasants have been driven into it; the raging is excessive and beyond all measure.

(7) Since the peasants are now charging both God and man, and are so often already guilty of death in body and soul, and neither confess nor wait for justice, but are always raging, I must here instruct the temporal authorities how they are to proceed in this with a clear conscience. First of all, I will not refuse the authorities, who are able and willing to beat and punish such peasants without first asking for justice and equity, even if they [the authorities] do not suffer the gospel; For it is well justified, since the peasants no longer fight for the gospel, but have publicly become faithless, perjured, disobedient, rebellious murderers, robbers, blasphemers, whom even pagan authorities have the right and power to punish, and are even obliged to punish such boys. For this reason she carries the sword and is God's servant over the one who does evil, Rom. 13,4.

008 But the authorities, being Christian, and suffering the gospel, wherefore even the peasants have no pretence against them, shall here act with fear. And first of all, give the things back to God, and confess that we have well deserved it, since we fear that God may thus arouse the devil to the common punishment of the German land. Then we humbly ask for help against the devil. For here we do not only fight against blood and flesh, but against the spiritual evil-doers in the air, who must be attacked with prayer [Eph. 6:12, 18]. Now when the heart is so set against God that one lets his divine will prevail, whether he wills us or not to be princes and lords, one is to defend oneself against the mad peasants for the sake of abundance (even though they are not worthy of it) rightly and justly.

...to the like. After that, if that does not help, quickly reach for the sword.

(9) For a ruler and lord must think here, as he is God's officer and servant of His wrath, Romans 13:4, to whom the sword is commanded over such wretches, and sins as highly before God, if he does not punish and defend, and does not execute his office, as if one murders to whom the sword is not commanded. For if he can, and does not punish, whether by murder or bloodshed, he is guilty of all the murder and evil that such wicked men commit, as he who, by wilful neglect of his divine command, permits such wicked men to practice their wickedness, if he can and is guilty of it. Therefore there is no sleeping here. Nor is it the time for patience or mercy; it is the time for sword and wrath, and not the time for mercy.

010 Now therefore let the rulers go forth confidently, and smite with a good conscience, because they have a vein to stir up. For here the advantage is that the peasants have evil consciences and unrighteous things; and whichever peasant is slain for it is lost body and soul, and is eternally of the devil. But the rulers have good consciences and right things, and so can say to God with all certainty of heart, Behold, my God, thou hast made me ruler or lord, which I cannot doubt, and hast commanded me the sword against the workers of iniquity, Rom. 13:4. It is thy word, and may not lie; so I must perform this office, in case of loss of thy grace; so it is also public, that these peasants deserve death in many ways before thee and before the world, and have commanded me to punish them. If then thou wilt put me to death by them, and take away my dominion again, and cause it to perish, let thy will be done; yet I die, and perish in thy divine command and word, and am found in obedience to thy command and my office. Therefore I will punish and smite as long as I can stir up a vein; thou wilt judge and do it well.

011 Therefore it may come to pass, that whosoever is slain upon the ropes of the rulers shall be a right martyr before God, if he contend with such a conscience as is said. For he walks in the divine word and obedience.

Again, that which perishes on the side of the peasants is an everlasting fire of hell. For he wieldeth the sword against the word and obedience of God, and is a devil's member.

012 And though it be that the peasants fall (for God is for them), for all things are possible unto God, and we know not whether he will peradventure, for the fore-running of the last day, which is not far off, destroy all order and authority by the devil, and cast the world into a desolate house, yet surely they die, and go to destruction with a good conscience, who are found in their office of the sword, and leave the temporal kingdom to the devil, and take for it the eternal kingdom. Such are the wondrous times now, that a prince may earn heaven by bloodshed more than others may earn it by prayer.

013 In the end there is one thing more, which ought to move the authorities. For the peasants do not let them be satisfied that they are of the devil, but compel and force many pious people, who do it unwillingly, to join their devilish alliance, and thus make the same partakers of all their wickedness and damnation. For he who consents with them goes with them to the devil, and is guilty of all the evil they do, and yet must do it, because they are so weak in faith that they cannot resist. For a hundred deaths shall a devout Christian suffer, ere he consent to a hair's breadth in the peasant's matter. Oh, many martyrs could now be made by the bloodthirsty peasants and prophets of murder.

(14) Now, the authorities should have mercy on such prisoners among the peasants; and if they had no other cause to let the sword go confidently against the peasants, and to put body and goods on it themselves, this would still be great enough to save and help such souls, who are forced by the peasants into such a devilish alliance, and without their will have to sin and be condemned with them so horribly. For such souls are rightly in purgatory, yes, in hell and the devil's bonds.

(15) Wherefore, sirs, loosen hither, ride hither, help hither, have mercy on the poor, thrust, smite, strangle hither, whoever can. If thou stay thee dead, farewell, thou canst never more die a more blessed death... For thou diest...

in obedience to divine word and command, Rom. 13:4, and in the service of love, to save thy neighbor from hell and the devil's chains.

016 I pray thee therefore, let them that are able flee from the peasants, as from the devil himself. But those who do not flee, I pray that God would enlighten and convert them. But those who cannot be converted, God grant that they may have neither happiness nor success. Let every devout Christian say: Amen. For prayer is right and good, and I know that it pleases God. If anyone thinks this is too hard, let him think that there is no doubt that there is trouble, and that all the hours of the world are to be waited for.

770 D. Mart. Luthers Sendbrief von dem hatte" Büchlein wider die Bauern. June or July 1525.

This writing appeared under the title: "Eyn Sendebrieff von dem harten buchlin Widder die bauren. Martin Luther. Wittemberg. MDXX V." 4 quarto sheets. The Erlangen edition (2) lists six individual editions. In the collective editions: m the Wittenberg (1551), vol. II, p. 89b; in the Jena (1556), vol. Ill, p. 149b; in the Altenburg, Bö. Ill, p. 141; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 267; in the Erlangen (I), vol. 24, p. 295, and in its second edition, vol. 24, p. 310. We give the text according to the latter, comparing the Wittenberg and the Jena.

To the honorable and prudent Caspar Müller, chancellor of Mansfeld, my good friend.

1. grace and peace in Christ. Honorable and prudent one! I have had to answer your writing by printing it, because the complaining and questioning about my little book, against the rebellious peasants, has gone out as much as if it were unchristian and too hard. Although I had resolved to stop up my ears, and to let the blind, ungrateful hearts, which only seek cause to be angry with me, get stuck in such annoyance that they would have to rot inside, since they have not improved so much from other little books of mine that they would also want to recognize such a coarse, bad, earthly judgment as right. For I thought of the word of Christ, John 3:12: "If ye believe not, when I speak of earthly things, how shall ye believe, when I speak of heavenly things?

Things spake?" And when the disciples said, Matt. 15:12, Knowest thou also that the Pharisees were offended at the word?" he said, v. 14, Let them be offended; "they are blind, and leaders of the blind."

002 They cry out and boast: There is seen the spirit of Luther, that he sheddeth blood without mercy; the devil must speak out of him. Well, if I were not accustomed to be judged and condemned, this might move me. But I know no greater hope in myself, than that my doings and teachings should first be used, and be crucified. No one would be valid unless he could judge Luther; Luther is the mark and goal of contradiction, and everyone must try him out to see if he might become a knight and win the jewel. In such a case, everyone has a higher spirit than I; but I must be entirely carnal. And if God only wanted them to have a higher spirit, I would gladly be carnal, and as St. Paul also says to his Corinthians, "You have already been filled, you have already become rich, you reign without us." But I fear they have too truly a high spirit. For I do not yet see anything special that they accomplish, except that they finally become sins and disgraces. 3)

003 But they see not how they run by such judgment, and by such contradiction expose the thoughts of their hearts, as Luc. 2:34. saith of Christ Simeon 2c. They perceive well, they say, what spirit I have. Thus I perceive how finely they have grasped and learned the gospel. Yea, not a whit do they know 3) of it, and yet they prate much of it. For how shall they know what is heavenly righteousness in Christ according to the gospel, who know not yet what is earthly righteousness in the worldly government, according to the law?

004 Such men are worthy that they should not hear a word, neither see a work whereon they should be

1) In the editions: "I wanted to wait gladly carnal". It will be "zewarten" (zwarten) - indeed, freely, to read. Compare No. 1000, ß 4 in this volume.
2) Erlanger: makes. Should this reading be correct, then "that" is to be read shortly before.
3) "they" is missing from the Erlanger.

But they shall have vain vexation, as it happened unto the Jews in Christ, because their heart is so full of wickedness, that they desire nothing better than to have vexation, that it may be done unto them according to the saying of Ps. 18:27, "With the wicked thou art wicked"; and Deut. 32:21, "I will provoke them in that which is not a nation, in a foolish nation will I provoke them to anger."

5. These were my reasons why I wanted to keep silent, and let them confidently run up and get angry, so that they would have to perish according to their merit, stubbornly 4) and blindly, who, with such ingratitude, have so abundantly resounded everywhere by such a great and bright light of the gospel, have learned nothing at all, and have put the fear of God so low, that they no longer regard anything as evangelical, but judge and despise others, and allow themselves to think that they are of great spirit and high understanding, and through the teaching of humility only grasp vain hope, as a spider sucks vain poison from a rose.

006 But because ye desire instruction, not for yourselves, but to shut up such useless men; though I consider that ye do a vain and impossible work, for who can shut up a fool, because the heart is full of foolishness, and the mouth overflows, because the heart is full? (Matth. 12, 34. Luc. 6, 45.) In this I will also do you another lost service.

007 And first of all, let them that reprove my book be warned to shut their mouths, and to beware: for surely they are also rebellious in heart; lest they be unwise, and go once behind the head, as Solomon saith, My child, fear the LORD, and the king, and mingle not with the rebellious. For their calamity will come suddenly, and who knows when both calamities will come?" Proverbs 24:21, 22: And we see that both the rebellious and those who mingle with them are condemned, and God will not make a jest of it, but the king and the ruler are to be feared. But they that mingle

4) Erlanger: hidden.

Among the rebels, who take care of them, lament, justify, and have mercy on those whom God does not have mercy on, but wants to punish and destroy. For he who thus takes care of the rebellious sufficiently shows that, if he had time and space, he would also do harm, as he had decided in his heart. Therefore the authorities should take hold of such people's heads, so that they shut their mouths and realize that they are in earnest.

008 If they think such an answer too hard, and say that it is spoken with violence, and that the mouth is shut, I say, That is right. For a rebel is not worthy to be answered with reason, for he will not accept it; one must answer such mouths with the fist, so that the sweat runs out of the nose. The peasants would not listen either, they would not let them say anything at all; then you have to poke their ears open with cans of stones, so that their heads jumped up in the air. To such disciples belongs such a rod. He who will not hear the word of God with kindness must hear the executioner with sharpness. If it is said that I am unkind and unmerciful in this, I answer, "Be merciful, be merciful; we are now talking about the word of God.

009 I will not here hear nor know of mercy, but take heed what God's word will. Therefore my little book shall be right and remain right, though all the world be angry with it. Why do I ask that it displease thee, if it please God? If he will have wrath, and not mercy, what dealest thou with mercy? Did not Saul sin against Amalek with mercy, that he did not execute God's wrath, as he was commanded? [Did not Ahab sin in mercy to the king of Syria, and let him live contrary to the word of God? [If thou wilt have mercy, mingle not with the rebellious, but fear the rulers, and do good. If thou do evil, fear (saith Paul, Rom. 13:3, 4): for she beareth not the sword in vain.

010 Such an answer would be enough to all who are vexed at my little book, and have useless
make. Is it not fair to shut one's mouth when one hears that God says and wants it that way? Or is God guilty of giving such useless mouths a reason and an account of why he wants it that way? I cried, it would be enough to silence all creatures, if he waved but one eye, much less if he spoke. There stands his word [Proverbs 24:22.], "My child, fear the LORD and the King; if not, thy calamity shall come suddenly. "2c. Item, Rom. 13:2: "He that is contrary to God's order shall receive judgment against himself." Why is St. Paul not merciful here either? If we are to preach the word of God, we must also preach that which proclaims wrath, as well as that which proclaims mercy. We must also preach of hell as well as of heaven, and on both sides, over the pious and the wicked, God's word, judgment, and work must help to punish the wicked and protect the pious.

011 But that the pious God may remain before such judges, and that his judgment may be found right and pure, let us plead his word against such free mouths, and show the cause of his divine will, that we may also put two candles to the devil. They reproach me that Christ teaches [Luc. 6:36.], "Be merciful, as your Father is merciful"; item [Matth. 12:7.], "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice"; item [Luc. 9:56.], "The Son of man is not come to destroy souls, but to save them," and the like.

012 Here they think that they have done wrong: for if Luther had taught that the peasants should be pitied, he teaches that they should be put to death quickly. How thinkest thou? Let's see if Luther will jump over the little piece, I mean, he's caught. Well, I thank my masters... For if these high spirits had not taught me these things, how should I have known or known them? How would I know that God promotes mercy, when I have taught and written about mercy more than anyone else in a thousand years?

013 There is a devil in the skin, that would gladly do evil, if he could. Therefore he stirs up and fights even the good and pious hearts.

with such pieces, that they may not see how black he is, and will make himself beautiful under the glory of mercy; but it shall not help him. Now you who praise mercy so well because the peasants are beaten, why did you not praise it when the peasants were raging, beating, robbing, burning and plundering, so that it was terrible to see and hear? Why were they not also merciful to the princes and lords who wished to destroy them utterly? There was none that said of mercy, All things must be right; Mercy was silent, and nothing; Right, right, right, that prevailed, and went up. But now that they are beaten, and the stone falls on their heads, which they cast toward heaven, let no one speak of justice, but only of mercy.

014 And yet they are so rude, and think that the mischief is not to be seen. Nay, thou art seen, thou black and ugly devil. Thou praisest not mercy, that thou art in earnest, and lovest mercy, else thou wouldest have praised it against the peasants; thou fearest the skin, and wouldest gladly escape the rod and punishment of God with the appearance and name of mercy. Not so, my dear fellow, thou must be held out, and die without all mercy. St. Paul says [Rom. 13:4]: "If thou do evil, fear. For the power of the sword is not in vain, but for the punishment of him that doeth evil." Thou wilt do evil, and suffer not wrath nevertheless, but with boasting mercy cover thee. Come again tomorrow, and we'll bake thee a cake for it. Who could not?

015 And I would run into a man's house, and ravish his wife and his daughters, and break out his coffers, and take his money and his goods, and put the sword upon his breast, and say, If thou wilt not suffer this, I will slay thee: for thou art an ungodly man. But if the servants should run and strangle me, or if the judge should behead me, I would cry out: Christ teaches you to be merciful, and not to strangle me; what can you say to that? So do my peasants and peasant defenders now. Now they have exercised all courage against the masters, as the robbers, murderers, thieves, and

Let us first sing a little song of mercy, and say, Be ye merciful, as Christ teacheth, and let us rage, as the devil teacheth us; do ye good to us, and let us do evil to you; be well pleased, and be right in what we have done, and be wrong in what ye do.

016 Dear one, who would not? If this be called mercy, let us make a good thing, that there be no sword, no government, no judgment, no punishment, no executioner, no prison; but let every man do what he will; and if he be punished, let us sing: Be merciful, as Christ teaches. O, that should be a fine order! There thou seest what they have in mind who judge my little book to be the denial of all mercy. They are certainly good rascals, rebellious, and real bloodhounds, or are seduced by such people. For they would like to have all evil unpunished, and under the name of mercy they are the most ruthless and cruel destroyers of the whole world, if it were up to them.

017 Yea, they say, we do not justify the peasants, neither do we resist the punishment: but it seemeth unjust unto us, that thou teachest not to have mercy on the poor peasants, because thou sayest that they should be put to death without all mercy. I answer, If thou meanest that right, I am golden; it is all the cover of thy bloodthirsty will, that the peasants' nature pleaseth thee secretly. Where have I ever taught that mercy should not be practiced? Is it not also written in the same booklet that I ask the authorities to receive those who surrender into mercy? Why do you not open your eyes and read it? Then you would not have needed to condemn my booklet and get angry.

018 But because thou art so poisonous, that thou seest the one piece alone, when I write that they which will not yield nor hearken shall be swiftly cast down without all mercy, and leavest the other, when I write that they which yield shall be received with mercy, it is evident that thou art a spider sucking poison out of the rose; and it is not true that thou doest wrong to the peasants, or lovest mercy, but wouldest

And that the sword of the world might be made nought. But thou wilt not end it.

019 Let this be said unto the unchristian, unmerciful bloodhounds, which extol the sayings of mercy, that vainness and unmercifulness should reign in the world according to their will.

020 To the rest, which are deceived by these, or else are so weak, that they cannot compare my little book with the sayings of Christ, let this be said. There are two kingdoms: one is the kingdom of God, the other is the kingdom of the world, as I have often written, so that I am surprised how people do not yet know or perceive this. For he who knows how to distinguish between the two kingdoms will certainly not be offended by my little book, and will also hear the sayings about mercy. God's kingdom is a kingdom of grace and mercy, and not a kingdom of wrath or punishment. For there is only forgiveness, mercy, love, service, good deeds, peace, and joy 2c. But the worldly kingdom is a kingdom of wrath and severity. For there it is all punishment, defense, judgment, and sentence, to compel the wicked and protect the righteous. Therefore it also hath and wieldeth the sword, and a prince or lord is called the wrath of God, or the rod of God in the scriptures, Isa. 14:5.

021 Now these sayings which speak of mercy are of the kingdom of God, and of Christians, and not of the worldly kingdom. For a Christian shall not only be merciful, but shall also suffer all manner of things, robbery, burnings, murders, devils, and hells, except he should smite, slay, or requite any man. But the temporal kingdom, which is nothing but the servant of divine wrath upon the wicked, and a veritable forerunner of hell and eternal death, shall not be merciful, but stern, earnest, and wrathful in his office and work. For his handiwork is not a rosary or a flower of love, but a mere sword; but a sword is a sign of wrath, severity, and punishment, and is directed nowhere but at the wicked, on whom it looks to punish and keep them in check and peace, for the protection and salvation of the pious.

022 Wherefore God putteth in the law of Moses, and in Exodus 21:14, when he putteth in the sword, saying, Thou shalt take the murderer also from mine altar, and shalt not have mercy upon him." And the epistle to the Hebrews confesses that he that did contrary to the law must die without all mercy. This shows that the temporal authorities cannot be merciful in their own office, nor should they be merciful, even though they may celebrate the office by grace.

023 Whosoever then would mingle these two kingdoms together, as our false fools do, would put wrath in the kingdom of God, and mercy in the kingdom of the world: that would be to put the devil in heaven, and God in hell. These Burmese would gladly do both of these things. Before, they wanted to ride with the sword, and as Christian brothers fight for the gospel, and kill others, because they were supposed to be merciful and patient. Now that the worldly kingdom is upon them, they want to have mercy within, that is, they do not want to suffer a worldly kingdom, and yet they themselves do not want to grant God's kingdom to anyone; what would be devised for intercourse? Not so, dear friends; if a man has earned wrath in the worldly kingdom, let him give himself up, and suffer the punishment, or humbly beg it off. But let them that are in the kingdom of God have mercy on every man, and pray for them; but let them not hinder the right and work of the worldly kingdom, but help to promote it.

024 But though such severity and wrath of the temporal kingdom seem an unmerciful thing, yet, when rightly considered, it is not the least part of divine mercy. For let every man take himself, and hereupon tell me a judgment: If I have wife and child, house and servants, and goods, and a thief or murderer assaults me, strangles me in my house, violates my wife and child, and takes what I have, and he should go unpunished for it, that he does it more where he will: tell me, which here would be most worthy and needful of mercy? I, or the thief and murderer? Without doubt, it would be most needful for me that someone should have mercy on me. But where will such mercy be shown to me and to my poor, wretched wife and children?

keep me in the right; or, if he will not let him defend himself, and continue to do him his right, punish him, that he may leave it? What kind of mercy would it be to me to be merciful to a thief and a murderer, and to let him leave me murdered, violated, and robbed?

25. Such mercy, which rules and acts in the secular sword, is not looked upon by such peasant defenders, who only open their eyes and mouths at the wrath and seriousness; say, we pretend to the furious princes and lords, that we teach them to punish the wicked, when they are ten times worse hypocrites of the murderous knaves and wicked peasants, and are themselves also with bloodthirsty murderers with rebellious hearts, that they have no mercy at all on those who are overpowered by the peasants, robbed, violated, and forced to all kinds of injustice. For if the peasants had gone about their business, no honest man could have remained safe from them, but whoever had more than a penny would have had to take the blame, as they had already begun to do. And if this had not been enough, they would have had to put their wives and children to all shame, and strangled themselves among themselves, so that neither peace nor safety would ever have remained.

026 What is more wicked than the mad riffraff and peasant, when he is full and filled, and hath violence? as Solomon saith, Proverbs 30:21, 22; that the earth cannot bear such men. And should we first have mercy on such men, and let them rage as they will, with every man's life, limb, wife, child, honor, and goods, without all punishment, and let the innocent perish so shamefully before our eyes, without all mercy, help, and comfort?

27 I hear constantly that the Bamberg peasants have been offered that they should be let off more, for they asked that they should only sit quietly; they still did not want to. And Margrave Casimir vowed to his own that what others had acquired by strife and rebellion, he would otherwise let them have, with mercy; that did not help either. Thus it is well known that the Frankish peasants hold nothing against them but robbery, burning, breaking, and destruction, out of sheer will of courage. The Thuringian peasants

I myself have experienced that the more they were admonished and taught, the more stubborn, proud, and foolish they became, and they have stood up so wilfully and defiantly everywhere, as if they wanted to be strangled without all grace and mercy, and have offered God's wrath the most magnificent defiance. And so it is with them, as the 109th Psalm, v. 17, says: "They did not want grace, so it is now far enough from them. "

028 Therefore the scripture hath fine and pure eyes, and looketh rightly upon the temporal sword, as that which out of great mercy must be merciless, and for the goodness of it exercise wrath and severity, as Paul [Romans 13:4] and Peter [1 Peter 2:14] say, that it is the servant of God for vengeance, wrath, and punishment upon the wicked, and for the protection, praise, and honour of the pious. It looks at the pious and has mercy on them, and so that no harm comes to them, it fights, bites, stabs, cuts, cuts, murders, as God has commanded it, whose servant is recognized in this.

029 Now that the wicked are thus punished without mercy, it is not because the punishment of the wicked alone is sought, and lust is expiated in their blood, but that the pious may be protected, and peace and safety preserved. Which are undoubtedly excellent works of great mercy, love, and kindness (for there is no more wretched thing on earth than strife, insecurity, oppression, violence, injustice, 2c.). For who could or would stay alive where it should be so? Therefore the sword's wrath and earnestness is so necessary among the people, as eating and drinking, even as life itself.

030 Yea, say they, we speak not of the stiff-necked peasants that will not yield, but of those that are overcome, or that are yielded; with such, indeed, one ought to exercise mercy, and not to deal so abominably with them. I answer, "Then you must not be pious to blaspheme my booklet as if I spoke of such overcome, devoted peasants, when I speak so plainly in it of those whom one first asks kindly, but they do not want. For all my words go against the stiff-necked, obstinate, blinded peasants, who

...neither to see nor to hear how you may lay hold of it. And thou sayest, I teach the wretched captive peasants to strangle without all mercy. If thou wilt read and interpret books according to thine own will, what book shall remain before thee?

31 Therefore, as I wrote then, so I write now. Let no one have mercy on the stiff-necked, obstinate, deluded peasants who do not let them be told, but let them cut, stab, choke, and strike as if they were mad dogs, whoever they can and however they can; and all this so that one may have mercy on those who are ruined, chased away, and seduced by such peasants, that one may have peace and safety. For it is better to cut off a limb without mercy, than for the whole body to perish by fire or some such pestilence. How do you like that? Am I still an evangelical preacher who teaches grace and mercy? If I be not, there is no power in thee. For thou art a bloodhound and a seditious murderer and corrupter of the land with thy mad peasants. For thou art a hypocrite in their rebellion.

Thirty-two, they say: The peasants haven't strangled anyone yet, the way they're strangled. Dear, what can one say? What a beautiful answer is this, they have not strangled anyone; that made it necessary to do what they wanted; but they nevertheless threatened to kill whoever did not want to go with them, and took the sword in their fist, which was not theirs, and attacked the goods, houses and possessions. So a thief and a murderer would not be a murderer, if he would do to me what he would with death. But if they had done what was kindly desired of them, they would not have been put to death. But since they would not, it was right to do to them as they would have done, and to do to those who would not do as they would.

033 Moreover they are publicly unfaithful, perjured, disobedient, rebellious, thieves, robbers, murderers, and blasphemers; that none of them be deserving of death tenfold, without all mercy. Let the eye of the devil be turned to the punishment alone, and not also to the guilt and merit, and to the unspeakable harm and destruction, which is there.

should have followed. If the punishment grieves thee, forbear wickedness; as Paul also answereth such, Rom. 13:3, 4: "If thou fear not the sword, do good; but if thou do evil, be afraid." 2c.

034 Thirdly, they say: The lords abuse their sword, and choke too horridly 2c. I answer, What is that to my book? Why layest thou strange guilt upon me? If they abuse their power, they have not learned it from me, they will find their share. For the supreme judge, who punishes the wanton peasants through them, has not forgotten them, nor will they escape him. My little book does not say what the lords deserve, but what the peasants deserve, and how they should be punished; with this I have hypocritized no one. If there is a time and a cause for me to do it, I will attack the princes and lords. For as far as my office of teaching is concerned, a prince is just as important to me as a peasant. I have already earned them so much that they are not too dear to me, but I do not care much about them. I have one who is greater than all of them, as St. John says [Cap. 10:29].

(35) But if my advice had been followed at the first, when the riot began, and one peasant or a hundred had dared to do it, and had been struck on the heads, so that the others would have bumped into them, and had not let them get so out of hand, many thousands would have been preserved, who would now have had to die, and would probably have remained at home. That would have been a necessary mercy with little anger, since one had to take so much seriousness to control so many.

(36) But it is God's will that we should be witty on both sides. First of all, the peasants, that they might learn how to be at ease and not suffer good days in peace, that they might learn to thank God when they have to give one cow, so that they might enjoy the other in peace. For it is always better to have half of the estate in peace and safety than to have the whole estate in danger all the time among thieves and murderers, and yet not to have it. The peasants did not know how precious it was to have peace and security, that one might have

They enjoyed his morsel and his drink cheerfully and safely, and did not thank God for it; now he had to teach them in this way, so that the tickle would go away from them.

(37) It was also useful for the lords to know what was behind the mob and how to trust them, so that they might learn to govern properly and to cultivate the land and the roads. There was no longer any regiment or order; everything stood open and idle. There was no longer any fear or timidity among the people; each one did what he wanted. No one wanted to give anything, and yet they splurged, drank, dressed, and walked idly, as if they were all masters. The ass wants to be beaten, and the mob wants to be ruled by force; God knew that well. That is why he did not give the authorities a fox's tail, but a sword in their hands.

038 Neither is this the least of the things which they put forward: that there were many pious men among the peasants, who came to this innocently, and were wronged in the sight of God, that they should be so put to death. I answer, "One speaks of such things as if one had never heard the word of God. Therefore I also must answer here, as to them that are yet young children or heathen. Nothing at all is directed among men with so many books and sermons.

039 First, I say that there is no injustice done to those who are compelled by the peasants; neither is there any Christian man left among them, nor do they come to it innocently, as they pretend. It may be thought that they are wronged, but it is not so. Tell me, my dear friend, what excuse is there if someone strangles your father and mother, violates your wife and child, burns your house, and takes your money and possessions, and then says that he had to do it, that he was forced to do it?

040 Who hath ever heard that any man should be compelled to do good or to do evil? Who can force a man's will? O, there is no such thing, neither is it said, I must do wrong, and I shall do wrong.

1) Erlanger: she.

forced to do so. To deny Christ and the word of God is a great sin and wrong, and many are forced to do it; but do you think they are excused by it? So, "to make sedition, to disobey the authorities, to be unfaithful and perjurious, to rob and burn" is great wrong, and some peasants are forced to do it; what does it help them? Why do they let themselves be forced?

041 Yea, they say, I am threatened to take my body and my goods. O my beloved, that thou mightest keep my body and my goods, thou wilt transgress the commandment of God, and slay me, and ravish my wife and my child: how would God and I do it? Wouldst thou suffer it so from me? If then thou hadst been compelled, and the peasants had bound thee hand and foot, and had brought thee among them by force, and thou hadst resisted with thy mouth, and had punished them for it, and thus thy heart had confessed and testified that it would not gladly do it, nor consent to it, then thou wouldst have stood with honour, and wouldst indeed have been compelled with the body, but yet with the will unconquered. But if thou holdest thy peace, and punisheth them not, and followest with the multitude, and confessest not thine indignation, it profiteth thee not; and thou hast tarried too long, that thou wilt first confess thine indignation. For thou oughtest to fear and respect the commandment of God more than men, even if thou hadst to go and die over it: for he would not have left thee, but would have faithfully stood by thee, saved thee, and helped thee. Therefore, just as those who deny God are condemned, even if they are forced to do so, so the peasants are not excused for allowing themselves to be forced.

042 If this excuse were true, neither sin nor vice should be punished. For where is there a sin that the devil, the flesh, and the world do not impel and compel at the same time? Do you not think that at times an evil desire drives to adultery with such fervour and rage that it might be called a greater urge and compulsion than to urge a peasant to riot? For who is mighty in his heart? Who can resist the devil and the flesh? Is it not possible that we should resist the least sin, seeing that the scripture saith, that we shall not be able to resist the

Are the prisoners of the devil, [2 Tim. 2:26] as of our Prince and God, that we must do what he wills and directs us to do; as is sometimes proved by some horrible stories; should it therefore be unpunished and lawful?

043 Not so; it is to call upon God for help, and to resist sin and wrongdoing. If thou die, or if thou suffer for it, good be to thee, and thy soul shall be blessed in the sight of God and in the sight of the world. But if thou dost not follow, thou shalt die ashamed in the sight of God and the world, because thou hast been forced to do wrong. It would be better for you to die with honor and blessedness in praise of God, than to die in disgrace as a punishment and torment.

44. Yea, saith thou, O LORD God, who would have known such things? I also say: O Lord God, what can I do about it? Ignorance will not excuse either. Should a Christian not know what he needs to know? Why don't they learn it? Why don't they have good preachers? One wants to be ignorant with will. The gospel has come to Germany, many pursue it, few desire it, far fewer accept it, and those who do accept it are so lukewarm and lazy about it, they let schools perish, parishes and preachers' chairs fall, no one thinks to preserve it and raise up people; and they make us look everywhere as if we were sorry that we were learning something, and would gladly know nothing. What wonder then, if God also visit us, and let us again see a piece, to punish his gospel contempt, wherein we are all guilty, though we are innocent of some of the sedition, which we have well deserved; that he may admonish us, and send us to school, that we may one day also be witty and knowledgeable?

(45) How must we do in wars, when even the innocent must go away with the guilty, yea, most of all the innocent, as we think, since widows and orphans also are made. These are plagues, sent to us by God, and otherwise well deserved, which indeed one must suffer with another, if we would dwell otherwise with one another. For as it is said, One neighbor owes another a fire.

046 He that would be in the congregation must be

He will also help to bear and suffer the burden, journey, and damage of the community, even though he has not forfeited it, but his neighbor, just like him, is entitled to the peace, benefit, protection, property, freedom, and community chamber, even though he has not acquired or brought about the same, and will learn to sing and comfort himself with Job: "If we have received good things from the Lord, why should we not also bear evil things? So many good days are worth an evil hour, and so many good years are worth an evil day or year. We have had peace and good days for a long time, until we have become too horny and too angry, not knowing what peace and good days were, and not even thanking God for them; this we must now learn.

(47) Yes, we may well refrain from such lamentation and grumbling, I advise, and thank God that through His grace and mercy no greater calamity has come upon us than the devil intended to inflict through the peasants, just as Jeremiah did: when the Jews were driven out, captured and murdered, he consoled himself and said, "It is God's grace and goodness that we have not been utterly and completely destroyed. And we Germans, who are much worse than the Jews, and yet not so driven out and strangled, want first of all to grumble and be impatient and justify ourselves, and not let a part of us be strangled, so that God may be still more enraged, and let us go to the ground, take off our hand, and give us entirely to the devil. We do as the mad Germans do, who know nothing of God, and speak of such things as if there were no God to do and have such things, and think that we suffer nothing at all, but are vain noblemen who sit on cushions, and would do according to all their will.

048 For thou shouldest have seen that, if the devil's thing had gone on in the peasants, and God had not so fed them with the sword by the prayers of devout Christians, it would have been and gone throughout all the German lands, as it is now with them that are stabbed and slain, and much worse. There would be no one before the other

1) "his" is missing in the Erlanger.

Each of them would have strangled the other, burned his house and farm, and violated his wife and child. For God had not begun and there was no order, and they were already in such a state that no one trusted or believed the others; they deposed one captain after another, and had to leave, not as honest people did, but as the most wicked boys said and wanted. For the devil had it in mind, he wanted to devastate Germany completely, because otherwise he could not defend the gospel.

49. And who knows what else will happen if we grumble and are ungrateful? God can let the peasants become mad once again, or let another one happen, so that it will be worse afterwards than it is now. Methinks it was a good strong admonition and warning. If we take care of it, and do not turn back, and do not fear God, we may see what comes to us, that this is not a joke, and that seriousness follows.

50 Lastly, one would say, You yourself teach sedition, because you say that one should quickly strike and stab the seditious whoever can, each one being the chief judge and executioner in this case. Here I answer: My booklet is not written against evil doers, but against the rebellious; but you must distinguish a rebel far, far from a murderer or robber, or any other evil doer. For a murderer or other evil-doer leaves the head and the authority, and attacks only his members or goods; indeed, he is afraid of the authority. Because the head remains, no one should attack such a murderer, because the head can punish him, but wait for the judgment and command of the head, to whom God has commanded the sword and the office to punish.

051 But a rebel assaileth the head himself, and falleth upon his sword, and his office, that his iniquity is not like unto the murderer. Here we cannot wait for the head to command and judge. For the head cannot, and is taken and beaten; but he shall run to him that is able, uncalled and uncommanded, and as a faithful member shall save his head by piercing, by cutting, by choking, and shall set body and soul at the head.

022 This I must imagine with a rough similitude. If I were a master's servant, and saw that his enemy was running at him with a naked sword, and I could ward it off, but stood still, and let my master be so shamefully slain: tell me, what would both God and the world say of me? would they not justly say that I was a desperate villain and traitor, and must certainly have my head and part with the enemy? But if I were to go to the enemy, and interpose between the enemy and my lord, and lay down my body for my lord, and slay the enemy, would not that be an honourable and upright thing, praised and glorified in the sight of God and the world? Or, if I were stabbed to death over it, how could I die more Christianly? for I would die in the right service of God, as much as it is in the work itself; and if there were faith in it, I would be a right holy martyr of God.

053 But if I should excuse myself, and say, I will therefore hold my peace, until my lord shall call me: what would that excuse do, but to accuse me two times more, and to make me worthy to be cursed of all men, as one that jesteth in such wickedness? Did not Christ himself vow all these things in the Gospel, and declare it to be right, that servants should fight for their masters, when he stood before Pilate, and said [John 18:36], "If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would fight for me, that I should not be delivered to the Jews." There thou seest that it is right in the sight of GOD and the world for servants to contend for their masters; otherwise what would be the worldly government?

054 Now, behold, such a man is the stirring up, that he runneth upon the head, and upon the LORD with the naked sword: and there shall no man tarry till the LORD be called to resist; but he goeth forth, and stabbeth the wicked man, unnamed, he that is first able: and he shall not take care that he commit murder, but he shall resist an assassin, that seeketh to murder the whole land. If he does not stab and kill, but lets the lord stab him, he is also an assassin. For then he must and should think, because his lord suffers and lies, that he is lord, judge, and executioner in the case. For rebellion is not a joke, and

No evil on earth is like it. Other wickednesses are a few pieces; sedition is a deluge of all wickednesses.

055 I am called a spiritual man, and have the office of the ministry. But yet, if I were a servant of a Turkish lord, and saw my lord in the way, I would forget my spiritual office, and stab and slash freshly, because I could stir up a vein; if I were stabbed over it, I would go up to heaven in the work of the mouth. For rebellion is not worthy of any judgment or mercy, whether it be among the Gentiles, Jews, Turks, Christians, or wherever it may be; but it has already been interrogated, judged, and condemned, and delivered to death in the hand of every one. Therefore, there is nothing more to be done here than to quickly strangle the rebel and do him justice.

056 No murderer does or deserves such evil. For a murderer does a wickedly wicked thing, and lets the punishment remain. A rebel wants to have a free, unpunishable wickedness, and attacks the punishment himself. Moreover, at this time the enemies of the gospel, who blame such sedition on the gospel, make an evil noise to the gospel, and open their mouths wide enough to blaspheme, though they are not excused thereby, and know it well otherwise; Christ also will meet them well in his time.

57 See now whether I have rightly and justly written in my little book that one should stab the rebellious without all mercy. But I have not taught that mercy should not be shown to the captives and the devoted, as I am blamed, and my booklet shows otherwise.

058 Neither will I herewith strengthen the fierce tyrants, nor praise their raging. For I hear that some of my disciples are cruel beyond measure to the poor people, and are almost bold and defiant, as if they had won and were firmly established. Well, they do not seek punishment and correction of the rebellion, but atone for their fierce will, and cool their troubles, which they may have borne for a long time; they think that they have now gained space and reason to do so.

059 But especially 'they now confidently set themselves against the gospel, and will restore monasteries and convents, and give the pope the

...and they will mingle our cause with the rebels... But they shall soon reap what they sow. For he that sitteth on high seeth them, and will come before they look. They shall lack what they will, that I know, as they have lacked hitherto.

(60) I have also written in the same booklet that now is such a strange time that one may earn heaven with murder and bloodshed. Help God, how Luther has forgotten himself, who until now has taught that one must attain grace and be saved without works, by faith alone. But here he does not give salvation to works alone, but also to the horrible work of shedding blood. There, the Rhine has been set on fire.

61 Dear God, how closely I am sought, how they lie in wait for me, and yet they do not help me. For I hope that they will let me keep the custom of words and the manner of speech, which not only the common man has, but also the Scriptures keep. Saith not Christ Matt. 5:3, 10, 12: Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven: and blessed are ye when ye suffer persecution. For your reward is great in heaven"; and Matt. 25:34. where he rewards works of mercy 2c., and the like much more. And yet it is true that works do nothing in the sight of God, but faith alone. But how this is done I have written so many times, and especially in the sermon on unrighteous mammon. He who does not want to be satisfied with this, let him always go and be angry for the rest of his life.

022 But that I have made the work of shedding blood so dear, my booklet in the same place shall abundantly bear witness, that I have spoken of temporal rulers who are Christian, and who conduct their office in a Christian manner, especially when they fight against the rebellious mobs. If they do not do well by shedding blood and carrying out their office, neither did Samson, Samuel, and David, when they punished the wicked and shed blood. If it is not good nor right to shed blood in this way, let the sword be put to the sword, and let us be free brothers and do as we please.

033 For this I beseech you, and every man with diligence, that they may have my little book.

and do not go so far, they will see that I alone, as befits a Christian preacher, have instructed the Christian, pious authorities. I say again, and the third time, that I alone have written to the rulers who want to be Christian or otherwise righteous, that they may instruct their consciences in such a case, namely, that they should immediately strike into the pile of the rebels, regardless of whether they strike the guilty or the innocent. And even if they strike the innocent, they are not to make a conscience of it, but to confess to God that they are guilty of his service. But afterward, when they have won, to show mercy, not only to the innocent (as they hold), but also to the guilty.

(64) But the furious, raging, and senseless tyrants, who, even after the battle, may not be satisfied with blood, and in their whole life do not ask much about Christ, I have not taken upon myself to teach. For it is all the same to such bloodhounds whether they strangle the guilty or the innocent, whether it pleases God or the devil; they have the sword only to atone for their lust and willfulness; I will let their master, the devil, lead them as he leads them.

65] When I heard that at Mühlhausen, among some great merchants, one of them brought to him the poor wife of Thomas Münzer, who is now a widow and pregnant, and fell on his knees before her and said: Dear wife, let me call you N. O, a chivalrous, noble deed, committed on a miserable, abandoned, pregnant woman; that is a bold hero, who would be worth three knights. 1) What should I write to such rangers and sows? The Scriptures call such men beasts, that is, wild beasts, as there are wolves, sows, bears, and lions, so I will not make them men either; yet they must be suffered, if God will afflict us by them.

(66) I have provided both: if the peasants were lords, the devil would become abbot; but if such tyrants were lords, his mother would become abbess. Therefore I would gladly have satisfied both, the peasants.

1) "would be" only in the Jena.

...and pious superiors taught. But since the peasants did not want to listen, they have received their wages. But these will not listen either; well, they will have their wages also. It is no pity that they should be murdered by the peasants, for that would be a fox's tail. If they do not repent, their reward will be eternal fire, trembling and gnashing of teeth in hell.

67 These things, my lord and friend, have I answered your writing; I hope I have done more than enough. But if anyone has not done enough, let him be wise and prudent, pious and holy in God's name, and let me remain a fool and a sinner. Even though I would like to be left in peace, nothing will be said against me, and what I teach and write should remain right, even if the whole world should burst at it. If one wants to be strange, then I will also be strange, and see who will be right in the end. Hereby God commands, and tells Conrad to watch, hit it, and lie down in the right bed. The printer shall also avoid it henceforth, and no longer call you chancellor, amen.

771 Spalatin's misgivings about old and new levies, put to a friend who presumably had been a nobleman and had wanted to act in conscience against his subjects.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 348.

After diligently considering and contemplating the facts, I believe that the previous comforting report should be taken into account. Considering that it is not only clothed in the Word of God, but that it is derived not only from me, but also from the venerable, highly respected Doctor Martin Luther. And one cannot do otherwise than follow the report that comes from others rather than one's own thoughts. Therefore I rely, as before, on the previous report, both my own, and highly esteemed Doctor Martin Luther's opinion. If they are old debts, about people's memory, and have arisen before your arrival and housekeeping, I want to let them go, in God's name, and otherwise show my subjects honest and favorable will, in which I always want. But if there were of you, in and by

of your household, the old taxes, also interest of woods, more hunting service 2c., and how it would have more and more names, from new over the old taxes, burden and burden raised, set and imposed on the people, then it would be called fair, as God in Isaiah 58, 6. says: Solve coIIIAutiori68 sto. Likewise with the feudal
Some of the lords of the fiefs are now so high that they are lamenting in heaven about it; God will surely hear such a prayer, and many of the lords of the fiefs will only be hurt, and they will be very hard pressed. For it is ever too much to raise the fief so high that many widows and orphans are made heirless. Some of them are so clever that they put the fine only on the money and do not want a farmer to come to food or to stay there. Some of them force their subjects to hunt as often as they want, because of the old custom they brought with them, although it was rarely done in former times. Some of them take timber and chicken rents from the subjects, because they have been allowed to graze in the woods. But now they are finished, give the interest another name, do not let the people graze 2c. in the woods, but still take the interest most strictly 2c. Who will and can tell all such new burdens, levies, and burdens? Where such new burdens have recently been laid on the people, a relief has been made before the conscience does not want to let up with its bite. But in the old troubles and the troubles imposed by others, I satisfied my heart with God's help. In addition, I am moved tremendously by the divine scripture mentioned above, the example of the great archfather Joseph, who, as it says in the first book of Moses, 47, v. 24, 26, decreed to give the fifth part of the Egyptian field to Pharaoh, except for the priestly field, which was not Pharaoh's own. On the other hand, such ordinances are police ordinances, which God allows to pass at any time. So also St. Peter says in his first epistle in the other chapter [v. 13: "Be subject to all human ordinances." Thirdly, The common rabble is bridle-less, insolent, and rough, and must be kept hard; otherwise it is likely to do all mischief. For thus says King Solomon in the 26th chapter of his Proverbs [v. 3.], that to the horse belongs a whip, to the ass a bridle, to the fool a rod on the back, or else none do ye good. Fourth, if you were to do away with the old customs, it would not help the cause, but would cause more disruption, suspicion, and disobedience, as well as a burdensome introduction for others.
For not everyone would follow this example. If only God wanted that the new taxes could be alleviated and solved smoothly and unnoticeably. I would also not object to your bequeathing something annually to the poor people in your will and last will, which would be to their benefit for the payment of the taxes due; but in all cases now unannounced. For it might make the people wanton, and you suspicious. Secondly, if such thoughts occur to you, take the Holy Scriptures before you, and compose a psalm, or something else. For this is the only true book of consolation, as Paul tells us in Romans 15:4. Thirdly, God's mercy is greater than the life of all men, as it is written in the 63rd Psalm, v. 4. And as St. John says in his first epistle in the third chapter, v. 20: "If our heart punishes us, God is much greater than our heart. Fourth, in such afflictions of conscience, you have recourse to God, to dear prayer, and to the reception of the Holy Sacrament, and to the absolution of your pastor, and also to the diligent hearing of God's Word, without doubt, God will, through these Christian divine means, give your conscience and heart, if not complete rest and peace, at least good, blessed relief. For it is true, as it is written in Job, chapter 7, v. 1, that man must always be in conflict. Therefore God is also called the Lord of hosts, that he and his poor little band must always be in the field. But praise God! and as Paul says in 1 Cor. 15, 57, that God has given us the victory through Christ. Above this, as St. Paul says in 2 Cor. 2:14, we thank God that He always gives us victory in Christ. Last of all, be ye also with your sons concerning this, and faithfully instruct them to be content with the old customary taxes, and not to afflict the subjects with some innovation, but to follow the laudable and praiseworthy example of the Roman emperor Tiberius, of whom Suetonius writes, that, when some of his counsellors had been bent upon laying and enforcing taxes and duties upon the people, he gave them this answer: He will not do it. For it behooves a faithful and pious shepherd not to shear the sheep, but to shear them.

That would be just enough. God grant you blessed relief in your conscience. For Satan will never let us find complete peace in this troubled world, nor in our troubled blood and flesh.

(6) How this indignation has been sought to be restrained by amicable settlement.

772 The treaty made with the peasants at Lake Constance and in Algau on April 22, 1525, with Luther's preface and admonition to the peasants.

This writing appeared under the title: "Vertrag zwischen dem löblichen Bund zu Schwaben, vnd den zweyen Haussen vnd versamlung der Bawrn am Bodensee und Algew. M.D.XXV. Wittemberg." At the end, "Printed at Wittemberg by Joseph Klug." 1^ Bogen in 4. In the "Gesammtausgabe": in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 219, in the Jenaer (1556), vol. III, p. 102; in the Altenburger, vol. III, p. 106; in the Leipziger, vol.XIX, p. 246, and in the Erlanger, vol. 65, p. 2.

Preface by Martin Luther.

(1) I have received with great joy this treaty between the praiseworthy Union of Swabia and the peasantry at Lake Constance and in the Algäu, as a special grace of God in these desolate, horrible times, which the devil is wreaking through his red spirits and murderous prophets.

(2) And I have again sent for the same to be printed, whether perhaps God would also give His grace in our lands, that the same example might be met according to the work of the devil, and his bloodthirsty activity might be resisted, and also our peasants would desist from their dangerous, damned activity, and go to peace and friendly agreement, before God Himself comes, and their atrocious raving, both undertaken against divine and human right, is brought home with merciless earnestness.

003 For he himself hath said [Matt. 26:52], Whosoever taketh the sword shall perish by the sword. And also by St. Paul he hath said [Rom. 13:2], "He that resisteth the authorities resisteth the ordinance of God; but he that resisteth the same shall receive judgment." Such are his sayings that he wills and wills to have kept, and will not regard whether we are peasants or lords, whether we call ourselves Christian brethren, or what pretence we make; each one may judge himself according to them, God will not be mocked.

I. It is only to be known that the subjects at Lake Constance, also in the Algäu, over and against the golden bull of the Roman and imperial, Hispanic royal majesty, princes, princes and other estates of the holy empire, reformation and established land peace, swore together an alliance by a conspiracy, and thereupon threw themselves off their lords, nobles and sovereigns, in addition to which some of them have violently seized their castles, villages, towns and houses, partly burned them, also plundered some of them, urged their servants and others of their own to swear and do homage to them, and thus aroused warlike indignation in the Holy Empire: The Roman Imperial and Hispanic Royal Majesty, Princes, Princes and other estates of the laudable Confederation of Swabia, to show due aid, protection and protection to the conquered and damaged, their Confederation's relatives, and also to make physical resistance, and deaths, fires and captures, devastation of land and people have resulted from this: that the benevolent Lord, Lord Hug, Count of Montfort and Rottenfels, Lord Wolf Gremlich von Jüngingen, Knight, also the prudent, honourable and wise mayors and councillors of Ravenspurg, through their appointed councillor friends and embassies, Gwer Schellang and Johannes. Kriegling, to put an end to such deaths, fires, seizures, devastation of land and people, and to prevent as much as possible, the well-born Lord, Mr. Georgen Truchsessen, Baron of Waltburg, the chief field commander of the reported confederation, together with Count Wilhelm of Fürstenberg, and Mr. Frowein of Hütten, and Mr. Frowein von Hütten, 1) chief of the footmen and the men-at-arms, also of other princes, lords and councillors of the confederation, requesting with the greatest diligence to grant them amicable negotiations in this matter. And after the granted amicable discussion, of unnecessary to indicate the length, and reported war disturbance, between Roman, imperial and Hispanic royal majesty, princes, princes, also other states of the reported confederation, and predetermined subjects, be settled amicably, as follows:

(2) First, the two tribes of Algäu and Lake Constance shall hand over their treaties and covenants, which they have drawn up with each other and handed over to each other, to a common assembly.

003 Secondly, they shall also do their duty, so as

1) This name is spelled in all editions soon "Hütten", soon "huts"; but the former is predominant.

they have joined together for the sake of their alliance and union, count each other finally and completely free, and neither of them attracts the other further for that reason.

(4) Thirdly, after these have committed their insurrection and rebellion, as well as the deprivation of their sovereigns and dominions, against the Roman Imperial Majesty and the Holy Roman Empire's peace, the Golden Bull and common law, the peasants shall vow and swear to avoid such alliances, contracts and rebellions from now on.

5. Fourth, they shall swear and take an oath that they will be faithful, obedient, and faithful to their lords, sovereigns, from whom they have seceded, and that they will do and render their interest, taxes, tithes, and other righteousnesses, as they have done and rendered them before this rebellion, until they have justly repudiated all or part of it, by one of the following resignations or by ordinary law.

(6) Fifthly, they shall also return and deliver all monasteries, castles, cities, towns, houses, and estates, as many as they have conquered and taken in this rebellion and outrage, together with the stolen 1) property, as much as may be found or reported in their possession, to those who have stolen it 2) as soon as possible.

(7) Sixthly, whether in this outrage they have compelled any person to duties or to vouched or unvouched assessment, 3) to give prescription therefore, they shall be dead and gone.

(8) Seventhly, if all and any of the foregoing has been fully done and executed, whether one or more, common or special, of the above-mentioned two groups should think that they have been adversely affected by their sovereigns and rulers, in whatever way that may be, so that they may be duly turned around and dealt with, as common estates are most inclined to promote.

009 And again, what the same sovereigns and lords shall say and declare against their subjects and subjects, commonly or specially.

1) Wittenberger: entwandten; Jenaer: entwarten; Erlanger: Entwerten. - After the immediately following: "so much" we have, like Walch, omitted a pleonastic "they".

2) So the Wittenbergers. Jenaer and Erlanger: devalue. May now the one or the other reading be correct, the sense is not doubtful: the robbed.

3) Thus the Erlangen. Wittenberg and Jena: Statutes.

That they will take and give the settlement of all and every such matters against each other. Namely, that a sovereignty or lordship may propose two or three respectable towns of their liking, and the subjects of the peasants may also propose two or three towns of their liking, and if they do not agree amicably or legally, then they shall choose and request the F. D. to be a chairman, and it shall also remain unanswered. 4)

010 Eighthly, lest any man complain of the expense or inconvenience of seeking justice before the princes or judges of the confederation, which party shall be more agreeable, that every sovereignty or lordship, and of the subjects and hinds of the same, between whom there be error and infirmity, shall give and ordain two different honorable men of temporal estate, who shall diligently endeavor to unite and reconcile them in kindness with knowledge, on account of such infirmities.

(11) The ninth, in which articles they would not find the goodness, that then the parties want to be finally satisfied about the same.

(12) For the tenth, and that is, the parties shall agree on a chairman; and if they cannot agree, then each part shall name one, two, or three, and draw lots for it, or the common estates of the Union of Swabia shall choose and give one of them to the assembly as chairman.

(13) As to the eleventh, and what by the same counsel and additions all, or more than one, of the parties, orally or in writing, shall be spoken in kind, or shall be justly adjudged, that it shall remain so, and shall be accepted and executed by each party to whom it shall apply, without objection.

14. In the twelfth place, each sovereign of the same subjects, hinds, and dependents, shall, after the proposed legal or amicable resignations, unite them one to another, or one to the other, within a lunar term, also needful Compromise and Commencement Deed therefore comprehended, and with sufficient faith, promise and sealing, as befits, erect and thereafter make, with the but clause that amicable or legal action, after date of the Commencement and Compromise, shall take place within one year and three months the next.

4) "solle" added by Walch. - "F. D." perhaps: Fürstlichen Durchlauchten?

5) Erlanger: one each.

unless the parties, or the chairman, for reasons which are just and equitable, delay longer.

15. The thirteenth, so that peace, tranquillity and unity may be kept in the holy kingdom the more nobly, and the obedient, peaceful subjects may not again be seduced by the rebellious, disobedient ones and brought to ruinous harm, the said subjects of the two tribes shall keep a faithful and diligent watch in all courts and parishes whether any or more of them do not live up to this treaty and all that is contained in it, or continue to cause rebellion and disobedience, If any or more of them do not live up to and comply with this treaty and all that is contained therein, or if they continue to stir up and disobey it, they shall report them to the authorities under whom they have sat and help them to prison. That they may be punished for their disobedience and transgression, as is fitting.

16. Fourteenth, if it should happen that the lords, nobles and sovereigns of the above-mentioned subjects do not live up to and comply with this (i) treaty, including the articles therein, in so far as they concern them, nor do they complain to the subjects, together or separately, against the law, and urge them further than the said treaty contains, and report the complaints of such to the chiefs of the league and the councillors, the common estates shall, as far as they are able, with the help of the complainants, bring them to obey the treaty of its contents in all respects, so that every complainant who desires justice may, as is due, prosper and be granted it.

(17) Finally, all ill-will that has occurred between the sovereigns and the many subjects under this outrage is hereby put away and ended, nor shall any part inflict anything unfriendly or harmful on the other outside of the law, and further than this treaty admits. Hereupon, the said subjects of Lake Constance and Algaeu, a committee, councillors, and attorneys with full power, have delivered to Mr. Jörgen Truchsefsen, chief captain of the army, a sealed, frugal power: namely, Ditterich Hurlenwagen of Lindau, and Thomam Maierhofer of Raitnau, on account of the subjects of the place Ober-Raitnau; Eitelhans Zigelmüller of Unterthüringen, Otmar Kelk and Hans Aggenbach of Riethain, on account of Bermatinger Platz. Hans Katzmair of Lottenweiler, and Conrad Scherer of Wernsreutin, by reason of Ailinger Platz. Conrad Hablützel, by reason of Marchdorfer Platz. Hans Hagen by reason of Mörsbürger Platz. Conrad Her-

1) Wittenberger: "this"; Jenaer and Erlanger: "these", and: "the articles".

moved of Suplingen and Jakob Harsch of Bondorf, by reason of Obniger place. Hans Bach of Rappersweiler, Hans Lencker of Linnau and Curlin Schmidt of Rüßried, by reason of Rappersweiler Platz. Antonius Wäger of Osterach, Jakob Wikel of Rottenbühel and Hans Schwelling of Galkreutin, by reason of Osteracher Platz. Hans Wirt of Hasenweiler, by reason of Zusdorfer Platz. Christian Rupp, Hans Gerber and Rudolph Scherer of Tetnang, by reason of Tetnanger Platz. Görg Beck, by reason of Argewer Platz. Hans Hörnstein of Nuvenhoren, Claus Eberlin of Entzisweiler, and Hans Hagk of Berg, by reason of Wasserburger Platz. Thomas Biechlin and Michel Pfeifer, by reason of new Ravenspurger place. Bastian Müller of Zell, Hans Nickel of Lanckrain, and Görg Schaup of Hof, by reason of Zeller Platz. Wildbold Dürner of Riethhausen, Franz Mülner of Ebenweiler, Thomas Michelberg of Letzelbach, and Hans Moser of Furt, on account of the square in the Altdorf field. Hans Stiegklein, Conrad Meier of Althain, Görg Mülner of Langen-Eßlingen, and Görg Krauß of Tongendorf, on account of Unlenger Platz. Hans Kem and Urban Ziegelmüller, on account of Altdorfer Platz. Martin Resch of Buchars, and Bartholmes Müller of Weitnau, on account of Truchberger Platz. Hans Schweiglein of Stifenhofen, and Hans Schaidebach of Langnau, on account of Stoffer Platz. Jörg Jöck of Schonau, by reason of Lindenberger Platz; and Caspar Küttel of Küsleg, on account of the places on Leukircherhaid, vow and swear for themselves and their above-mentioned subjects, their fellow relatives and principal souls, with open fingers and learned words, bodily to God and the saints, that they will all together and without divorce, and each of them in particular, to understand, to be able to understand, and to keep, from word to word, all that is set forth in the foregoing article and this covenant, excepting nothing else, true, firm, continuous, and unbroken, and to faithfully perform, live, observe, and obey the same in all respects, without any excerpt or contradiction.

(18) And that for greater security, they all agree, (2) and each of them in particular is bound to the highest and commits everything that this treaty, also all and every article contained therein, binds them and imposes upon them, nothing separate, to grant right against all their lords, nobles and sovereigns, to be guarantors and comforted one behind the other.

(19) Therefore, if it should come to pass, 3) [that] all or especially this treaty is in all respects

2) Wittenberger: signed.

3) Erlanger: "zutrügen".

also every article, such as those contained therein, not strictly lived, obeyed and complied with their contents, but in some way would do against it, 1) it would be with the deed or in other way, nothing separated, that [they] then fell äs casto in the Roman Imperial and Hispanic Royal Majesty's disfavor, also of the Holy Empire's attention and disregard. Also the Roman imperial and Hispanic royal majesty, princes and other estates of the laudable union of Swabia, in addition their lords, nobles and superiors, also all and any others who want to charge and accept these matters, have full power and attain right, to attack all of them and each one in particular, without any previous denunciation, declaration and further legal compliance, on their possessions and goods, lying, travelling, leasing and own, to take them into their hands, as their own goods, to have them, to use them, to use them, to move them, to sell them.

20. Or against them and their bodies, as the openly rebellious, disobedient, denunciated, declared, prescribed eights and aberrants, with death-blows, taking, burning and other means, also ways, so against each rebellious, disobedient and contradictory to use, to carry out and to act, always, as long and much, until they have completely satisfied, made unenforceable and compensated their lords, nobles and sovereigns for all their losses, deficiencies and infirmities, according to the assets and contents of this contract, together with the costs and damages incurred, and they have all, and everyone in particular, been made to obey. In addition, all that this contract, also all and every article, therein conceived, contained, have fully reimbursed and executed.

21st And we Georg Truchsess, Baron of Waltburg, as chief field captain, Wilhelm, Count of Fürstenberg 2c., and Frowein von Hütten, knight, reported covenanting foot soldiers and cavalry colonels, also the above-mentioned lower Thedingen, Hug, Count of Montfort and Rottenfels, Gwer Schellang and Johann Krieglein, both citizens and of the council of Ravenspurg, as mayors and councilors there, plus a predetermined two-man committee, Councillors and fully authorized attorneys, for ourselves, also reported subjects, our fellow relatives and principals, all confess that in this letter and contract understood, with our all, and especially often reported subjects of the two groups, will, knowledge, understanding and permission are acted, finally accepted and decided.

22. and we Georg Truchsess 2c., Wilhelm, Count

1) In the issues: would.

zu Fürstenberg, and Frowein von Hütten, knight, instead of and in the name of the common confederates, with our honors, dignities and highest faith. And we the Committees, Councils and fully authorized attorneys of the aforementioned two tribunals, on behalf of ourselves and our many subjects, our principals and also our relatives, together and especially by the aforementioned oaths we have sworn, and by the pretence herein contained, promise, that everything, as far as such touches each one, to keep true, steady and unbroken, to live most faithfully, to comply, and by ourselves or anyone else for our sake, not to do nor create anything contrary thereto, all faithfully and safely.

23. In witness whereof we, Georg Truchsess, Baron of Waltburg, Wilhelm, Count of Fürstenberg, Frowein of Hütten, Knight, Hug, Count of Montfort, Mayor and Council of the City of Ravenspurg, and we the Amman, Mayors, and Councillors of the Cities and Towns of Totnang, Marchdorf, Mörsburg, and Altdorf, for ourselves, as co-relatives of certain Covenants of the two Tribes of Lake Constance and Algäu, also at the earnest request of the aforesaid same Committee, Councillors and lawyers with full authority, that we, the councillors and lawyers, confess, have therefore asked and requested them, all our and the said towns' seals, but to us the subjects and common town of Ravenspurg in all ways without harm, publicly attached to this letter, which is given on the second and twentieth day of the moon Aprilis, after the birth of Christ fifteen hundred twenty and five years.

Martin Luther's admonition.

1. No one can deny that our people have no right cause at all, but burden themselves with grievous and grievous sins and arouse God's terrible and unmistakable wrath against them, so that they break their loyalty, oaths, oaths, and duties, which they have done and sworn to their sovereignty, and fall into disobedience, and fall into disobedience, and set themselves against the authority ordered and commanded by God, and take vengeance upon themselves, and take the sword with their own iniquity and thirst, when God would have the authority feared and honored, though it were heathen, and did vile wrong, as Christ himself honored it in Pilate, his unjust judge and crucifier. But the peasants do not have enough of it, that they rage so faithlessly, perjuredly, disobediently and sacrilegiously against God's order, but also plunder-

They rob, steal, and take wherever they please, as public highwaymen and murderers, who disturb the peace of the land and the peace of the home. And, worst of all, they carry on such rages and atrocious vices under the Christian name and pretense of the Gospel, so that they profane and blaspheme God's name in the highest way, just as if God were pleased with the unfaithful and perjurers (who are otherwise also called traitors and evil-doers) and with public robbers and murderers and blasphemers.
002 O woe, and woe unto you damned false prophets, which deceive the poor simple folk to such destruction of their souls, and peradventure of their loss of body and substance! For whichever peasant in such a pretence shall be made whole, or be put to death, he shall be
as a faithless man, a perjurer, a robber, a murderer, a blasphemer, and an enemy of Christ slain. Where he shall go, let the children tell you. They are Christian brethren. Yes, as Judas kisses and greets Christ, the devils reign there.

Therefore, dear peasants, let go, listen, and let me say to you: You are already condemned before God according to your soul; who knows how your body and your goods will fare? Finally, if you win or lose, it must be over you, for your injustice is too great and too high; God cannot suffer it for long. Give yourselves over to peace and agreement, even if it has to happen with bodily harm, so that the sin and destruction of souls may cease, where one no longer wants to gain; then God will grant His grace, amen.

The third section of the tenth chapter.

Of the revolt of the peasants in Thuringia, of which Münzer was the author.

773 A letter from the Elector of Saxony to Duke John, advising him to settle the trade of the peasants amicably. Friday, April 14, 1525.

This and the next letter are found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 216; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 510 f.; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 876 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 241. Incomplete in all these editions. From the original written by the Elector Frederick himself, printed in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 259. We have subsequently corrected and supplemented this document.

1st Highborn Prince, friendly dear brother and godfather! Today and yesterday I received two letters from E. L., which I read and understood in a friendly manner, and I am sending the paintings back to E. L. and thanking him kindly, as I did not want to have them taken down so that they would not come to the people from me. It is God's sending and work, God grant, to a blessed end. With my weakness it is in the old essence, it cannot go at all. The next day I had such a day of pain in my right knee that I could not rest day or night.
Praise be to God, the day of sorrow has been partially alleviated. For God's sake I deserve this and other things with my sins. May He grant me to bear such His gracious visitation with patience.

2nd To my lord I heartily wished to give notice of my misgivings, which should be given to the princes for answer, but my lord knows my weakness. So this is a great bargain, that one should act by force. Perhaps the poor people have been given cause for such an uproar, and especially by forbidding the word of God; so the poor are burdened in many ways by us temporal and spiritual rulers. God turn his wrath away from us. If God wills it so, it will come to pass that the common man shall rule; but if it is not his will, and if it is not done for his praise, it will soon be otherwise. Let us pray to God for forgiveness of our sins, and let him take it home; he will make all things fine according to his will and praise. I take care that E. L. and I, as much as possible, remain idle in these matters, and do not mix with the clergy, who, as I am concerned, grant E. L. and me little good.

1) "not" is missing in the original, but is rightly added in all editions.

For God's sake, I ask E. L. to be kind to my thoughtless writing; God knows that I mean it faithfully. The Union of Swabia will probably bring the peasants to obedience. Otherwise they will force the whole world to obey them. God send them to create, so that they may also see that God is the right covenant prince, and nothing else is constant. For God is opposed to all hope.

Where the falconer E. L. made a lot of Lusts, I liked to hear.

To-day a writing has come to me from the Netherlands, in which it is written that the Vice-Reyhe [King] of Naples is supposed to have captured the King of France, and the King is supposed to have said that he would rather be captured honestly than to have fled disgracefully. But whether it is true, I do not know.

4 I did not want to restrain all this in E. L.'s friendly opinion, for I am quite willing to serve E. L. with divine bestowal. Almost hurrying to the Lochau on Char Friday [April 14]. In 1525.

Frederick m. pp.

Is delivered on Easter Monday at Weimar. Anno Domini 1525?)

774 Another letter of the Elector, the 4th of May 1525, the day before his blessed end, written to Duke John.

See the previous number. From a simultaneous copy whose variants Förstemann I. 6. p. 280 gives, added by us.

Highborn Prince, friendly dear brother and godfather! E. L.'s letter, which you have now sent to me with your own hand, in which you inform me of all the occasions of the terrible 2) riots and uprisings in E. L. and my Principality of Thuringia, and of the fact that the common peasants are turning back and forth to the monasteries. L. and my principality of Thuringia, and that the common peasants have subjected themselves to the monasteries, the houses of the nobility, and otherwise, by force 2c., I have read out together with a skilful copy in which Burkhard Hund and others have had to commit themselves; and that the things in E. L. and my poverty have changed with the times. L. and my poverty are proceeding at a rapid pace, for which E. L. undoubtedly received no small amount of discomfort, for which I bear E. L., as my dear brother, heartfelt and friendly sympathy.

1) Duke Johann noted this on the address.

2) Förstemann: "unseemly".

(2) And because the Almighty God has decreed it this way for the sake of our sin, let us give this and other things to His divine will, which, without a doubt, will know how to do it for our good. At the present time, because I am in God's power and will, I can help E. L. little or not at all, although I would like to do so with all my will.

(3) If the Lutherans in Franconia could use the tenth penny that they have paid to make the people quiet and obedient, it would not be a bad thing in this and other places. Our Lord God will undoubtedly repay E. L. and me again abundantly and graciously in other ways. And as your beloved ask that I have this market with your beloved patience, and that your beloved can give me nothing in the tithe, I will gladly do so, although it is somewhat inconvenient for me, because I am to give money to Hansen von Berlebsch, Ern Hansen von Minkwitz 3) and others in the present market. But I will do as I can, and thus tie one to the other, so that I may please your love in this.

(4) I will well believe that E. L. could easily be led into a game by the advisors' statements and suggestions, which would be noticeably disadvantageous and insurmountable for E. L.. Let E. L. put her trust in God, as I, if God wills, as much as I am granted grace, will also do, who will not leave E. L. and me here temporally and there eternally. With the Turkish money deposited at Nuremberg, your beloved knows on what condition it was deposited; since it has not been used so far to resist the Turk, I consider it that, if your beloved applies to those of Nuremberg for it, they will not hold it against your beloved. I hope that your Lords will kindly excuse me for not writing to your Lords with my own hand, for it remains solely due to my weakness. I did not want to do this in E. L.'s friendly opinion, and I am very grateful to E. L. as my friendly dear friend. L., as my friendly dear brother, willing to serve him. Date Lochau, Thursday after Misericordia Domini [May 4] Anno 1525.

775 The council of Erfurt writes to Luther and Melanchthon because of the peasants' revolt, in which they report that their citizens and country people have handed over some complaints to them;

3) Förstemann: Winckwitz.

therefore they ask Luther and Melanchthon to consult with them about this the sooner the better, so that sedition may be prevented.

May 10, 1525.

In Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 343, and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 171.

Our friendly services and what we dear and good are able before. Worthy, highly esteemed and respectable, favourable, dear lords! There have arisen errors and afflictions among our citizens and country folk, whereupon some have handed over articles to us to grant and establish. Since we, out of divine commandment and love of our neighbor, recognize ourselves guilty, we are also willing and inclined to do as much as possible to ensure that among our subjects and other Christian people no rebellion or discord arises, but to prevent it, or at least to avert and calm it, and the articles handed over are nevertheless of such a nature that they require Christian consideration and counsel, and your dignities, as highly esteemed lords, are determined by ours for this purpose: ...it is our friendly and officious request that E.W. will, out of Christian love and for the preservation of the divine word, peace and unity, join us here in Erfurt, and move and discuss such articles with us and others, so that we may not violate the commandments of God in establishing them and act to abort our authority, freedom and privileges, and not deny us this request. Of this we wish to be fully provided for your dignity, and kindly again to merit it. Given under our Secret, Wednesday after the Sunday Jubilate [May 10] Anno Domini 1525. The Council of Erfurt.

776 A letter of escort which Count Albrecht of Mansfeld received from the rebellious peasants on May 11, 1525, to come to them and make a settlement with them.

This number, together with the four that follow and No. 793, constitutes the writing that Luther published in 1525 under the title: "Ein Schrecklich geschicht vnnd gericht Gottes über Thomas Müntzer, darin Gott offenlich desselbigen gehst lugen strafft vnd verdammet. Martin Luther." iz Bogen in 4. Several individual editions followed. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1551s, vol. II, p. 1061); in the Jena (1556s, vol. III, p. 138d; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 132; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 287; and in the Erlangen, vol. 65,

Walch has changed the original order of the pieces. In the original and in the other editions, they follow one after the other as follows: No. 793. 779. 780. 777. 776 and 778. Because there is no internal connection between the individual pieces, we have been able to leave them in Walch's order.

1. grace and peace in Christ our Saviour. Noble Count and Lord! We have read your letter and thank you for your Christian congregation and your faithful service, which you have done for us, even though in sending it we have alienated the poor people of Odersleuben and Pfiffe from theirs. However, we order you and yours to have a Christian day with thirty horses safely, to appear tomorrow Friday at twelve o'clock at Mertens Rita before the bridge.

(2) For this purpose, we give you our safe and harmless escort with our seal attached, and we secure you to and from your custody, without any danger, also to such an extent that you will keep yourselves peaceful with your followers against poverty and Christian assembly in the meantime, and send us escort again, to the extent that we do to you, according to which we will act. We are pleased to show you Christian loyalty and ask for a written reply. Date Thursday after Jubilate [11 May] Anno 1525.

Christian Assembly at Frankenhausen.

To the noble count and lord, Albrecht zu Mansfeld, Christian prince, our lord and friendly brother in Christ.

777 A very impudent letter written by Muenzer on behalf of the peasants to Count Albrecht of Mansfeld. 12 May 1525.

See No. 776.

bling be to everyone who does evil, Rom. 2, 9.

001 That thou shouldest thus misuse the epistle of Paul, pity me. Thou wilt confirm the wicked rulers in all measure, as the pope hath made Peter and Paul masters of the stocks. Thinkest thou that God the Lord cannot stir up his foolish people to put away tyrants in his wrath? Hosea on the 13th, v. I I., and Cap. 8, 4. Did not the Mother of Christ speak from the Holy Spirit, of thee and of thy like weiffagende, Luc. I, 52. "The mighty hath he thrust from the throne, and the lowly (whom thou despisest) exalted"?

(2) Hast thou not found in thy Lutheran brew, and in thy Wittemberg soups, what Ezekiel saith in his 37th chapter, v. 4? Nor did you not like to taste in your Martinic building dirt, as the same prophet further says in the 39th chapter, v. 4, the difference, how God demands of all the birds of the sky that they should eat the flesh of the princes, and the unreasonable animals should drink the blood of the "great" Hanses, as described in the secret revelation in the 18th and 19th chapter, 18. Do you think that God does not care more for His people than for you tyrants? You want to be a heathen under the name of Christ, and cover yourself with Paulo. But you will be led astray, and know how to keep yourself in line.

(3) If thou wilt acknowledge Daniel 7:27, how God hath given authority to the church, and appear before us, and break thy faith, we will gladly confess it unto thee, and have it for a common brother; but if not, we will not turn to thy lame, stale faces, and fight against thee, as against an arch-enemy of the Christian faith; then know thou to abide. Given at Frankenhausen, Friday after Jubilate [12 May], Anno 1525.

Thomas Münzer with the sword Gedeonis.

Brother Albrechten von Mansfeld for conversion...
written.

778 Luther's epilogue to the writing: "Ein schrecklich Geschicht" 2c., which primarily serves to explain the two preceding letters to Count Albrecht of Mansfeld.

See No. 776.

Martinus Luther.

(1) These two letters to Count Albrecht, Lord of Mansfeld, come from the fact that the same count, out of Christian good opinion, had offered in writing against the peasants of Frankenhausen to seek a friendly treaty with their overlords, and to act so that bloodshed would be avoided. Thereupon, as their letter reads, they named Friday for him, on their escort. But because there was business on the same Friday, the same earl and lord again sent a letter, and agreed the next Sunday after. However, God has sent Thomas Muenzer from Mulhouse to Frankenhausen; the same
perhaps thought that Count Albrecht was doing this out of fear and despondency, and managed so much that the peasants gave the count no answer, and so the treaty remained, but Münzer himself wrote this Brie, as you see.

(2) The poor people have relied on these glorious words of Muenzer, and thought that the Holy Spirit spoke through Muenzer. So they have been deceived, and unfortunately more than five thousand have lost body and soul at once. Oh, the wretched wretch! That's what the devil would have, that's what he seeks of all the other rebellious peasants. And all would be sued, if only their souls were saved. But because they persist in public disobedience, unfaithfulness, perjury and blasphemy to the end, they are doomed forever.

(3) O LORD God, you wretched brutes, where are your words now, that you have stirred up and incited the poor people, saying that they are God's people, that God fights for them, that one would slay a hundred, that with a felt hat they would throw five to death, and that the cannon stones would return shooting and strike the enemies? Where then is Muenzer's sleeve, wherein he would cast all the stones that were shot against his people? Who then is the God that cried out such promises by the mouth of Muenzer almost a year?

004 Whosoever therefore shall not turn from this public judgment of God, which he hath proved in the wrath of God before all the world, nor learn how these seditionists have been against God, and have led vain lies, shall ever be wilfully and knowingly deceived and damned. What should preaching and exhortation help, if such tangible deeds and experience do not help?

005 All these things write I, and let them go forth, not that I should rejoice in the good, and in the evil of them. For what good is this to me? I do not know what God has decided about me, but I would like to warn all other rebels, and prevent them from falling into the same judgment and wrath of God, and to renounce the harmful false prophets, recognized by such judgment of God, and to give themselves to peace and obedience, as God has commanded and wills.

006 For though I am well sorry that the poor people have been so miserably deceived, and have perished in body and soul, yet I must rejoice that God hath pronounced a judgment, and judged the matter, that we may know and confess with certainty, how the revolting spirits have taught unjustly and falsely, that their doctrine and preaching are contrary to God, and are condemned of him. This is so that we may henceforth beware of them, and keep our bodies and souls safe through the right word of God.

(7) In the end, I ask all pious Christians to help us pray to God with earnestness that His divine mercy will ward off the devil and turn his wrath away from us. For the peasants have become so deeply and severely hardened and senseless that they neither see nor hear, and no preaching, no writing helps, God alone must help, otherwise there will be no end to the misery through our doings and counsel. It is no longer time to preach, but time to ask, the wrath has begun; we must defend ourselves with prayer, as Aaron defended the fire with the censer. Numbers 16:47.

(8) I also ask two things of the lords and rulers. The first, where they win and are obliged not to exalt themselves, but to fear God, before whom they are also almost criminal. For God does not give them victory because they are so righteous and pious, but, as Moses also said to the children of Israel about his wicked, because God punishes the peasants' disobedience and blasphemy along with all their iniquities.

(9) The other thing, that they would be merciful to the captives and to those who surrender, as God is merciful to everyone who surrenders and humbles himself before Him, lest the weather change and God again give victory to the peasants. May God help us soon to blessed peace, Amen. Anno 1525.

779 Münzer's letter to the peasants assembled at Frankenhausen and to the miners at Mansfeld, by which he prevented them from answering Count Albrecht of Mansfeld's offer of inheritance. Before 12 May 1525.

See No. 776.

The pure fear of GOD before.

1 Dear brethren, how long do you sleep? How long have you not confessed to God his will, because he has forsaken you according to your own reputation? Oh, how much have I told you, how it must be. God can no longer reveal Himself; you must stand. If you do not, then the sacrifice, a heart-broken heartache, is in vain; you must then come again into suffering, I tell you; if you do not want to suffer for God's sake, then you must be the devil's martyrs).

2) Therefore beware, do not be despondent, be careless, no longer flatter the perverse fantasists, the ungodly wicked; look at and fight the Lord's battle, it is high time; hold all your brothers to it, that they do not mock the divine testimony, otherwise they must all perish. The whole of German, French, and Welsh land is awake; 2) the master wants to make a game, the evil-doers must take their turn.

In Fulda, four collegiate churches were devastated during Easter week; the peasants of Klegen in Hegau and the Black Forest are up to three times a hundred thousand strong, and the longer it goes on, the greater the accumulation. But this is my worry, that the foolish people consent to a false agreement, because they do not yet recognize the damage. Where there are only three of you, who, left in God, seek His name and honor alone, will you not fear a hundred thousand?)

004 Now, now, now, it is time, the wicked are free as dogs; stir up the brethren, that they may come to peace, and fetch their moved testimony; it is exceeding great, exceeding needful; now, now, now! Let not Esau have mercy on you, if he proposes good words to you, Gen. 33, 4. Do not look at the mourning of the wicked, they will ask you so kindly, cry, plead, like children; let it not have mercy on you, as God commanded through Moses, Deut. 7, 16, and he has also revealed the same to us.

1) Marginal gloss in the Wittenberg and the Jena: Notice, dear reader, how the spirit of vice and murder promises to the poor people and seduces them so miserably. Fear God and hear His word with earnestness and thanksgiving. But if you despise it, you will have to listen to such prophets of the devil, to your eternal damnation. Protect, dear God.

2) Thus Walch. Erlanger: wag; Wittenberger and Jenaer: erreget.

3) Marginal gloss in the Jena edition: "What great misfortune and misery you have already caused with this false promise.

4) Fringe gloss in the Jenaer: Yes, in the smoke hole.

Towns, and especially the miners with other good fellows, which will be good for it; we must sleep no longer.

005 Behold, as I wrote these words, there came unto me tidings from Salza, how the people would have put away Duke George's officer from the castle, because he had sought to slay three in secret. The peasants of Eisfeld have become merry over their squires; in short, they will have no mercy on them, it is much in their nature, in your image, you must have at it, at it, it is time! Baltzar 1) and Bartel Krump, Valten and Bishop are his.

6th Let this letter be to the journeyman; my printer will come in a little while; I have received the message, I cannot do otherwise now. I myself wanted to give the brethren complete instruction, so that their hearts would be much bigger than all the castles and armor of the wicked wicked on earth. Get at it, get at it, get at it, because the fire is hot!

007 Let not your sword wax cold with blood, forge Pinkepank upon the anvil of Nimrod, cast them 2) the tower to the ground: it is not possible, because they live, that ye should be loosed from the fear of man. You cannot be told of GOD, because they rule over you. On, on, on, because it is your day! God goes before you, follow. The story is described in Matthew 24. Therefore do not be deterred, God is with you, as written in 2 Chron. 20, 15: 3) "This is what God says: You shall not be afraid, you shall not shun this great multitude; it is not your war, but the LORD's; it is not you who war." Stand up manfully, for ye shall see the help of the LORD upon you. When Jehoshaphat heard these words, he fell down: so do ye also by God, who strengtheneth you in the right faith without fear of man, Amen. Date Mulhouse, Anno 1525.

Thomas Muenzer, a servant of God against the ungodly.

780. Münzer's very impertinent letter to Count Ernst of Mansfeld, a fierce Catholic. 12 May 1525.

See No. 776.

1) That is: Balthasar Stübener, as can be seen from No. 781, § 6. - Bishop" will probably be "Bishop of Welffenröd", cf. idiä § 21.

2) Wittenberger and Jenaer: "jn", that is: "him" or "them"; we have chosen the latter. The Erlanger offers: "on the anvil; Nimrod werfet in den Thorm zu Boden".

3) In all editions: "2 Para. 2."

The steadfast strength, firm fear of God and the constant ground of His righteous will be with you, Brother Ernst.

(1) I, Thomas Muenzer, now pastor of Allstädt, urge you, for the sake of the living name of God, to cease your tyrannical rages and to no longer incur the wrath of God upon yourself. You have begun to torture the Christians, you have accused the holy Christian faith of being an insult, you have subjected the Christians to extermination.

002 Behold, thou wretched, scanty maggot, who hast made thee ruler of the people whom God hath purchased with his precious blood? You must and shall prove whether you are a Christian, you shall and must calculate your faith, as commanded in 1 Petr. 3, 15; you shall have safe conduct in true truth to bring your faith to light, as a whole congregation has promised you in the ring, and you shall also excuse yourself from your apparent tyranny, also declare who made you so thirsty that you want to be such a heathen villain under a Christian name to the detriment of all Christians.

003 If thou wilt remain without, and wilt not discharge the matter that is laid before thee, then will I cry out before all the world, that all the brethren may boldly venture their blood, as they did against the Turks, and thou shalt be persecuted and cut off. For every man shall be more diligent to obtain indulgences of thee, than the pope did in time past. We know nothing else about thee, there is no shame in thee: God hath hardened thee, as Pharaoh the king, Exodus 7:3, and as the kings whom God would destroy, Joshua 5 and 11.

(4) Be it ever more grievous to God that the world has not known thy rude tyranny of the buffaloes beforehand; how hast thou done such noticeable and irreparable harm, how can anyone have mercy on thee but God Himself? In short, you have been delivered to corruption by God's mighty power. If you will not humble yourself before the little ones, an eternal disgrace will fall on your neck before all of Christendom; you will become the devil's martyr.

(5) That thou also knowest that we have a command, I say, the eternal living God hath commanded that thou be forcibly thrust from the throne, which is given unto us. For you are of no use to Christianity, you are a harmful stumbling block 5).

4) Marginal gloss in the Wittenberg and in the Jena: Yes, the tiresome devil in hell.

5) Erlanger: Stäubbesem.

of the friends of GOD; GOD hath said it of thee and of thy like, Ezekielis 34, 2. ff. and 39. Danielis 7, 26. Matt. 3, 10. 12. Abdias the prophet saith [Obadiah, v. 4.], Thy nest shall be plucked up and broken.

(6) We want to have your answer this very day, or we want to visit you in the name of God of hosts, so know how to direct yourself; we will immediately do what God has commanded us, do you also your best? Given at Frankenhausen, Friday after Jubilate [12 May] Anno 1525.

Thomas Münzer with the sword Gedeonis.

Letter for the conversion of Brother Ernst of Heldrungen.

781 Thomas Muenzer's confession, when he was questioned in kindness, Tuesday after Cantate, May 16, 1525.

This writing is in the Wittenberg edition (1551), vol. II, p. 4796; in the Jena (1556), vol. III, p. 1426; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 136, and in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 291.

001 He is not willing that the holy reverend sacrament should be worshipped otherwise than in the spirit, but that it should be at the discretion of every one.

2. confesses that he administered the sacrament to the sick after noon, also at night, after each occasion, even if he ate at once, took wine and bread and consecrated.

3rd In Clegkau and Hegau near Basel he has given some articles, how one should rule, from the Gospel, made other articles from it; would have gladly taken him to himself, but have thanked them. Have not made indignation, but have been up ready before. Oecolampadius and Hugefeldus directed him to preach to the people, since he preached that where there were unbelieving rulers, there would also be unbelieving people, so that there should be justification. His wife had the letters written to him in a sack.

4th Says that the castles are quite burdensome and overloaded with services and other burdens against the subjects.

005 Say that a prince shall ride with eight horses, and an earl with four, and a nobleman with two; and above them not. ,

1) Randglosse in the Wittenberger and in the Jenaer: I drive therefore, yes, on a gag into the Thmrm to Heldrungen, and am a beschissen prophet become.

(6) Bartel Krump, a tanner from Allstadt, and Balthasar Stübener were in his alliance; there they started the riot. Item, the locksmith 2) is also in it, although he made himself difficult at first. The alliance was against those who persecuted the gospel, and the two had a register in which the allies were inscribed.

7th He Thilo Ganse, preacher at Sangerhausen, exhorted him to write a letter to the church there, to stand by the gospel, and to persecute those who oppose him; which was done by him.

8) Says that Doctor Strauss 3) has suggested to Weimar. When he disputed with the Barefooters there, he appeared at the request of the Prince Duke John, and let himself be heard by the brethren: If the Lutherans did not want to do anything else, except to vex monks and priests, they would have left it all the more alone. At that time he wrote against him in an epistle to Johann's friars at Mühlhausen: if he did not mind the way, he might well come to Mühlhausen and expel him; perhaps this was because he would have liked to be there himself.

9th Cause that he damaged and scolded my lord, the sovereign prince and count Ernsten of Mansfeld, had happened because the subjects complained that the word of God was not preached to them, he had ordered them to report to each of his superiors where it was not preached and forbidden them to go to the word of God, that they then come to him, if he wanted to preach it to them, they should not let themselves be prevented from doing so or be mistaken.

10 The people of Mühlhausen let him in, and Johann Röder, a furrier, and the wine-grower at St. Blasius accepted him.

(11) He was in Mallerbach near Allstädt, and saw that they carried some images out of the church, and afterwards burned the church. I preached that it was a spelunk and an idolatry with the signs that one enters with wax; it was not commanded by God. Thereupon I warned the man from Kleusen there to go away; this was done, and afterwards the church was burned.

012 He Apel Ellenwentz's house is plundered and broken up by the brethren of Mühlhausen, that it is a burdensome house, out of several articles.

2) Hans Zeis.

3) On D. Jakob Strauß compare St. Louis edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 47 f. and Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 39.

none, so the brothers moved, which him 1) not mißlich, had gewest the twelve articles of the Black Forest peasants and others.

The council of Mühlhausen did not want to enter into the alliance, but left the alliance to the common man. Claus Storch and Marx Stübener of Zwickau had been with Luther in Wittenberg in a small room, and he had also been there. Luther had let himself be heard that he had beaten the All-City Spirit over the muzzle; he had not personally been there this time.

14th He Gangloff, the preacher of the sick at Frankenhausen, has accepted an ensign, if those of Heringen and Greussen were among them.

Embarrassedly asked, he replied:

15th Heinrich Gebhart at Zwickau, in the Hundsgassen, together with Hans Gebhart their appendix, are weavers, are also in his alliance.

16th He Heinrich Pfeifer has stated that it is enough that in every ward there is one castle, the others are to be destroyed.

17" Has pronounced the sentence on Matern von Sehofen, from the mouth of the community, and has consented to it. He was afraid of Count Ernsten and of the community.

18. has had his refuge and reliance on Mühlhausen, that it pleases him all there. His principals there are two, as above, Kürßner and Weinbörner.

19th Confesses, where he conquered the castle Heldrungen, that he wanted to have cut off Count Ernsten's head.

020 This rebellion he had made, that Christendom should be made equal, and that the princes and lords, who would not stand by the gospel, and accept their confederacy, if they were remembered as brothers, should be driven out, or put to death.

21st Bartel Krump, Bartel Zimmermann, Peter Warmut, Niclaus Rucker, Andreas Krumpe of Allstädt; Bischof zu Welffenröd, Hans Rodeman, Peter Schütte, Peter Peher in the valley of Mansfeld; Thilo Fischer zu Wimelburg, Thilo Panse, Peter Rotoman of Sangerhausen have been in the Allstädt alliance.

22) Their article is: *Omnia simul communia*, that is, all things shall be common, and shall be distributed to each according to need, according to opportunity. And which prince, earl, or lord would not do this, and of that first of all he-

1) "him" put by us instead of: "you" in the Wittenberg and in the Jena. We assume that "jme" should be read == him.

they shall have their heads cut off or be hanged.

23. the register has Bartel Krump to Allstädt.

(24) In his youth, when he was a collaborator there, he also made a covenant with Aschersleben and Hall.

Inside are:

25th Peter Blinte at Aschersleben, Peter Engel, is a churchman, Hans Büttener, Cuntz Sander at Halle.

26. is against the bishop duke Ernsten, high noble memory, gewest.

027 If it had pleased him according to his mind, he would have taken the land ten miles round about Mulhouse, and the land of Hesse, and have proceeded with princes, counts, and lords, who would not have entered into their confederacy, as he had heard.

The people of Mulhouse lent him eight carts of rifles.

782 Münzer's farewell letter to the von Mühlhausen, written after the verdict already received, in which no sign of true repentance is expressed about his terrible vices. May 17, 1525.

This Brie is found printed from the manuscript in Seidemann's "Münzer", p. 1'46. After that we have given the text. Further in the editions mentioned in the previous number, immediately thereafter, only in the Jena one separated from it, vol. ill, p. 145.

Salvation and bliss through fear, death and hell beforehand.

(1) Dear brethren! Since it pleases God that I will depart from here in true knowledge of the divine name, and that I will repay some abuses that were accepted by the people, who did not understand me correctly, only in view of their own selfishness, which leads to the downfall of divine truth, I am also heartily satisfied that God has decreed this with all His works, which must not be judged by outward appearance, but in truth, John 7:24. 7, 24. Therefore you should not be angry with my death, which was done for the benefit of the good and the unwise.

002 Therefore my friendly request to you is, that you let my wife have the goods which I had, as books and clothes, whatsoever they are, and let her have nothing for God's sake.

(3) Dear brethren, it is highly necessary for you, that ye receive no such slaps as those of Frankenhausen. For such is without

Doubt has arisen that each one seeks his own benefit rather than the justification of Christianity. Therefore, make a good distinction and take care of your cause so that you do not cause further harm. This is what I write to you about the Frankish-Haemen case, which was carried out with great bloodshed, namely over four thousand; come forward with the clear, steadfast justice of God, so that this will not happen to you.

004 I have often warned you that the punishment of God cannot be avoided, inflicted by the authorities, unless one knows the harm, which can always, if known, avoid the harm. Therefore be kind to one another, and do not provoke the rulers any more, as many have done through selfishness. So that to the grace of Christ and his Spirit we obey. With this manuscript, by Christoff Lauen, 1) I commend my spirit into the hands of God, and wish you the blessing of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

(5) Help my wife with diligence, and in the end flee the bloodshed, for which I will now warn you faithfully. For I know that the greater part of you in Mulhouse have never been subject to this rebellious and selfish uprising, but would gladly increase it and make it happen, so that you, these same innocent people, may not also come into trouble, as happened to some in Frankenhausen, so do not make yourselves subject to the assembly and uprising now, and ask for mercy from the princes, whom I hope you will find of the princely mind to show you mercy.

(6) This I will now declare in my farewell, so that I may remove the burden and burden from my soul; I will not allow any further outrage, so that the innocent blood may not be spilled any further. Given at Helderungen in my prison and farewell, Wednesday after Cantate [May 17] Anno 2c. 1525 Thomas Münzer.

783. D. Martin Luther's three letters to D. Rühel, Thomas Münzer and the rebellious peasants concerning.

First letter, May 4, 1525.

This letter is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 215; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 886; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 243; in the Erlangen vol. 53, p. 291, and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 652.

1) This letter was dictated to Christof Lauen (Lawen).

1. grace and peace in Christ! Respectable, dear doctor and brother-in-law! I have always thought of your new newspaper, which was shown to me last time, so that I must also write about it from here. And first of all, I ask that you do not help my lord, Count Albrecht, to soften in this matter, but let it go as your lord has begun, although the devil becomes angrier and angrier about it through his possessed members; for here is God's word that does not lie, which says Rom. 13:4: "He does not bear the sword in vain," 2c. so that there is never any doubt that his rank is decreed and commanded by God. Therefore his grace shall use the same for the punishment of the wicked, as long as a vein stirs in the body. If it is forcibly taken from the hand of his grace, it shall be suffered and given back to God, who gave it before, and may take it again when and with what he wills.

002 That therefore with a good conscience the state may be followed and adhered to unto death, for the sake of the word of God, which hath ordained the same so long as it endureth; even as from no other good work shall any man desist, except it be violently beaten down; and in strife no man shall depart from his advantage, or desist from contending, except he be overcome.

003 For though there were yet a thousand more of the peasants, yet they are all robbers and murderers, which take the sword of their own thirst and iniquity, and would drive out princes, lords, and all things, and make new order in the world, that they have of God neither commandment, nor power, nor right, nor commandment, as lords have now. For this they are unfaithful and perjured to their lords. Above this they bring shame and dishonor to their great sins, to the name of the divine word and gospel, so that if God, out of wrath, were to impose upon them to do their deeds without all the right and command of God, they would have to suffer it, just as if someone else were wronged, or had to suffer it, and yet did not agree that they should do right.

004 But I still firmly hope it shall have no continuance, or ever have no continuance, though God, through the most desperate people

Sometimes the world is afflicted, as he has done with the Turks and is still doing. But that they pretend to harm no one, nor to do harm, is the devil's mockery. Does it not mean harming, chasing away masters, and beating them to death? If they want to harm no one, why do they gather together and command people to yield to their authority? If they harm no one and yet take everything, the devil would do well if they let him do as he pleases, and he would harm no one.

005 Neither is this a cause that they desire to drive out masters, because it is a will of goodness. Why do they not mend what is evil in it? Look at the (1) regiment, which has also begun in this way, and is worse than it has ever been, and still has neither fear nor discipline, but is full of warriors. Summa, if God will bring his wrath upon us, and make Germany desolate, then the enemies of God and blasphemers, robbers and murderers, as these faithless and perjured peasants, are good for it; so we suffer it, and call them lords, as the Scriptures call the devil prince and lord, John 14:30. 14, 30. Eph. 6, 12. But God keep all pious Christians, that they neither consent to him nor worship him, as he tempted Christ, Matth. 4, 1. but resist with mouth and hands as long as one always can, and die over it in the name of God.

(6) If they offer to harm no one, but we yield to them, we again offer to yield to them, and if need be, confess that they rule over us as unfaithful, perjured blasphemers and robbers, that they have no right from God, but vainly give in from the prince of the world, as he boasts in Matt. 4, that he has authority and honor over all the world, and gives it to whom he wills. This is both true, where God decrees and does not defend.

007 And I (to whom it is also true, for the devil would have me badly dead) perceive that he is angry, that he hath not hitherto been able to do any thing either by cunning or by might, and thinketh that he would be rid of me, and that he should try his utmost, and mix the whole world together; that I almost believe, and think to myself that I am the devil's cause, that

1) Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 695 conjicirt: Schweizer.
2) In the editions: "it".

He hath made these things in the world, that God should afflict the world.

008 Well then, when I come home, I will send myself to death with the help of God, and wait for my new masters, the murderers and robbers, who tell me that they will not harm anyone. Just as that highwayman did when he said to the good wagoner: I will not hurt thee, but give me what thou hast, and go as I will; if not, thou shalt die. O a fair innocence, how fair the devil adorns himself and his murderers! But before I would approve and speak rightly of what they do, I would rather lose a hundred necks, that God would help me with mercy.

009 And if I can, in spite of him, I will marry my daughter before I die, when I hear that they continue. I hope they shall not take from me my joy and my courage. But that they should not be miserable, believe their own God, and no one else. These things I write to you, that you may be of good cheer, and comfort others, and especially my gracious lord, Count Albrechten.

(10) Stop, that God only continues fresh, (4) return the things to God, and do his divine command to wield the sword enough, as long as he always can; the conscience is safe here, even if one has to go down over it. And again, even if they punish the princes and destroy them, and in this they serve God's wrath, he will give them the infernal fire as a reward. It is a short time before the right judge comes, who will find both them and us: us with mercy, if we suffer their violence and iniquity; them with wrath, so that they take the sword themselves, by which they will also perish, as Christ has already passed such judgment, Matt. 26:52. Their deeds and their victory cannot remain for long. Give my regards to your dear Riebe?) Given at Seeburg, on Thursday after Niserieoräias Domini [May 4] Anno 1525. D. Martinus Luther.

3) This is Luther's first statement of his intention to marry.
4) Already the next day Albrecht von Mansfeld delivered the peasants a meeting near Osterhausen.
5) Rühel's wife was a relative of Luther. At the end of the third letter he calls her his "sister-in-law". Therefore, the term "brother-in-law" is used in a broader sense in Rühel. Seeburg is located in Mansfeld, between Eisleben and Halle.

Second letter, 23 May 1525.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 218; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 523; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 903; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 245; in the Erlangen, vol. 53, p. 303, and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 666. The original of this letter is, as the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 178, states, in the archives of Count von Alvensleben at Schloss Erxleben. We have used the variants given there.

To the respectable, highly respected Mr. Johann Rühel, the Right Doctor, my favorable gentleman and friendly dear brother-in-law.

God's grace and peace! I thank you, respectable, dear sir and brother-in-law, for your new newspapers, which I would always have liked to know, especially how Thomas Münzer is doing. Please let me know how he was found and captured, and how he has fared; for it is useful to know how the arrogant spirit has fared.

002 It is a wretched thing that poor people should be treated so cruelly. But how shall one do it? It is necessary, and God also wills it, that fear and timidity be brought into the people. If not, Satan would do much evil. One misfortune is better than another. It is God's judgment [Matt. 26:52]: Hui ueeipit Zluäiuw, Zluäio peribit. This is comforting, that the Spirit has come to light, so that henceforth the peasants may know how wrong they are, and perhaps leave off their rioting or become few. Let it not grieve you so much; for it will benefit many souls, who will be deterred and preserved thereby.

My most gracious lord, the Elector, passed away on the day I left you [May 5], 1) between five and six, almost at the time Osterhausen 2) was destroyed, with gentle courage, fresh reason and understanding, has taken the sacrament of both forms, and no oaths. Is also without masses and vigils from us, and yet finely and wonderfully buried. There are several stones in

1) Luther had written the previous letter to him from Seeburg on May 4, but met with him afterwards on the return journey. Lingke, Reisegeschichte, p. 157.

2) In the original: Osterhüsen.

He found three stones in his lungs, and especially three in the gall bladder (which is strange), almost like the quintuplets of a penny, and as thick as half a little finger is thick. He also died of the stone, but none was found in the bladder.

He did not yet know much about the uprising, but wrote to his brother that he should first seek all ways with kindness before he let it come to battle; he therefore died a Christian and blessed death. The sign of his death was a rainbow, which we, Philips and I, saw in the night of the next winter, over the Lochau, and a child born here in Wittenberg without a head, and another with upturned feet.

5) Hiemit GOtt befehlt, und grüßet mir eure Hausrebe sammt ihren Trauben. Also comfort Christoffel Meinhart, 4) that he may let God have His will, which cannot be good, even if we do not feel it. It has now become serious, what we have joked about before, about the disenchantment, boredom, and amazement. Now it's time to keep still, and let God rule, so we will see peace, Amen. To the [Archbishop of Mainz] 5) I am not unwilling to write, as you indicate. At Wittenberg, on the Tuesday after Voeem 3ueunäitatis [23 May] 1525.

Martinus Luther.

Third letter, the 30th of May, 1525.

This letter is found in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 557; in the Jenaer (1556), vol. III, p. 144; in the Altenburger, vol. III, p. 138; in the Leipziger, vol. XIX, p. 247; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 305, and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 669.

To the eightable and highly respected Mr. Johann Rühel, Doctori, my favorable gentleman and friendly brother-in-law.

Grace and peace in Christ! I thank you, my dear doctor and brother-in-law, of your service in the new newspapers, God grant an end to the misery with grace, as

3) No. 773 and 774 in this volume.

4) Christoffel Meinhart, a cousin of the Schöfer zu Allstädt, Hans Zeis (Seidemann, "Münzer", p. 144); both followers of Münzer. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XV, appendix, no. 125, but also in this volume no. 785-787.

5) In the original, the brackets have been cut out. Cf. K 4 of the next number.

we shall pray and hope. It is good that men call me a hypocrite, and I am glad to hear it: neither be ye astonished, since ye have heard for some years past how I have been reproached, and how I have been spoken of in many things, all of which in time have been destroyed and put to shame by yourselves. I should have much leather, if I were to shut every man's mouth. It is enough that my conscience is safe before God; he will judge what I speak and write; it shall and will be as I have written; there is no help for it.

2. to wish mercy on the peasants: if there are innocent among them, God will save and preserve them, as He did Lot [Gen. 19:15 ff.] and Jeremiah [chap. 38,13. ff. 39,14. ff.] that. If he does not, they are certainly not innocent, but have kept silent and consented to the least: though they do this because of stupidity and fear, it is nevertheless unjust, and in the sight of God, as much as he who denies Christ out of fear. For I also write the harder against the peasants, because they force and compel such fearful ones to their will of courage and God's punishment, and do not stop.

003 The wise man saith, Oibus, onus et virZa asino, into a peasant belongeth hauberk. They hear not the word, and are senseless; then they must hear the virgam, the tins, and it serveth them right. Let us pray for them, that they may obey; if not, there is not much mercy here; only let the guns go among them, or they will make it a thousand times worse.

I will write to the bishop 1) and send you a copy. One has not given Thomas Muenzer the right iuterroZutoriu; I would have let him ask much differently. Thus his confession is nothing other than a devilish, hardened obduracy in his conduct. Yet he confesses that he has done no evil, that I am astonished at it, and do not think it possible that a human heart should be so deeply hardened.

005 Well, he that hath seen the mint may say that he hath the devil in the flesh.

1) This Luther did in the letter of June 2, Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 678.

seen in his highest fury. O Lord God, wherever such a spirit is in the peasants, how high the time is that they should be strangled like mad dogs! For the devil perhaps feels the last day, therefore he thinks to stir the Grnndfuppe and to prove all infernal power at once. Hare sunt tewporu, I mean. Well, God still lives and reigns, but will not leave us; his goodness is more, mightier, and wiser than Satan's raging and raging.

(6) It is customary to shout that the Allstädt castle is to be judged by the third party, but we hope that it is a lie. The same is said of Doctor Straußen 2). Give my regards to your dear vine, my sister-in-law, Hanna Rühlin, with her grapes. Hiemit GOtt befohlen. The two sermons at the funeral of the Elector 3) are printed. On Tuesday after Exaudi [30 May] Anno 1525.

Martinus Luther.

784 Two letters of Luther to Nicolaus Amsdorf, in which he complains about the accusations of some preachers in Thuringia and Franconia, and reports that some princes had already taken up arms again against the rebellious peasants.

First letter, May 30, 1525.

This letter is found handwritten in the 606th N. 24 n. , k. 166; printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 289; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 671 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 182.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Mr. Nicolaus Amsdorf, his beloved in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! You report to me a new honor, my dear Amsdorf, that I am called a flatterer of princes; such titles of honor Satan has brought me in great numbers in these years. But I have not so much sympathy with our clever-

2) These rumors about Zeis the locksmith and D. Strauß were unfounded. Compare numbers 785-787; likewise St. Louis edition, vol. XIX" Introduction, p. 47 f. and vol. XX, Introduction, p. 39.

3) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 2032-2071.

(1) I rejoice that Satan is so indignant and blasphemous as often as he is touched by me. For what are those voices but Satan's voices, with which he endeavours to revile me and the gospel? But he that hath hitherto so often trodden him under my feet, and crushed the lion and the dragon, will not suffer the basilisk to tread upon me [Ps. 91:13.]; let them bark therefore. Our conscience is sure that what has gone out of my mouth in this matter is right before GOD. Therefore let it be crucified and displeased to those who are exalted by our efforts and the name (titulo) of the Gospel, so that they may disgrace us by paying us this thanks, as the adulterous generation is wont to do. But they have been exalted, that they might be cast down, and that their end might be shame. The time may come when I too may say, "This night ye shall all be offended in me." Whereas we have soon forgotten the good things we have received. And how hopeful and ready are we to judge even those from whom we have learned! But Christ, who began without our counsel, will accomplish his work even against our counsel. Remind the brethren, therefore, since they have so often heard from the Gospel that we are nothing, and that the carnal mind must be put to death, that they not be hasty in their wisdom and in awakening the carnal mind. It is God who works above and against, under and apart from what we can grasp.

I cannot come to you at all, because I am so busy and called to do many things, otherwise I would like nothing better.

I am of the opinion: it is more certain that all peasants are slain than the princes and authorities, because the peasants, without having power from God, take the sword. On this wickedness of Satan, nothing can be done.

1) Instead of tzuars, with which in all editions a new sentence begins here, we have adopted quaru as a corretative to turn. Huars gives no proper sense.

The kingdom of God will be devastated by satanic destruction, and even if the princes of the world go too far, they will still wield the sword of God's power. There both kingdoms can exist; therefore no mercy, no patience is due to the peasants, but the wrath and the displeasure of God and of men are due to those who do not give room to the warnings, who do not accept even the most reasonable conditions that are offered to them, but who, solely through the raging of Satan, continue to bring everything into confusion, as these Thuringians and Franks are. Now to justify them, to have mercy on them, to show them favor, that is, to deny God, to blaspheme, and to want to cast them out of heaven. This is what I say to your preachers, 2) that they should dare and try, but that I will not consent to it, but rather curse their presumption in the name of the Lord. After this the Lord will judge which of the two spirits is of the devil, mine or theirs. But I am sorry that these blasphemous people have also been given the ministry and the knowledge of the Word through us. May God convert and instruct them, or again cast them from the throne, amen. Fare well in the Lord. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Exaudi [May 30] 1525. Martin Luther.

Second letter, June 12, 1525.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 290; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 680; and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 192.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I believe, my dear Amsdorf, that you know everything that Satan is doing through the peasants in Franconia. Then this, your Henry, as a living letter, will tell all the best things that he has heard here. I do wish that the peasants be given a sound mind, but I fear that they will become obdurate and blinded, and that the wrath of God will bring a heavy defeat upon them. They fight with

2) Some of the Magdeburg preachers had stood on the side of the rebels and adhered to Muenzer.

a very bad conscience, then also because many of their confederates are forced by force and are there against their will. Our prince has indeed gone out strongly armed, for the sake of peace and reconciliation, as they say. Margrave Casimir is laying strong siege to Neuenstadt, where six thousand peasants are said to be assembled. The Swabian alliance attacks them from one side, from the other.

1) Neustadt an der Aisch, in Middle Franconia. The siege had already happened on May 29 and 30.

and others the Henneberger;?) everywhere an exceedingly miserable murdering begins to show itself. I hope that your preachers will either go into themselves, or that they will finally be resisted). You pray for me and be well. Wittenberg, on Monday in the Whitsun Octave [June 12, 1525] Martin Luther.

2) William VI of Henneberg had been forced to accept the peasants' articles on May 3. When nevertheless the peasants devastated his villages and castles, he united with the princes.

3) Instead of irnxsckire we have assumed imxsckiri; this was already done by the old translator.

The fourth section of the tenth chapter.

Writings and news, which belong to the history of Thomas Münzer and the peasant revolt, and explain the same.

785: Letter of Hans Zeis, Schösser of Allstädt, to Georg Spalatin, concerning the examination of the teachings of Thomas Muenzer. July 20, 1524.

From Kapp's Nachlese nützlicher Reformation-Urkunden, Theil II, p. 612.

Salutem, my dear sir, special friend! As I asked you next to the Lochau, as I also asked our most gracious lord in writing at that time, and reported that it was very necessary that Magister Thomas be interrogated, you promised to do so, and, as soon as my most gracious lord would come from the hunt this time, to bring it faithfully. Now it is of great necessity that it be done speedily and speedily, as Doctor Bridges has also reported here, that he complains that he is not to be heard, nor is he to be questioned; and his doctrine is therefore spread among the common people, so that they are also gathered together, and urge it with the sermon. It is high time to make this matter with the interrogation; for if it is not done, then there is oouteinptus prinoipum, it is to be feared that the people will throw themselves together with heaps, as he then publicly provokes; that will afflict and rob, and become such a displeasure in this manner, of which never heard. Therefore let diligence be made to set a day for a public hearing, to know whether his doctrine be true; if it be found to be true, let it be held.

If not, to abolish it; for to make a change unheard is not to be done. The people are firmly attached to him; he did a sermon here before my gracious lords, both princes, which I send you here; he has promised the chancellor, by our gracious lord's order, not to have a thing printed, his princely graces or my gracious lord, Duke Hans, have then inspected it; Take care that it is sent to Weimar, Erfurt, or any other place; he wants to have all kinds of people with him, as you may have heard. I have sent the letter to Sittichbach to Mr. Volkmarn. With this I commend you and myself to God Almighty. Date urgent, Wednesday after Alexii s20. Julis Anno 1524. 4) I ask for your friendly answer.

Hans Zeis, Schösser zu Allstädt.

786: Hans Zei's report to Spalatin about Münzer's and the citizens of Muehlhausen's election. February 22 and March 5, 1525.

From Cyprian's Charters, vol. II, p. 339.

My undaunted kind service before. My dear lord and friend! Because these

4) "1524" placed by us instead of: "rel. 24." in the old edition, which probably (as in the inscription of No. 787) should mean "st". It will be necessary to resolve "rel." by rsll^ua.

forgiven message fell to me in a hurry, I have not omitted to visit you with this instruction, and add you to know that ErH Jobst . . . went to Nuremberg 6 days ago, wants to fetch his wife and send himself to Allstädt. The town council gives him one guilder a week, plus he has so much grain from the fief of the castle that he has enough bread for the three of him, also so much money that he can have shoes and a shirt, that I reckon he can get along well, except for his known piety and honesty. For if I see that he will be in need, I will give him my help and assistance with everything I can to help him, and I hope that God will graciously preserve the man. God thanks you for your care and support for the poor people, shown here in this case. And let it be known to you that Thomas Münzer has been in Fulda, there he has lain in the tower for some time, and the Abbot has said at Arnstedt, on the estate of von Schwarzburg: if he had known that it was Thomas Münzer, he would not have released him. And the rumor is that he is again at Mühlhausen; then I would have a whole day to report to you of the cruel dissension and upheaval which a preacher called Pfeiffer and he are causing there; and in sum, Mr. Omnes has taken the rule away from the council, who may not punish, govern, write or act anything against their will. And after Pfeiffer and Münzern, as you may have heard, had been driven out by the council, and since they had been in Nuremberg and expelled, Pfeiffer returned and applied and complained in the villages of Mühlhausen how he had been driven out violently, but for the truth and for the sake that he had wanted to preach and make them free from the council and the authorities and from all encumbrances 2c., and the same peasants gathered with their guns and went to the suburbs of Mulhouse, stood there and preached with violence. When the council of Mühlhausen became aware that Pfeiffer was intruding on them by force, they made their order and groups in the city and marched out of the city to Pfeiffer to drive him away again. And when it should have happened, the commoners, who were supposed to be loyal to the council, went to the council and acted in such a disloyal manner, not to mention that. And their captain saw that the common people had fallen from the council, and with great trouble and labor he put an end to the game and the noise, but not otherwise than that these

1) In the old edition: "Ern."; in Cyprian: "Ern".

The preachers remain, and the council, as is evident, has been forced to do nothing, nor to create anything, without the knowledge and will of the congregation. Thus their sword is taken from them, and things are going strangely; they are gathering together, and the same group is secretly going out at times, subjecting themselves to storming the priests at night in the countryside of Duke George's land, as has now happened in Hermesleben, where Philipp Reybisch is a magistrate; and since they have been found out, Duke George has had some of them denounced in Mühlhausen. But they do not want to allow him any punitive rights. I hope it shall come to pass. It will not get any better, because they attack those of Mühlhausen, move their roads and streets, otherwise such a huge mob of boys will gather there and cause trouble for the whole country, and all the enthusiasts will perhaps get involved there with Doctor Karlstat and others, where they will find a naughty, simple-minded people. This I have not wished you to do in haste, as my good lord and friend. For you have me willingly to serve you, and hereby command me into your intercession against God, who will mercifully ... and keep you always. Datum Petri Cathedra [22 Feb] Anno 1525.

Your willing servant Hans Zeis, Schösser zu Allstädt.

I have also been told that Thomas Muenzer, who has returned to Mulhouse, wants to be a preacher, and he has insisted that he wants to be the town clerk and a member of the town council. The devil is doing all this because he wants to help cause an uprising. I wrote this first letter on the day of Cathedra Petri, but the messenger did not take it with him, and it has been lost until now. But today, Invocavit [March 5], I sent this messenger. I read your letter the next day, and I will do my utmost to please you by contacting the Domina of Nauendorf 2) with her pensions, and I will be helpful, constant, and helpful to them wherever they desire it, but there is unpleasantness at times; I truly wish that they would follow your gentle instruction. If they will, it shall not be lacking in me; they have brought in the greater part of this year's interest. Mr. Jobst is not yet come from Nuremberg. With this I entrust myself to your intercession against God 2c. Date 2c.

To the respectable and honourable Magister Georgio Spalatin, my favourable dear lord and friend.

2) In his introduction to this writing Cyprian writes: "Newendorff".

787 Hans Zei's letter to Spalatin about the peasants' revolt in Thuringia. May 7, 1525.

From Kapp's Nachlese, Theil II, p. 664.

My willing service always before, my dear lord and friend! I have read your letter, but I bring you to know that things are bad and miserable here; all the monasteries around here have been devastated. The Domina of Naucndors is at Halle. No dominion is respected here any more, but a great contempt is poured out. Muenzer and Pfeiffer of Mulhouse are themselves captains and captains in their army, storming and plundering wherever they can; they hold 15,000 strong, some say over 50,000. The legend does not come to pass. But to him fei, so it is a miserable thing that so many princes should be in this country, and no one twitches his sword against it; they have plundered and burned Mr. Apel's castle of Ebleben, called Ebleben, one of them, called Schlothein; a castle on the Eyffelt, called Harenburg, is the one of Boltzungsleben. But from Rosenberg he has had to withdraw. Thus 6000 men lie here two miles from Allstädt, also belong to him, they increase every day, move out every day, tear down the noble farms, because they have no more monasteries. Item, take cows and feed themselves thus. But they are much more honest than Münzer's band; they are not as bloodthirsty as Münzer. With this, God is always at your command, and I will do to you what is dear to you. Date Jubilate [May 7] Anno 1525.

Hans Zeis, Schösser zu Allstädt.

To my favorable dear lord and friend, Georgen Spalatin 2c. 1) to his own hands.

788 Rudolph von der Planitz and Hans von Weißenbach, knight, report from Mühlhausen on the bloody outcome of the Peasants' War in Thuringia, given to the council of Altenburg in 1525. June 2, 1525.

From Cyprian's Charters, vol. II, p. 354.

...our most gracious and willing service before... Strict and honorable, especially dear friends! Your letter is to us Dato of this letter in the noon to Mühlhaufen in the city ge-

1) In the old edition: "rel. " probably for: etc.

have been answered, and inform you in haste thereupon that M. G. Lord, Duke George 2c., Duke Henry of Brunswick, and the Landgrave with their warband, on Monday after Cantate [May 15], before and in Frankenhausen, have slain up to 7000 citizens and peasants, and our most gracious Lord Elector of the Unfern has also had a part of it. On the Tuesday after Voesrn ckueunäitntis [May 23] the princes all moved into the field before Schlatheim, up to 5000 well-equipped horses and 7000 about on foot, with a considerable cannon. The princes who lay in the field are our most gracious lord, the Elector, together with his F. G. son, Duke George of Saxony, the Landgrave, Duke Henry of Brunswick, as supreme field captain, Duke Philip, Duke Otto of Brunswick and Lüneburg, that of Anhalt, and many other counts and lords, also honest people. On Wednesday after the Sunday of Voeein llueimäitatis, as many as 1200 virgins and women came into the camp to the warlords, fell on their knees, with open hands, with pitiful display, begging for mercy for the sake of Christ's suffering; but no final answer was given them. The following Thursday we advanced with the whole army before Mühlhausen; there the people of Mühlhaufen together with their villages came into the field to the warlords, begged for mercy on their knees for the sake of God, handed over the keys of all the fortresses, and surrendered to mercy and disgrace. Then our 300 soldiers took the city, and the princes camped half a mile away.

Thomas Muenzer and Pfeiffer, as seducers of the Christian people, were captured and beheaded [May 30]; but subsequently put on the spit. Many of Frankenhausen's and Mühlhausen's heads were cut off. They are deprived of all their weapons.

This day there are over 3000 men grinding the rampart on the city and filling the ditches.

It is said that those of Mühlhaufen must give good money to the princes of war. They have done unchristian deeds and will be severely punished.

One makes up one's mind to set out tomorrow; but where one will turn one's head out is not yet actually in the day.

New news have come that the Confederation has again slain 4000 peasants before Tübingen; and the Duke of Lorraine has slain 18,000 peasants in the city of Olsthabern, which he won by storm.

The confederation moves to Witzberg [with] 3000 horses-

10,000 good servants, in opinion to beat the peasants there too.

It is said that the peasants there broke, burned and devastated as many as 60 castles and monasteries, and committed many miserable wrongs against those of Abel and the clergy.

May the merciful God grant grace that the divine will may be done everywhere.

This is what we wanted to tell you in response to your letter, because we know that we owe it to you, our dear friends, to serve you with faithful diligence. Date in haste, Friday after Exaudi ^2. Junius Anno 1525.

9 New newspaper from the rebellious peasants back and forth. The 18th of June 1525.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, Vol. II, p. 357. The superscription is by Spalatin.

My gracious lord moved with the camp before Meiningen on Wednesday in Whitsun [June 7] and arrived at Coburg on Friday, and has remained there until Wednesday after Trinity [June 14]. Where his C. G. did not come over the forest, the place would have fallen down.

The city of Meiningen has granted my most gracious lord.

Has insured the peasants at 3000 before Mellerstadt, 16 pieces of rifles, and handed over the nobility's horses. His C. G. gave them to Duke Philippo and Count Albrecht.

112 castles were broken into, plundered and burned by the peasants in the monasteries of Bamberg and Würzburg.

The Swabian League has reinstated the bishop of Wuerzburg, and stabbed many peasants; but many are lost.

The Confederation burns almost all the rebellious villages.

They also want to reinstate the Bishop of Bamberg. His towns and peasants surrender in grace and in disgrace.

Both bishops of Bressanone and Trent are even expelled from their territories.

The Tyrolean and Austrian provinces did not want to suffer Salamanka any longer with the archduke. Then he fled to the Fugger in Augsburg. There they did not want to tolerate him either. So he must be hidden.

The bishop of Salzburg had a Lutheran preacher seen; two of the townspeople had him released. He had their heads cut off. For this reason the city and the whole countryside rose up against him and paid him 20,000 euros.

strongly besieged in the castle, to have the trustworthy priest out. He should offer to resign his clerical status and become secular, and to do everything the countryside wants. But they will not. They say they will cut him into pieces, cook him and eat him, so that it may be said of them that they have eaten their unfaithful lord, who acted against the word of God.

The duke of Lorraine has stabbed the peasants in Alsace in 30,000, also Zabern, of the bishop of Strasbourg, completely plundered.

It is said that the duke has since been harmed by the peasants on the Rhine.

Strasbourg and Constance are said to have fallen to Switzerland.

The peasants have taken Freiburg in Breisgau; and advanced before Breisach, are said to be in 30,000 strong.

The people of Erfurt are very afraid of the covenant, because the bishop of Mainz has been plundered by the peasants in Erfurt.

The covenant shall have in 1800 horses, some want 1200 horses, and 6000 servants.

Today my most gracious lord has come to Weimar, not to stay there for three or four days, and then to turn to the Vogtland.

Duke Ott will pass away.

His C. G. want 3 or 400 righteous horses.

The abbot of Salfeld has been robbed of everything he had. And Mr. Friedrich Thunn feeds him.

Date Sunday after Corporis Christi [the 18th of June Anno Domini 1525.

790th newspaper, how to deal with the rebellious peasants. July 12, 1525.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. II, p. 360. The superscription is in Spalatin's hand.

Head chopping has yet to stop in these lands.

Doctor Teutsche, 1) the blind monk and a nobleman, Stephan Mentzinger, were beheaded in Rothenburg on the same day 25.

In these lands many poor people, widows and orphans are made out of the measure.

The Franconian princes have made a day's performance at Forchheim, there those of Nuremberg have also dispatched theirs.

1) Turning, turner. See No. 791.

Marx Sitich von Embs has the farmers in Hegau beaten.

The confederates think to make peace in the same places in a short time and to save the Cardinal of Salzburg, who has lost the whole monastery and is besieged in his castle above the city.

A few days ago, the peasants of the same place, twelve miles from Salzburg, at a place called Rastadt, laid down an excellent summa of warriors, Bohemians and Steyrians, on horseback and on foot, and wounded and captured Mr. Siegmund von Dittrichstein, governor.

So there is also toil and labour on the Rhine: the princes urge the imperial cities to restore the old customs, and to put an end to what they have done in accordance with the Gospel.

The King of France has been led to Barcelona in Hispania.

791 Beginning and end of the pernicious Peasants' War, as it happened at Rothenburg an der Tauber in 1525.

From Kapp's Nachlese, Theil IV, p. 561. Kapp took this from a manuscript in the Kraft Library in Ulm.

After the preachers of Rothenburg, Mr. Caspar Christian, Commenthur and priest here at the German House, also brothers Melchior, both of the German Order, who took the blind monk's sister in marriage (married into Leonhard Schmerzen's house), especially through Johann Drechsler, preacher, Mr. Hansen Rothfux, blind monk of the Order of the Barefoot, together with one who pretended to be a farmer, who also preached here, outside the city on the Pruel and in Kupferzell, and some citizens here in Rothenburg, the Jewish and Carolstadt sect took over, by special permission of the authorities; and D. Andreas Carolstad went to Rothenburg in his own person to preach here, and also desired to become a citizen here: it happened on a Tuesday after Oculi (21. March^, that in the town of Rothenburg 30 or 40 peasants gathered together, and bought a kettledrum in the house of Prueglin, and with the same proudly, wantonly and wantonly went to and fro in the town, over and above all the prohibitions of the magistrate and of an honorable council; afterwards they went out of the town partly to Pretta into the village, partly to Ohrenbach, and there they assembled on Wednesday and Thursday, and are now in the town.

on Friday; after that was the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary?) On the 24th of March the inner and outer council met and the 5 guards were present, all citizens were asked to come to the town hall; whoever wanted to stand with an honorable council should now stand openly; out of the whole community no more than 26 remained with an honorable council; the rest of them have from that time on sought the council against a council; Stephan Metzger 2) with Lorenz .. jumped on the bench, let themselves be heard against the municipality, with a wrong shape and opinion, they want to take it under their hands, where they surrender with a vow, want to perform their duties for them and request 36 men to the committee; which then soon took a course, with obligation in the place of an oath. In this way the congregation ran to the gates, slammed them shut, and demanded the keys from the gatekeepers by force to prevent disloyalty and malice according to the council and commonwealth. Knowing that Contz Eberhard and Georg Bremter of the inner council, Gabriel Langenberger and Benedict Malsch of the outer council had been sent to the peasants to inquire about their intentions, they could not get an answer from the peasants; for they let themselves be heard that they were not all together yet; In the meantime letters have come from Margrave Casimir, which have been read out by a whole community, which wants to indicate to a respectable council and common city help and assistance, also, where need would be, to appear in their own person, to make peace and unity, with other friendly offers. However, some of the congregation and the committee wilfully despised it and did not want to accept it at all. And this evening between 5 and 6 o'clock the Lord God was beheaded on the cross and his arms were cut off in the churchyard. On the day

In Narias the inner and outer council remained with each other, in great danger, fear and worry, and the community and 36 of the committee demanded the inner and outer council, which was very difficult for them to do; 3)

1) The indication: "on Friday thereafter was the Annunciation of Mary" is erroneous; in 1525, March 25 was on a Saturday. We have corrected the error by changing the punctuation.

2) This one is called Stephan Mensinger in Vol. II, p. 361 in Cyprian's Reformation documents, also further on in this writing; in the previous number: Mentzinger.

3) The meaning should be: the members of the inner and outer council have answered that it is difficult for them to do so.

but with such a condition the inner council has counted them free of their duty and oath, they have become quite common; Stephan Metzger has requested the oath from them, to which Jeremias Ofmer answered: Not to thee, Metzger, do we pledge, but to a whole community; So one after the other took the oath, and just as the outer council was counted by the inner council, so also the inner council was counted by the outer council free of their oath and vow, and on Monday after that they also had to owe the community, in such fears and worries that they would have lost part of their lives, for one after the other they were called out of the council chamber, each thinking that he would have to die, which two of the committee went before and two after. After having taken an oath and done his duty, each of them, unaware of the other, was brought home. On Sunday Lätare [March 26] Christianus, the beck, threw the missal from the altar to the priest in the old chapel, and thus chased the priest from the altar. On this day the peasants let themselves be seen in order, in the field before the gallows gate. On the following Monday, Ehrenfried Knuff defiantly told the priest in the parish church while he was singing: if he wanted to be safe, he should leave the altar; he threw down the missal and the masses were suspended. This night, some people from Swabian Hall were let in, namely Herman Buschlein and Dietrich Blanckenfried, in order to make time for things; however, nothing was done. On Tuesday, 700 peasants were assembled, and those who did not want to join their army were taken from them and forced to do so, as happened to a peasant in Wetterich. On Wednesday Christoph von Rosenberg, peasant, and also many from the Schipfergrund came to them. On Friday [March 31], the peasants in the army all came together, joined them in 2000, and went to Neuseß the same day; Lorenz Knobloch went out to them and promised to become their captain. On the same day some of the peasants were sent to the city to give a report of their request. In the meantime, the imperial and confederate councillors came to make peace and rode off again without being carried off, as did those from Nuremberg. On this day, all craftsmen are to present their complaints and concerns to a committee.

1) "they also the" put by us instead of: "themselves also the" in the old edition.

Umgeld. At night the farmers went to the sand yard. On Friday after Ambrosii [April 7], the Knieberlein threw the lamps from the Sacramenthäuslein with light and oil into the church during the sermon, in the presence of some of the council. On the same day the peasants departed, and Fritz Wölckner, their ensign, came with some peasants to Rothenburg; the rest redoubled and went before Stetten, from there to Margenthal and Bischofsheim, and stormed the cellars and cellars everywhere. On Char Friday [April 14] all services in the church at Rothenburg were suspended, so that there was neither singing nor reading, only D. Johann 2) Drechsel preached, Emperor, King, Princes and Lords, ecclesiastical and secular, reviled; said, they want to hinder the word of God. On Sunday in viAÜia lioAat" 3) the blind monk, Mr. Hans Rothfuchs, called the sacrament idolatry. On the holy day of Easter there was neither singing nor reading. On Monday after [April 17], D. Andreas Carlstadt preached against the Sacrament. And in that night Kupferzell was stormed by some millers, who threw the tablets and pictures into the Tauber. On Tuesday after Easter, the articles of the exodus were announced and proclaimed, that the young priests should and may take wives, and that they should be allowed to continue their benefices for 11 years, after which they should be deprived of them, but that the old departed should be allowed to remain for the rest of their lives. While this was being proclaimed, the little servants 5) and the Dipendapß approached our women's altar and wanted to throw the images out; the others resisted this, and several bare knives were drawn. On this day it was also decided that the inner council should be changed. On Wednesday, the boards in Kupferzell were broken; some millers carried some of the paintings home with them and caused a great commotion. On this day Carolstad again preached against the sacrament and other ceremonies; the priest of Scheckenbach was drunk 4 buckets of wine by peasants. On that day, the women took 11 mills of grain from Mr. Conrad Volckhamer in front of his house, and once again

2) This one is called l. c. of the Cyprianic documents D. Teutschel (Walch).

3) This timing is in any case erroneous, because a Sunday cannot be the vigil of Rogate Sunday. Moreover, the rapporteur would be reaching into the second half of May.

4) In the old edition: "friends". - Immediately following: "Verliebten" instead of: "Verlebten".

5) Probably the same as the one called "Knieberlein" above.

Michael Eisenhart together with the sisters 1) house. On that date Georg Berneder was elected mayor; and from the council old Hans Zagsthammer, Lorenz Eberhard, Enders Stellwag, Seisried Schmid were appointed; and Stephan Mensinger and Hieronymus Hassel were placed in the tax offices; 12 of them were also appointed from the committee, to whom all the interrogation matters are to lie. On Thursday after Easter [April 20] the women with halberds, forks, and sticks went around in Hafengasse and made a great ruckus, saying that they wanted to storm and plunder all the priests' houses. On Friday all the priests had to become citizens for safety's sake, otherwise everything would have been taken from them, as they were then all ready to submit; they gave their possessions to the town hall and had to swear to Stephan Mensinger, together with the committee, as follows. . . Article that they have neither forced nor urged to do so; each citizen has to give 1 guilder to watch over the gate and work on the moat. On Monday [after] 2) Georgii at the first hour the council together with the committee appeared in the parish church, there announced to the congregation how the peasants wanted 200 men with 100 long spears, a snake, a main gun and 2 tents; the quartermasters answered that they would give nothing to the peasants, neither vowed nor swore to give them anything or to send anything over; Pfaf Holenbach, their envoy, has said how some of them, while they were in the Sandhof, let themselves be heard in the presence of Leonhard Dener, their chancellor, and many others from the city, that they want to be helpful and constant in their undertaking, to leave life and limb with them; therefore they are now desiring the same, but have neither named nor indicated anyone. On the 5th day after St. George's Hans Balbierer had the small one enveloped and proclaimed to give the unpaid wages; while Holenbach and his family left the city again, they were told to answer the peasants to their request in writing. On this day the Margravial 15 came and promised help and assistance. On the day of Vitualis [April 28] grain was distributed, but not everyone took it. On Wednesday 3) Lorenz Knobloch of Oeten was killed by peasants.

1) "Sisters" put by us instead of: "Sister". From the following it is clear that the "sister house" is meant.

2) "After" put by us, because Georgius (April 23) was a Sunday in 1525.

3) This is probably where the report picks up again, because Vitalis was a Friday.

They were cut in pieces and threw the pieces at each other. At last they cut off his head and split it in two. On the day of Vitalis the peasants marched before Jpphofen, then before Meinbruch, and let themselves be heard, they wanted to see soon what the people of Rothenburg were doing. On the day of Philippi Jacobi [May 1] in the night the monastery of Eichenhausen was burned; the same night the people of Dünkelspiel plundered Münchsroth, likewise the peasants the monastery of Schwartzach. Thus the castle at Clevensperg was burned; wine and grain were plundered by the von Ayb. On Thursday after Orneis [May 4] the peasants, called Schwaetzhauf, went from Heibronn to Bischesheim, desired the bullet that was in Boxberg. The night before they lay at Bütenheim. On the day lodurmis ante xortur" lutinam [May 6], early in the morning, they rang with the great bell of the community into the parish church, was held up to them by Mr. Carlen von Hobsperg, Friedrich von Tödwang, Count Manderscheid, the margrave's friendly request, how his grace with his wife, also all his jewels to Rothenburg to go, body and property with them leave, 86ä major x>ur8. 5). . . Also the question is, whether one should send to the peasants or not? therefore in the afternoon the community requires to the town hall. On the day of Lpimaolr [May 10] one has received news through writings that 3 cities, namely Heilbrunnen, Dünckelspiel, Wimpfen, have united with the peasants, and held to them, and how not less Rothenburg would be more and higher compelled: the of Rothenburg should leave wife and child, and go to them, for the order of the word of God. After such, at 6 o'clock, all citizens are again called to give their vote, whether one should send men or bullets to the peasants? has been the council of the more part, one should send them bullets and spears, has been sent to them before night, and the night one has wanted to attack the Heisterhof, Deutschhof and Frauenkloster; on the day i^srsi and Uurieratii [12. May^ at 8 o'clock they made a noise, and demanded and summoned all jurors and pledges to the market in front of the town hall, where they were proclaimed by Erasmum Nißle that all priests who have property should hand it over to the committee.

4) *Crucis* is Cross's invention.

5) In the copy from which this copy has been made, the copyist has noted of the following words: in auto^raxtio, a (zuo liase ässcripta, tarn vitiosa, ut. Oeäipo opus sit.

Town hall, with penance and loss of their property; it has also been shouted out in some streets. Afterwards, clergy and seculars entered the order, stepped in front of the Henserhof at first, some of the council and committee went in, and took the house. Mr. Caspar von Stein was told not to drink anything, except for a time, after which the monastery, sister house, women's monastery, German house, were accepted in the same way with vows. After that they came before Master Augustin Gumppelein's house, at the pure Mary's, took the same, and with 12 buckets of wine at the Gemein verbeut and drank up. On Monday the envoys came to the farmers, Eberhard and Kretzer were killed. On Sunday Cantate [May 14] some of the peasants appeared at the town hall, some articles were held up to them, and they were ordered to accompany the cannon. After that, on Monday, May 15, early after the striking, the bells were rung in a common way, and everyone ran to them. So Florian Geyer held up several articles to the congregation in the parish church, concerning the peasants of their brotherhood, which was to last a hundred and one years, that nothing else was to be done, except what was evangelical, for the special salvation of God's word, and that neither rent nor validity was to be given until the matter was settled, except what old known debts were. And thereupon requests a council, committee and municipality to commit themselves to the peasants with an oath and vow and to bind themselves that [it] be done immediately; although many of them did not like it, they still had to obey in part. So also on this day Rothenburg passed from the kingdom to the peasants. In the meantime a gallows was erected on the market to punish the evil in the opinion and according to their brotherhood. After that, at 5 o'clock, 2 tents, 3 wagons with powder and stone 1) were led to the pile, Ehrenfried Kunst, Georg Spelter the Younger, went out through the city with some others in great pomp and splendor, accompanied the bullet into the camp with the peasants, in the opinion of conquering the castle of Wuerzburg, and Hans Böstlein, a bowler, was accepted by the peasants as a gun master. On the Monday after Cantate, more than 300 peasants ran up the mountain to storm the castle of Wuerzburg, all of whom perished: some were thrown, some were shot, some were slain and caught like birds. In the meantime the

1) "Stone" - balls.

Peasants, who made a plot in the city and also by heart, to take the city by ambush, requested that they should be slept in at the hospital gate, and those in the city outside, thus want to run down the gate and take possession of it. When they became aware of this, they prepared to defend themselves. So they let them in at the Kupferzellerthor, and they thought they would beat them all to death; but they were resisted by the old lords. On May 12, the peasants of Hohenlohe, Entrieb Wütig von Adelshofen, Hans Biebra von Dierbach, their own lord, ravaged the castle of Schillingsfürst through Heinrich Zeitgrafen. On Monday after that Margrave Casimir went out with power to castigate his peasants by burning. On Friday after that burned Sundheim, Westheim, Wundelspach, Hegen. Dom. Lxuuäi [May 28] Mr. Hans Kolein, the noble, pastor of Werinch, was beheaded with 4 peasants at Lentershausen, and 7 had their fingers cut off; at Neustadt an der Aisch 18 citizens and peasants were beheaded. On the Friday before Pentecost [June 2], 4000 peasants were slain by the Bündische at Königshöfen in the Tauber Valley, including 22 from Mergentheim, among them also 7 priests; Weickersheim 42 were burned down there for 800 fl. and 7 were beheaded. On the day of Pentecost, more peasants were slain by the Bündische at Bithard and Sulzdorf, namely 8000; 300 escaped to a castle called Ingolstadt, located near Gieberlstadt, before which the Bund suffered the greatest damage; for in such battles more than 200 Bündische on horseback and on foot did not perish. On the day of Pentecost, Conrad Eberhard, Erasmus von Mihle, and Thomä Zweifel were sent to Margrave Casimir in Rothenburg. They led red crosses and tried hard to obtain mercy; they were told that they would not be accepted in any other way than by grace or by disgrace. for blood and fire plunder, or banned from the city 30 miles behind; in addition the city had to give several tons of powder. On Thursday [June 8], when the confederation retook the city of Wuerzburg, 26 men were beheaded there, namely captains, Fähndrich, Waibel and 6 of the council. On Friday after Oorporis Etiristi [June 16], Mass was held again here in Rothenburg at the Holy Blood. On Friday after Whitsun [June 9] Florian Geyer was baptized at the Holy Blood.

2) Mutiny?

was stabbed to death in the field; later the alliance moved and came to Bamberg, where 21 were beheaded, and at Kitzing 58 had their eyes gouged out. On the day of *Corporis Christi* [June 15] they began to give the 7 fl. On Tuesday Spielbach and Schwarzenbronn were burned. At the Rothenburg church consecration one began again to sing Vespers. On the day of the church consecration, Stephan Mensingen, as he left the church after the sermon, was caught in a black lot, and as he was led across the market, he cried out: Help, you dear Christians, help, but no help was forthcoming. On the evening of St. John the Baptist [June 23], D. Johann Drechsel was caught and put in with the blind monk. Caspar Commenthör and the priest escaped secretly with D. Andreas Carolstad, brother Melchior, who had the blind monk's sister.

On the feast of St. John the Baptist, the German gentlemen began again to sing our Lady's Mass and the Daily Mass; it has not been sung for 13 weeks. On the days of Petri and Pauli [29. June] Margrave Casimir rode in here in Rothenburg, with 800 on horseback, 1000 on foot, 200 wagons quite well equipped, with his best bullets, which were led to the market, and here in Rothenburg on that date 500 Margravial and canine footmen were drawn up, divided into 2 groups: the first on Ahrenbach, thatelbige plundered, afterwards together with the church in reason burned; the second bunch to Breda moved, a beautiful village, have it also plundered, some stabbed, namely Regryß behind the table, Brandhans in the stable, and Hans Schmid on the lane, Hans Element and Marx Hans were stabbed from the Holzzlein; The 12 of them were bound together, and thus led into custody until Bühn, where they were released, after the church and the village had been burned down, and 600 head of cattle and 30 wagons of plunder had been taken.

On Friday after Petri and Pauli [30. June] the herald in the town of Rothenburg blew up the drommete, and all citizens and residents were required to go to the market in a circle, which the lansquenets had decided on and made with spears, together with the soldiers; Hans von Seckendorf, the burghers of Rothenburg, denounced their resignation from the kingdom and their fall to the peasants, as well as the great and severe misfortune into which they had fallen and forfeited their bodies, honors and goods; in addition, the entire city was sealed off, with many other frightening words, which frightened the men; however, in view of some honorable and respectable people, they graciously agreed to pardon them, but they did not want to be punished.

of measure and form, that they should all now pledge allegiance to the realm, and swear to the covenant, with many other words; which was done immediately with fingers stretched out. In attendance was Margrave Casimir of Pappenheim, on account of the covenant, and many of the nobility. Afterwards some citizens were read out, who had been beheaded from hour one, namely Peter Reichel, furrier, Engelhard Goppel, Georg Stull, Georg Pflüger, Hans Conrad, der Prüglin Mann, Thome Heichtel, Burkhart Weidner, Hans Böhm, Wilhelm Besamair, N. Hans Rumpf, Vicarius in the parish church; the bodies were left lying on the market all day. Some of the ring, Lorenz the furrier, Job Schat, Fritz Dalck, Melchior Mader, Hans Marck, would otherwise also have been judged. On Saturday [July 1] at night in the marketplace the following were beheaded: Stephan Mensing, D. Johann Preding, 1) the innkeeper of Ohrenbach, Kilian Schmid of Spielbach, Leonhard Leuter of Ohrenbach, Hans Kretzer, innkeeper, Burkhart Müller, the shoemaker. The blind monk was executed standing up, but failed. Sebald, butcher, piece, Peter Lenck of Detewang, the peasant of Enzerweil. Otherwise two farmers, a lansquenet, lay the whole day on the market, buried later on the churchyard to the pure Margareth. On the Sunday after [July 2] Margrave Casimir went away with all the people to Blofelden, captured some peasants there, namely 10, then came to Hildesheim, had 4 of the peasants beheaded. On Sunday, Catharina Greuser and Regina Schusterin were put in the stocks, and the city was subsequently banned because they had taken grain from Mr. Volkheimer. On the following Saturday, Mr. Stöcklen, pastor, was imprisoned in Neuseß.

On Monday after that all the women of Detwang were put into the madhouse, there were 10 of them, because they mowed down the German lord's meadows and burned the hay 2c. On Wednesday after that, Mr. Hans Hertzog, pastor of Steinsfeld, was caught and released. On Friday after Ascension Day [August 18] Georg Renich, vicar of the hospital, was captured, and on the evening of Bartholomew [August 23] he was banned from the city.

On Tuesday after Nativitutis Narius [September 12], Mr. Hans Stücklein, pastor of Neuseß, was put in the stocks, a cross was burned on his forehead, and then he and a farmer of

1) "Preding" - the preacher, that is D. Johann Drechsler.
2) "Ascension" here is Assumption Day, August 15.

Ohrenbach with rods, because he said he knew how to bring 300 peasants into the city, also to make a fog. On the same day, the funeral of Margrave Hansen of Brandenburg, who is in Hispania, was held; and here Fritz Mölckner von Warthenberg, Kilian Tückischerer, Michel Leinweber, Kilian Weitner were beheaded. On Wednesday after that Adam von Düngen with 80 on horseback and some on foot burned down Schweinsdorf together with the church, also Nerthenberg, Weiler, Harterzhofen, Gottenhofen, Reutsagen, Adelshofen, die Hart, Hückelhausen, Steinsfeld; partly Grumpelshofen, Helmelshofen; and while doing so, he wrote a letter to the city, complaining how his mother, also a fine housewife in his dwelling at Wuerzburg, had been robbed of some jewels, household goods and other things by the peasants of Rothenburg, also by some citizens, and how in other weaknesses it had been proven that he had often been required to give in, and that no sacrifice had been made to him. Therefore he and his helper wanted to be their enemy and thus wanted to preserve his honor; they took more than 2000 head of cattle, also plundered several wagons full, later he took 100 lansquenets, the previous ones bravely besieged.

On Tuesday before Michaelmas [Sept. 26] Hans Lachinger, a nobleman of Welkershofen, was captured and delivered here to Rothenburg, put in a tower, then let out again. On Burckardi [Oct. 14], Leonhard von Schwarzbrunn, the peasant captain, was stabbed to death by one of our mercenaries in the inn behind the table in Teidsiedel. [Adam von Düngen and his helpers also laid down 8 wagons with wine between Neubrunnen and Kerndorf, more than 3 unloaded wagons, some of the carters were stabbed, 4 loaded wagons belonged to Georgen Bremeders, 2 to Hieronymus Hesels, and more than 800 fl. were hit. Thereupon the market or fair was suspended and cancelled, and on St. Andrew's Eve [Nov. 29] no bell was rung, as in former times, nor was any stuff knocked out, to prevent other infidelities. Also on Sunday the house, called Catharina, was set on fire, and the woman's house immediately by the guards, the woman was put in the tower, and expelled from the city. On Sunday after St. Andrew's [Dec. 3], in the evening after vespers, Cressanii, the German lord, has provided Adam Hübner's wife with the sacrament, six boys have run to meet him, have spit on him, and beaten him with sticks, along with many other mocking words. As they walked back and forth they shouted, "Will you carry the idol again?

home! In the morning they were seized and put into the tower, painted with whips and left out again the next day. On Niclaus evening [Dec. 5] Paulus Wacker's house was set on fire. The same day Peter Keßler of Kelberbach had his eyes gouged out at the market, because he had betrayed the wine. Anno 26 on Wednesday after Judica s^21. Marches 2 Scheuren burned down to the Lindla, afterwards on Thursday to Herbach the land tower, and in the village 10 Scheuren burned down. On Monday after the Palm Day ^26. Marches one has cut off the fingers of the Wegerer of Breda on the market, offered from the country, has been the farmer Fähndrich. On the same day letters came from Speyer, from the minster and chapter, St?) Johann Ordens, to a council, have requested that one should restitute to them again what one has taken from them to the rich red and court here in the city. After that the Commenthur, Caspar von Stein, has been given 60 Fl. and has again been counted free of his oath and duty. But after Adam von Düngen, with the responsibility of an honorable councilor, could neither be quieted nor calmed, but rather provoked and moved to tyranny out of anger and reluctance, he dared to enter the city before Exaudi, which was the day of St. John [anto portuni lutinum], 2) ... gathered together with his helpers and assistants, Wölfen von Velberg and Georg von Reich", Dieterich and Georg von Düngen, Philippus von Berling, Hans von Berling, Valtin von Grumbach, Wilhelm von Crailsheim, Eberhard von Stetten, Georg Fuchs, Philipp von Rosenberg, Caspar of Landstorf, Hans of Cubspach, Count of Hesse, and others more of Fellers in the city and castle, about 500 in horse and 500 on foot, in measure and shape, as if they were dogs, and wanted to join the league, with red raised crosses. On Monday after Exaudi [May 14] they lay at Blabach and marched across the hunt. At night they came before Oberstetten. They captured, plundered and burned it for 2000 fl. and 100 fl.; they captured some peasants; they also undertook to capture Thierbach, although it could not have been the same day, but on Tuesday after that they captured it, plundered it, and burned out several parts of it. On Wednesday they plundered Hemberg, there-

1) "St." put by us instead of: "5,".
2) Added by us to make some sense, instead of: "provoked and moved to tyranny out of anger against will, may be hard, before Exaudi, which was his day Johannis ... versammlet" 2c.

itself the Landthurm, 1) Schönhof and Oberfigenroth, Spindelbach, Lentzendorf, to the Hegelin. In the same night they burned out Buch near Hausen. On Thursday the Landthurm near Funckstadt. On Friday morning they burned and plundered Reubach, Wetterich together with the churchyard, Ober- and Unter-Gallau, Gamsfeld, the castle of Dippach, etman bought from Georgen von Rein for 3000 fl, and to Burkstall the sheep yard empty burned treasured for 42 fl.; have moved after the sand yard on the mountain, afterwards on Toberzell; on the Crützenbruner height they have let their gun go off against the city, in a high courage, with 12 or 14 shots; one has gone down without danger at the drinking house on the market, the other into the Barfüßerkloster, the third with St. Johanniswerth, by grace. Johanniswerth, by the grace of God no one was harmed; while clergymen and seculars ran to the market, walls and tower, with armour and defence, ours, together with the Nuremberg gunsmiths, bravely shot out with our bullets at the old castle and elsewhere. In the meantime our mercenaries have plundered and burned Georg von Rein's Weden Geilingdorf, situated near Ohrbach, and have captured several peasants. On the same evening 200 soldiers came here from Nuremberg, on Saturday before Pentecost in the morning our enemies started again and burned Vorbach, Düenhof, Weder, Leutzenbrunn, Halkenbrunn, Heuendorf, Behmweiler, Schmerbach together with the church, Reinbach together with the tower; and so they left the army and returned home with great plunder and looting. On the day of Pentecost, D. Georg von N. was sent here from Anspach with a credentials, excusing the Margrave and his own. On the same day 60 lansquenets came from Frankfurt, were in the pay, although more of them were on leave again. On the evening of Praxedis [July 20] Georg vom Rein fell with 45 on horseback into the army, estimated the host at Ellmerzhofen, burned Northenberg. At that time there was a clamor, in the city everyone, clergy and secular, with armor and armor ran to the market, stood there until vespers. Then the servants and some of the townspeople went out with five rifles, and so captured the New Castle, but did not burn it. They came back around the time of the beating. Later, at the Diet of Speyer, all wars and enmities were judged, agreed upon, and abolished, so that all prisoners on both sides were left alone and without money, and whoever lost was forfeited.

1) "Landthurm" put by us instead of: "Landthllren".

loren. At this Diet, Conrad Eberhard fell into a fatal illness and died soon after; he has Bonifacius Wernitzer with him. On St. Andrew's Day [Nov. 30] Lutz Kutraff of Dierbach, one of the 2) most distinguished of the peasants' revolt, was captured. In the same week Martin Beck of Bloweil was captured, he was also fined 100 fl. On Saturday after St. Thomas [Dec. 22] Michael Scherer was beheaded in Pfeffleinsbad, because he had taken two wives. These are the ones who have fled from Rothenburg: Ehrenfried Kumpf, Georg Kumpf, Christian der Beck, Georg Spelter der Junge, Niclaus Freikürschner, Kargbarthel, Metzger Kilian, Lutz Schuster, Leonhard Großmann, Kürschner, Bernhard..., Peter Melchior, Hans Begen, shoemaker, Philipp Tuchscherer, Valtin Zagsthamer, Melchior Mader, shoemaker, Schilling, the carter, Jakob Kreutzer, Hans Mark, vine dresser, Bernhard Schmid, Hieronymus Hertlein, Martin Blank, shoemaker, Georg Hermann, shoemaker, Christoph Seler, Hans Metzler, Martin Mörlein, white tanner, Johann Dipendann, Asmus Bremer, Mr. Leonhard Dener, Mr. Hans Helenbach, Jost Öffner in the Judengasse, Leonhard Kern, printer, Michael Heberling, grocer, Balthasar Leibbeuer, Niclaus Pfeiffer, Sebald Retlein. . ., Stellwagen, shoemaker, Michael Köhler, summa 35. anno 27, Friday after Kunigunda [March 8], here in Rothenburg in the inner council of the local and fugitive citizens, and Lorenz the furrier shall give 100 fl. and come in again; Hieronymus Hertlein 10 fl. and shall come in; Hans Oswald, locksmith, 10 fl. and come in again; Ehrenfried Kumpf, 400 fl, shall remain outside; Georg Hermann, shoemaker, shall remain outside; Christian, the Beck, 300 fl., shall remain outside. On this day Andreas Apfelbach's wife has her arm cut off for theft. Tuesday before Jacobi [July 23] Hans Hörlein of Oßheim was beheaded for theft. On St. Anne's Day [26 July] the fingers of 4 of them were cut off, namely Peter Dörer of Gütelhausen, Simon Muser, Hans Reuter, Barthel Schmid, all 3 of Ohrenbach, because of the peasant war. Anno 1527 on Sunday before Laurentii [Aug. 4] a Jew was baptized here in Rothenburg in the parish church, with the name Esaias. The godparents were Georg Marschall von Pappenheim, Commenthur in the German House, Caspar von Stein, Commenthur at St. Johann allhie, and was called Georg Caspar.

2) Here we have deleted "from" because it is too much.

Every citizen, rich or poor, had to give 7 guilders or he would be expelled from the city. There were also many honest citizens who left themselves.

792 Aurifaber's account of these peasant wars and their most unfortunate outcome for the peasants, in which he also remembers Luther's and Melanchthon's zealous efforts to control this evil.

This document is found in the Eisleben Collection, vol. I, p. 277; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 303 ' and in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 302.

(1) In this twenty-fifth year a new fire has been kindled, and a great noise has arisen, which the devil has stirred up against the doctrine of the Lord, namely, the revolt of the peasants. For in Alsace and Swabia, also in Franconia and Thuringia, the peasants rose up, stormed the monasteries, burned and destroyed the castles and residences of many nobles, wanted to withdraw obedience from princes, counts and other authorities, and even pretended to abolish them and strike them dead. And especially in Thuringia there was such an uproar and such a game as Thomas Münzer, priest of Allstädt, who camped with the peasants in Frankenhausen.

(2) Against this murderous spirit, Doctor Martin Luther wrote earnestly, and warned the city of Mulhouse against the Muenzer, and also wrote to other estates to beware of outrages and riots. In the same way, Philippus Melanchthon also had several splendid writings go out in print to quench this fire. But God, as a founder and protector of the sovereignty, soon controlled this murderous spirit. For on the Rhine River, many thousands of the rebellious peasants were slain by Duke Anthoni of Lorraine at Alsace-Zabern; but the Swabian peasants were put down by the Swabian League. Thus Prince John, Duke George of Saxony, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, and Duke Henry of Brunswick also defeated the rebellious peasants at Frankenhausen, and had Thomas Muenzer captured and beheaded before Muehlhausen, along with one of his companions, called Pfeiffer.

(3) On Easter Day [April 16], when Luther had preached early in Wittenberg, he departed from there after noon to Mansfeld and visited Eisleben, Stollberg, Nordhausen, Erfurt, Weimar, Orlamünde, Kahla, and Jena, there to control the rebellion with sermons and exhortations;

but in his absence Duke Frederick, Elector, departed with death to Lochau, buried Wednesday after Jubilate [May 10] at Wittenberg, therefore M. Luther hurriedly arrived again the Saturday after Nisorioorăias Domini [May 6] at Wittenberg, and preached the Sunday Jubilate there.

793. D. Martin Luther's Preface to the Scripture: "Terrible History and Judgment of God on Thomas Muenzer."

See No. 776.

To all the dear Germans Martinus Luther.

Grace and peace! This manifest judgment of the eternal God, and terrible history, which he has let pass over and against the doctrine and Scripture and mobs of Thomas Muenzer, the murderous and bloodthirsty prophet, I have sent forth to warn, to frighten, to admonish all those who are now engaged in sedition and discord, and to comfort and strengthen all those who see and suffer such misery, so that they may understand and feel how God condemns the spirits of the mob and the seditionists, and is willing to punish them with wrath.

002 For here thou seest how this spirit of murder boasteth that God speaketh and worketh through him, and is his divine will, and doeth as if all things had been won with him; and before he looketh round, he lieth in the mire with some thousands. But if God had spoken through him, this would not have happened. For God does not deny, but holds fast to His word [Deut. 23:19, Heb. 6:18]. But now Thomas Muenzer is missing, it is in the day that he spoke and drove under God's name through the devil.

003 But that it may be seen the more clearly how he hath been made a liar by the judgment of God, I will let pass beforehand some of his epistles, wherein he thus defieth God, and blasphemeth his name, that it must be confounded, as God hath not suffered it any longer. May the grace of God be with us, amen.

794. Philipp Melanchthon's History of Thomas Muenzer.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1881), vol.II, p.473d; in the Jena (1686), vol.III, p.131 b; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 126, and in the

Leipziger, vol. XIX, p. 293. von der Hardt, nntogr. I^ntti., tom. I, p. 210, gives the following title: "Die Historia Thomä Müntzers, des Anfängers der Thüringischen Aufruhr, sehr nützlich zu lesen"; this title is also in the old Gesammtausgaben. We give the text according to the Wittenberg.

001 After Martin Luther had preached for some years, and taught the gospel purely and clearly, the devil sowed his seed, and raised up many false and injurious preachers, whereby the gospel was again blinded and suppressed, and great bloodshed was caused. For Christ hath given the devil the title, and hath thus confuted him, that he hath been a slayer from the beginning, and until the end of the world he maketh murder [John 8:44].

002 Wherefore he possessed one, whose name was Thomas Muenzer, who was well learned in the holy scriptures, but abode not in the way of the holy scriptures; but the devil deceived him, and drove him from the scriptures, that he began no more to preach of the gospel, and how men should become godly, but devised him out of a false understanding of the holy scriptures a false and seditious doctrine, that all authority should be put to death, and that henceforth all goods should be common, that there should be no more ruler, no more king.

(3) This he drove into the foolish mob very violently, reviling and reproaching the princes, how they oppressed, afflicted, abused, and scraped the poor man, that they might keep their useless pomp and cost. Item, they afflicted the poor man with harm, when Christian love demands that no one set himself above the other, that everyone be free, and that he have the commonwealth of all goods.

(4) He also made a pretense of such devilish teaching, pretending that he had revelation from heaven, and did not teach otherwise, nor did he offer anything, if God had told him so. It is not to be measured how hard the devil has possessed man, that he has been allowed to boast of heavenly revelation, and to attract God's name so brazenly with lies. Neither can it be believed, even among the descendants, that a man could fall into such presumption, that he could boast of such great things when there is nothing in it.

005 And there were more such things before. For there was one called Manes, who pretended that he was the true Christ and the Son of God, and made disciples of him.

1) So the Jena; Wittenberg: den.

2) Wittenberg and Jena: not.

He had many people attached to him, whom the devil thus drove into error, that he might destroy them of body and soul.

006 And so it is, and the devil hath used such cunning, which cannot be understood by reason, and may not be well believed by unlearned men. But one has driven with this Thomae in such a way that one has recognized him well. I will also recite the histories most diligently, and tell how he behaved.

007 There is a place called Allstädt, in the place of Thuringia, in the Harz, toward Saxony, belonging to the Elector of Saxony; thither Thomas went. For though he boasted that he had the Holy Spirit, and was not afraid, and had a divine command to preach in all the world, yet he sought a nest there, that he might be safe under the protection of the pious prince, Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, under whom the priests, who preached against old unprofitable customs, were safer than elsewhere.

8th Now that he was in residence at Allstädt, he first preached that he had made a great rumor against the pope and Luther alike, how the papal and Lutheran doctrines were unfit. The pope had bound the consciences too hard with unreasonable burdens and ceremonies, but Luther made the consciences free from papal burdens, but let them remain in carnal freedom, did not lead them further in spirit and to God. With such talk he opened the mouths of the simple-minded rabble, and they ran to hear something new, as Homerus says, that the new song is best for the rabble.

(9) Now what the pope and Luther taught is too long to relate here. But what Muenzer taught, and how he fell from one error into another, is useful to know and to remember, so that we may take an example from such history, and watch, and pray to God to keep us from falling into error, and being blinded, so that we come out of the Christian way altogether. For as when a man travels overland, if he misses the way once, it often happens that the farther he goes from the right way, so it is also in these matters: as soon as one misses the truth once, and one has let the devil deceive him, the longer one goes on the farther one errs, and the devil leads the wretched people by the nose, as one leads a buffalo.

(10) Let us now lately consider what Thomas preached. He taught that it was true that piety was not in the papal orders, therefore it should be left alone. And he taught that one must therefore come to right and Christian piety. In the beginning, one must refrain from public

The body should be chastened and martyred with fasting, with bad clothing, with little speech, with no anger, with no cutting of the beard. And the body must be chastened and martyred with fasting, with bad clothing, with little speech, with sour eyes, and with no cutting of the beard. He calls such childish discipline the death of the flesh and the cross, which is written in the Gospel. This is the origin of all his sermons.

011 Further, when one had thus adorned himself and dyed himself, he taught that he should go into secret places, and often think of God, what he is, and whether he would also take care of us; then the heart would find that it doubted it, not knowing whether God greatly inquired of us, nor whether it was true that Christ had suffered for our sakes, and had redeemed us, because we were yet in such great distress and misery; it would also want to know whether our faith or that of the Turks was right. Hitherto such a sermon would have been suffered, but he hath taught great blasphemy.

(12) Then one should demand a sign from God, so that God may testify how He cares for us and that our faith is right and true. If God does not soon give such signs, one should not desist, but continue to boldly demand them with great earnestness, to be angry with God, to curse him, and to reproach him for his righteousness, that if it is written of him that he wants to make everyone blessed [1 Tim. 2:4] and to teach the truth, and to give why he is asked, he is doing wrong if he does not show a sign to such a heart that desires from him true knowledge of God.

013 In such wrath, saith Thomas, God is well pleased. For from this he would feel how much they desired him, and he would act like a father, and give signs, and quench this thirst of souls, because it is written of him that he will give drink to the thirsty [Isa. 55:1, Rev. 21:6], and he says that God would then come and speak to them verbally, as he did to Abraham, Jacob, and others.

014 Yea, he saith openly, which is a fearful thing to hear, that he would shit in God, if he spake not unto him, as unto Abraham and other patriarchs. This he called the certain way to heaven, and drew on the fable much scripture forged, cried out and scolded horribly. Those who spoke against it he called Pharisees, who did not know God rightly and truly, but looked into the Scriptures like the blind, and yet did not find God there.

015 All these things pleased the people well, that

1) Wittenberger: "not alone". The Jenaer has erased "alone".

they should talk to God, see signs. For human nature is inquisitive, and desires to know great and secret things. And the fame would be good for the rude people, so that they would think they were more holy and more learned than all the students.

16 But it is useful to say what signs Thomas dealt with. He says that God reveals His will through dreams, and bases the whole construction on dreams. Whoever had dreamed something of God, considered himself pious, or whoever had a dream that could be interpreted as a story, considered them to be Christians and prophets, praised them in open sermons, so that he might draw them to himself, and with such praise he also inflamed them to defend him more fiercely.

017 By this he made him an accident to the mad mob, and for the love of it he changed also the ceremonies of the churches, the singing, the dress, and the like. For such novelty was well loved by the reckless rabble.

018 Thinking therefore that he had enough renown, and that the common man would follow him, he broke forth further, and purposed to make a noise under the appearance of the gospel, that he might cast out the rulers, and that he might sit in the nest, and be mighty and rich; and began at Allstädt, and made a register, and wrote therein all that joined themselves to him, and pledged themselves to punish the unchristian princes, and to establish Christian government. For he pretended that God had commanded him to change the worldly government.

019 Hitherto he had not yet spoken openly against the authorities, but only the dream, which we have told, how men should become godly, and know God, he had driven into the people, and preached against Luther and the pope at the same time.

020 But because he taught no sedition, Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, suffered him, and drove him not out. Luther also wrote to Duke Frederick that he should not be chased away.

021 But when he began, and thought he had help enough to make a noise, he began, and taught sedition, that they should not be obedient to worldly authority, and should cast them out of the government; for such (he said) God had chosen him, by whom the whole world would be helped.

22 So Thomas taught two errors in sum. One was about spiritual things, that one should demand signs from God, not take comfort in the Scriptures, or that dreams were a sure sign that one had received the Holy Spirit. The other error has been about worldly government, that one should not follow it.

should be obedient, yet the Scriptures very earnestly command such obedience.

023 Then Duke Frederick thrust him out of the country. Thomas then forgot his great spirit, and went away, and hid himself half a year. After that he arose. For the devil did not let him rest, and went to Nuremberg. But God took special care of that city so that Thomas would not be imprisoned there. For if Thomas had succeeded there, it is to be feared that a much more terrible noise would have arisen than in Thuringia.

024 The council of Nuremberg chased him out of the city. Then he turned and went back to Thuringia to Mühlhausen. For while he had been in Allstädt, he had attracted to himself a number of wicked boys from Mühlhausen, and they made room for him in the city and made him a customer, so that the congregation accepted him as a preacher.

025 But the council opposed it. But in order that he might continue in his office, he, Thomas, encouraged the mob to dismiss the council as unchristian and to elect a new Christian council, which would allow him to preach. This was done, and the honorable people were deposed from the council, and some were also driven out of the city.

026 This was the beginning of the new Christian reign. After this they expelled the monks, and took the goods of the monasteries and convents; and the Knights of St. John had a court, and great rent, and Thomas took the same court.

027 And that he might be in all the games, he also went with them unto counsel, and pretended: To speak rightly must be done by revelation from God and by the Bible. So what pleased him was judged, and it was considered to be the special command of God.

028 He also taught that all men should be common, as it is written in po8tolorurri [Cap. 4:32], that they should have goods in common. By this he made the rabble so wanton that they no longer wanted to work, but where one needed grain or cloth, he went to a rich man, where he wanted, demands it out of Christian right, for Christ wanted one to share with the poor [Matth. 19, 21.]. Where a rich man did not willingly give what was demanded, it was taken from him by force. This happened to many, even to those who lived with Thomas in the court of St. John. Thomas did this, and every day he did more and more, and he threatened all the princes in the neighborhood that he would humiliate them.

29. this he did for nearly a year, until in the

The year 1525, when the peasants of Swabia and Franconia were stirred up, for Thomas was not so bold as to make a noise, although he said that God had commanded him to do so, until he hoped that he would have his back against the foreign peasants. For in Franconia more than 40,000 men lay in the field in three heaps, had chased away the nobles, had burned and plundered almost all the castles.

030 Then Thomas thought that he wanted to meet the hour, the princes would be frightened, the nobility would be driven out, the peasants would keep the field, and he also wanted to be in the game, and to begin his reformation; and he let himself be heard in sermons, the time would come, he wanted to go almost to the field, he poured out rifles in the Barfüßer choir, the peasants also ran with heaps to Mühlhausen, they all wanted to become rich.

(31) He had a preacher with him, whose name was Pfeiffer, a monk who had run away, very good at games, wicked and wanton, who wanted to make the first attack, and pretended that he had had a vision from which he realized that God was asking him to continue. He had a dream in which he was in a stable and saw many mice, all of which he chased away; thus, he thought, God had indicated to him that he should go forth and chase away all nobility.

Thirty-two: And Thomas, being afraid and unwilling to go, was very angry with Thoma, and was very angry with him, and would have driven him out, if he had not let him go, and had frightened off the people. For Thomas did not want to make the attack, because he was strong enough, and would not come out of the city, because the peasants had stirred up all over the neighborhood before. Thereupon he wrote to the mountain people of Mansfeld 1) a very devilish letter, that they should strike at the princes as at the anvil Nimrod pinkepank; 2) he also hoped that the Frankish peasants would move closer against Thuringia.

33 Pfeiffer went out into the ice field, plundered castles and churches, chased away and caught the nobles, came home, brought much robbery. The common rabble became angry because he had succeeded. The peasants of Frankenhausen, not far from Mulhouse, were aroused. They also fell into the counties of Mansfeld and Stollberg, broke and plundered the castles.

034 Then Thomas departed. For he thought that the whole land of the princes was fallen away, and went to Frankenhausen with three hundred boys.

1) No. 779 in this volume.

L), In the old editions: "Bmck Banck".

of Mulhouse, and the rabble was dispersed in all the cities. And although the Saxon princes prepared themselves to defend the peasants, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Dukes of Brunswick were up to quiet the noise, yet they would almost have missed the game, if the peasants had not soon been frightened, that they also delayed and did not go away to take the cities.

035 But the peasants were terrified for this cause: when the county of Mansfeld had risen up, and therefore all the counties that bordered upon it, Albrecht arose with sixty horses, and slew two hundred: and the peasants were afraid, and departed not, but ran all to Frankenhausen, to wait there until the troop were greater; and there they departed, until the princes also were gathered together.

036 So the princes, Duke John of Saxony, Duke George of Saxony, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, and Duke Henry of Brunswick, went against the peasants with fifteen hundred horses and not many footmen. But the peasants had built their fortress on a mountain near Frankenhausen, so that it was not easy to get to them with the soldiers; but they did not have much cannon and armour, and were quite clumsy and unarmed.

037 When the princes saw these things, they took pity on the foolish and wretched people, and made arrangements to admonish them, and sent to them to depart, and delivered up the captains and the rioters to the noise. The poor people were frightened, and would have been well rebuked; but the devil willed his will to be done by Thomae, who drove Thomae to admonish them to stay, and to resist. Therefore he arose and spake thus:

038 Dear brethren, you see that the tyrants, our enemies, are there, and they are so fearful that they may not attack us, and they demand that you depart, that you deliver up the beginners of this matter. Now, brethren, you know that I have begun such a thing by God's command, and not by my own presumption or boldness. For I have never been a warrior my day. But since God has verbally commanded me to go forth, I am obliged, and all of you, to stay there and wait for the end.

039 God commanded Abraham to sacrifice his son; now Abraham did not know how to do it, yet he followed God and went on, wanting to sacrifice and kill the godly child. Then God saved Isaac and kept him alive.

So also we, having command from God, shall expect the end, and let God take care of us.

040 But I have no doubt that it will be well, and that we will see God's help this day, and that we will destroy all our enemies. For God often speaks in the Scriptures that He wants to help the poor and the pious, and to exterminate the wicked [Ps. 37:38-40]. Now we are ever the poor and those who desire to receive God's word. Therefore we should not doubt, there will be happiness on our side.

041 But what are the princes? They are nothing but tyrants, they oppress the people, they waste our blood and sweat with courting, with useless splendor, with harlots and knaves. God commanded in the fifth book of Moses [chapter 17:16]: The king shall not have many horses with him, neither shall he have great pomp; neither shall a king have the book of the law in his hands daily.

042 But what do our princes do? They do not take care of the government, do not hear the poor people, do not administer justice, do not keep the streets clean, do not prevent murder and robbery, do not punish outrages and wantonness, do not defend widows and orphans, do not help the poor to justice, do not educate the youth to good manners, do not promote worship, but only spoil the poor more and more with new complaints, do not use their power to keep the peace, but for their own defiance, so that one might be strong enough for his neighbor, spoil the country and the people with unnecessary wars, rob, burn, murder. These are the virtues of the princes, that they may now deal with them. Think not that God will suffer these things any longer. For as he hath destroyed the Canaanites, so will he also destroy these princes [Exodus 33:2, 34:11].

(43) And though such things should be suffered, God cannot suffer them to defend the false worship of the priests and monks. Who does not know what abominable idolatry happens with the buying and selling in the mass! As Christ drove the merchants out of the temple [Matth. 21, 12], so he will destroy these priests and what is attached to them. And as God vowed to Phinehas that He would punish fornication with Casbi [Deut. 25:7, 8 ff], so God will give us luck to punish the fornicators.

044 Therefore be of good cheer, and do the service of God, and destroy these unprofitable rulers. For what shall it profit, if we make peace with them? For they will continue not to set us free.

...drive us to idolatry. Now we are guilty of dying rather than consenting to their idolatry. It were ever better that we should become martyrs, than that we should suffer the gospel to be taken from us, and be driven to the abuses of the priests.

(45) I know for certain that God will help us and give us victory. For He has promised me this verbally and commanded me to reform all the estates. It is no wonder that God gives victory to a few and unarmed people against many thousands. For Gideon with a few men [Judges 7:23 ff.], Jonathan with a few fine boys defeated many thousands [1 Sam. 14:14], David with no armor slew the great Goliath [1 Sam. 17:49].

046 Therefore I have no doubt that now and then such things shall come to pass, that we, though unarmed, shall be overthrown; for heaven and earth shall be changed before we are left, as the nature of the sea was changed, that help might be given to the children of Israel, when Pharaoh pursued after them [Exodus 14:16]. Let not the weak flesh be afraid, and attack the enemy boldly, fear not the cannon. For ye shall see that I will take in my sleeve all the cannon stones which they shoot against us. Yea, ye see that God is on our side. For He now gives us a sign. Do you not see the rainbow in the sky? It means that God wants to help us, who carry the rainbow in our banner, and that He threatens the murderous princes with judgment and punishment. Therefore be undaunted, and take comfort in divine help, and stand in defense; God does not want you to make peace with the godless princes.

047 When Thomas had spoken, the more part were afraid, and would gladly have been so, and saw that the water was about to go over the baskets. But there was no order and regiment, that one could have held council, what one should do. There were also some boys who had a mind to fight and to do them harm, and because they were of the same mind, they fell to Thomas, and were not only enraged by Thomas's speech, but they were moved by the rainbow that appeared while Thomas was speaking. For because they carried a rainbow in their ensign, they thought that God had given them a sign 4> of victory. Also the heap was quite large, and was probably because they thought they would be strong enough for the princes. For the peasants numbered about eight thousand, and some of the boys cried out that they should stand in defense, and began to sing the song, Vsni Sanets Spiritus [Come, Holy Spirit].

Forty-eight: so the princes had no answer to their solicitation. Thomas also had a young nobleman, a certain son of an old man, sent with others into the camp to do some wooing, and had him stabbed, against all the world's ways of war. This angered the princes and the nobility so much that they got angry with the peasants. And the landgrave of Hefsen, who was the youngest of the princes there, rode about the stuff, and exhorted them to save the common peace, and spake thus:

49. Dear friends, you see the poor people before you, against whom you have been led to resist their disobedience and evil. Now the princes have had mercy on their affliction, and we have dealt with them, that they depart, surrender, and deliver up the captains. They give no answer to this, and prepare to strike: so great necessity demands that we defend ourselves. Therefore I exhort you to attack them chivalrously, and to defend the unfaithful wicked men and murderers.

050 The devil hath so blinded the people, that they will not counsel or help them. For though they complain greatly about the rulers, yet there is no cause on earth sufficient to stir up rebellion, and to do violence against the sovereign. For it is a very serious commandment of God to honor and fear the rulers, for which God has thus kept that sedition has never gone unpunished. For Paul says [Rom. 13:2], "He who resists authority is punished." For authority is ordered by God. Therefore God keeps it so that no creature can tear it apart. As God's order is that day and night shall be, and no man may snatch the sun from heaven and take away day and night: so neither the devil nor the devil's apostle, the peasants of Munch, will have any happiness against ordered authority.

011 I speak not these things to make myself a prince, and to make the cause of the peasants bad; but it is the whole truth. I know well that we are often wicked, because we are men, and often do wrong; nevertheless we ought not to make a fuss about it. It is God's command to honor authority, but then one should honor it especially when it is in greatest need of honor. Now, the most needful honor is when it is reviled, perhaps even when it has been lacking; so the subjects should help to bear, honor, and cover such dishonor of the rulers, as Shem covered the mere Noah [Gen. 9:23], so that they may remain and live with one another in peace and unity.

022 But what do these faithless wicked men do? They do not cover up our faults, but make them more reprehensible, even adding many lies. For it is a lie and a fabrication that we do not keep the peace of the land, that we do not keep the courts, that we do not prevent murder and robbery in the countries. For to the best of our ability we are bound to keep the peace. Now the burden that the subjects bear in money or interest is small compared to the care and toil that we bear.

(Fifty-three) But every man esteemeth his own affliction the greatest: but what other men suffer, no man will measure. The peasants give little interest, therefore they sit secure, may feed wife and child, may educate children to discipline and honor. To maintain such security their interest is invested; tell me, to whom does the greatest benefit come from it? The subjects; therefore their complaints are void. But it is true that not all things can be sufficiently arranged in the regiment. For this is the misfortune of the world. The grain in the field does not grow every year. Therefore God demands that we honor the rulers. For if the ruler were not absent, his honor would not be in danger; but because it is in danger, God wants to protect it and has commanded that it be honored.

054 But they complain that they are not permitted to hear the gospel: nevertheless let no man stir up sedition for this cause. For as Christ forbade Petro to fight, so let every man answer for himself what he believeth. If the authorities want to kill him, he should suffer it, and should not take up the sword and provoke other people to save him by force. Christ passed a terrible sentence on Petro, when he was about to fight, that he was guilty of death: "He that taketh the sword shall perish with the sword," saith Christ, Matt. 26:52], and hanged himself on the cross. Thus is rebellion against the commandment and example of Christ.

055 Further, it is in the day that this coiner and his followers teach not the gospel, but murder and robbery; no man blasphemes the gospel more than these men, who, under the appearance of the holy name, do all that they can. This is their gospel, to take from the rich what is theirs, to disgrace others' wives and children, to take from the rulers so that no one can defend them. God does not let such great dishonor of the holy name of the gospel go unnoticed. For He speaks in the other commandment that he who takes God's name in vain shall not go unpunished [Exodus 20:7].

056 Therefore, because the peasants are so wicked, blaspheming God, reviling their rulers, and have no just cause for rebellion, you should confidently attack them as murderers, and help save the common peace, help pious, honorable people, protect your wife and child against these murderers; in this you do God a great favor. And though we are strong enough to judge the wretched people (in the human way), yet I would not attack them if I did not know that I was doing right. For God has given us the sword, not to commit murder, but to prevent murder. But if I know that I am doing right, I will help to punish them, and I have no doubt that God will help us to be victorious. For he saith, Whosoever resisteth against authority, let him be punished" [Rom. 13:2].

57 When the landgrave had finished speaking, they approached the peasants and shot them down. The poor people, however, stood there and sang: "Now we pray to the Holy Spirit," as if they were insane, and did neither defend themselves nor flee, many also consoled themselves with the great promise of Thomas that God would show help from heaven, because Thomas had said that he would take all the shots in his arms.

058 And when they were broken in unto them in the castle of the chariots, and began to stab them, the wretched people turned to flee; the greater company towards the town of Frankenhausen, and some also to the other side of the mountain; and there was no resistance of the peasants, for a company that was gathered together in the valley of the mountain defended themselves for a while against a few horsemen. For even the rustic stuff, when he saw that there was no ride and no resistance, did not keep order, and so they were scattered from one another. In that place they wounded some, and cut down two or three horsemen. Then the soldiers were more enraged, and not only did they strangle this group, but they also strangled whatever they might encounter in flight, and five thousand men were left dead.

59) After the battle they came into the town, 1) took it, and caught three hundred men, whom they beheaded there. But Thomas had escaped into the village of Frankenhausen, into a house near the gate. Now he might have gotten away in the meantime, or he might have hidden himself very well, if God had not particularly willed that he should have been caught; no one had any particular respect for him, and no one sought him.

60) But a nobleman of Lüneburg had entered into the same house by the gate, whose

1) The "spot" will mean Frankenhaufen.

The servant goes up to the floor of the house, wants to see what they have for lodging, so he finds one lying in bed, as if he were sick, speaks to him, and asks who he is, whether he is also a rebel? Now Thomas had lain down in bed, as if he were weak, and thought that he wanted to hide himself and escape, and Thomas answered the Reuter that he was a sick man, lying there and having febres, and was very weak, and that he had never come to the riot.

61 The Reuter found a bag lying by the bed, takes it, and thinks perhaps to get a prey, there he finds letters in it, which Count Albrecht of Mansfeld had written to Thomä, to admonish him to desist from his courage. Then the Reuter asks: Where do the letters come from? Whether he was Thomas? Thomas was frightened, and at first denied, not wanting to be the man, but at last he confessed, since the reuter threatened him. So the magistrate took him prisoner. The princes were informed of this. Then Duke George and the landgrave sent to Thomae.

022 When he was come before the princes, they asked what he had reproached the poor people with, that he had thus deceived them? And he answered defiantly, that he had done right, that he had purposed to punish the princes, because they were contrary to the gospel.

033 But the landgrave sat upon him, and proved unto him out of the scriptures, that one ought to honour authority, that God had forbidden sedition, that especially Christians ought not to revenge themselves, though they were wronged; out of which the wretched coiner knew not how to speak.

044 And it came to pass, that they tightened the thumbsticks upon him, and he cried out. Duke George said, "Thomas, this hurts you, but it hurt the poor people today that they were stabbed, whom you had brought into such misery. Thomas answered, laughing like a man possessed, "They wouldn't have it any other way. From these outrageous words, everyone could sense that the devil had made man completely insane, that he had no mercy at all on the misery of the slain people.

65 Thereupon he was led to Heldrungen in Thurm, and there examined. But it was because of this that he was sent to Heldrungen: for he had written to Count Ernsten of Mansfeld in Heldrungen a letter of urgency, in which were written these words: I am going. But so that Thomas would be inside for his crime, he was tied to a wagon and drove there.

66After some days Thomas was badly martyred at Heldrung in the question in which he confessed that he had formerly been a disciple at Halle.
and began at that time to make a union to reform Christendom. After that, he began such a covenant at Allstädt, and finally at Mulhouse; he hoped that, since the peasants in Swabia had revolted, he would have room to make a noise. He also went to Swabia to find out their intentions. But he said that he did not like their company and that they did not want to hear him. He also pointed out the names of his confederates in Allstädt and Mühlhausen.

(67) Further, he has not been asked about his *revelations*, or what moved him to make such a noise. It is also unwise, because he has boasted of divine revelation, that one has not asked whether he has invented such things, or whether the devil has seduced him with visions; such would be useful to know.

068 After some days the princes went before Mühlhausen, which city surrendered unto them. There the princes beheaded a bunch of rebels, and among them also the piper; there Thomam was also led into the camp, and there he was beheaded. But he was very fainthearted in this last trouble, and so lost with himself that he could not pray the faith alone, but Duke Henry of Brunswick recited it to him; he also publicly confessed that he had done wrong, and yet in the ring admonished the princes that they should not be so hard on the poor people, so they should not wait for such a ride, and said that they should read lidros UeAnrn. After this speech he was beheaded, and his head was put on a spike in the field as a memorial.

(69) This end of Thomas Muenzer is well to be considered, that every one may learn thereby that one ought not to believe those who boast of divine revelation, if they intend anything contrary to the Scriptures. For God leaves nothing unspotted, as it is written in the other commandment: I^ori Iiudsdit Osus inLontern eto.

70. We shall also learn how severely God punishes disobedience and rebellion against authority. For God has commanded that we honor and obey the authorities. Therefore, whoever acts contrary to it, God will not let him go unpunished, as Paul says in Romans 13:2: "He who resists authority will be punished."

In other places this year, as in Thuringia, rebellion was punished, and the authorities were miraculously preserved by God against the great power of the rebels. Such examples, as a special history of God, should remain in the memory of the descendants and be written out with great diligence.

The fifth section of the tenth chapter.

Of the blessed death of Prince Frederick the Wise during the Peasants' Revolt, and of his burial.

795 U. Georg Spalatin's consolation to the Elector Frederick of Saxony at his end. May 5, 1525.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 217; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 5116; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 887; and in the Leipzig, vol. XXII, p. 496.

(1) God's grace and peace beforehand, most gracious Lord, E. churfl. G. do not allow anything on earth to challenge them, but only hold fast to Christ, and remember his comforting word, grasping it and holding it in strong faith, trust and hope, as especially Christ says Matth. 9, 12. 13.: "The strong have no need of a physician, but the sick; I have come to call sinners to repentance, and not the pious."

002 The same also he so kindly beckoneth unto him, Matt. ii. 28, saying thus, Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you."

(3) Now we come to Christ by faith alone, when we believe that God is gracious to us, that He means us faithfully and well, that He has forgiven us all our sins, that Christ has been sufficient for all our sins, that we are God's children and heirs, whether in life or death. Thus Christ Himself says John 6:35: "He that cometh to Me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on Me shall never thirst."

(4) Neither sin, death, hell, nor the devil can harm such a person, nor can he be condemned, but through faith and heartfelt trust in God's true word and unfathomable grace, goodness, and mercy he will be eternally saved. Thus Christ Himself says John 5:24: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life."

5 It is very comforting that a Christian man passes through temporal death into eternal life. Yes, a Christian man will not feel or taste death, as Christ Himself says John 8:51: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, if any man taste my Word will keep," that is, abide in it, not doubting it, but firmly believing that through me and for my sake he has a gracious, kind, and merciful Father in heaven, "he shall never see death forever."

(6) This is the kind will of God the Father and God the Son, that such a person who continues in faith and trust in God's grace and Word may be preserved and saved eternally, and that the world, sin, hell, death and the devil may no more harm him than they have not harmed Christ Himself. Thus saith Christ himself, Joh. 6:37-40, All that my Father giveth me cometh to me; and him that cometh to me I will not cast out: for I am come down from heaven, not to do my will, but that of him that sent me. And this is the will of the Father which hath sent me, that I should lose nothing of all that he hath given me; but that I should raise it up at the last day. Now this is the will of him that sent me, that whosoever seeth the Son, and believeth on him, shall have eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day."

007 This also was the command of Christ, our dear Lord and Saviour, here on earth, to preserve forever all them that believe on him. Thus He Himself says John 3:16-18: "God so loved the world that He gave His only Son, that whoever believes in Him should not perish but have eternal life. For God did not send His Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world through Him might be saved; he who believes in Him will not be judged."

(8) Whosoever therefore believeth in Christ, that he was saved by him, hath obtained all things by faith, which the eternal Son of the eternal God himself is, hath, is able, and is able to do. Thus St. Paul says Rom. 8, 31-34: "What shall we say further? If God is for us, who can be against us? Who also did not spare His own Son, but gave Him up for us all; how shall He not with Him give us all things? Who will accuse the elect of God? God is here, who justifies. Who will condemn? Christ is here, who died, who is at the right hand of God, and represents us."

009 As Christ therefore hath victoriously overcome death, sin, the devil, and hell; so shall a Christian man overcome all these things, and they shall hurt him no more than they hurt the Lord Christ. Thus saith Christ himself, Joh. 16, 33: "These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye are afraid, but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world."

(10) Whosoever therefore liveth and dieth by faith overcometh sin, and death, and the devil. Thus saith St. John 1 John 5:4, "Our faith is the victory that overcame the world." And the victory Christ, our pious Beatificator, hath purchased for us by his death. Thus saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. 15:57: "Thanks be to God, which hath given us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

(11) Neither sin, nor death, nor hell, nor the devil, can take away such a man. Thus Christ Himself says John 10:27-29: "My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and they follow Me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish; neither shall any man pluck them out of My hand. The Father who gave them to me is greater than all, and no one can snatch them out of my Father's hand."

(12) Therefore a man cannot do better than commit his spirit into the almighty hand of God the Father, and say with Christ Luc. 23:46, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit," for in the hand of God no soul can ever be lost. For as Christ himself saith Jn. 15:9, "As my Father loveth me, even so do I love you"; and as Christ there further saith Jn. 17:21-23, "I have given them the glory which thou gavest me, that they may be one, even as we are one: that I in them, and thou in me, may be perfect in one; and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, even as thou hast loved me."

013 And it is impossible for a Christian to be lost who has such faith. St. Paul says Romans 5:8-11: "Therefore praise God for His love toward us, that while we were still sinners Christ died for us, so much more shall we be saved from wrath through Him, having been justified by His blood. For if we have been reconciled to God through the death of his Son, while we were still enemies, much more shall we be saved through his life, if we have now been reconciled. also of God" (that is), that God is ours, and we are his, "through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement." "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's," as St. Paul writes Rom. 14:8. Therefore a man cannot do wrong, but with God's help surrender himself into God's will amicably and willingly, who departs from this false, wretched world and from sins through death to his Lord and Savior JESUS CHRIST into eternal life, from which neither sin, hell, death, nor the devil can or can prevent him for eternity; since the Lamb of God, Christ, who took upon Himself all the sin of the whole world, is good enough for us, to whom be thanksgiving and praise for ever and ever.

(14) Only abide in faith, which will sustain us forever, for God is the eternal truth, who will not lie to us, nor fail nor deceive us, all his ways are faithfulness and goodness, grace and mercy; only speak with David Ps. 31:6: "Into your hands I commend my spirit, you have redeemed me, faithful God," Amen. Georgius Spalatinus.

796 Some questions to Luther and Melanchthon, how Prince Frederick is to be buried, together with the same expert's opinion added in the margin.

From Cyprian's Charters, vol. II, p. 326.

Interro Author.

To remember. To the following secular practices, which have been practiced in the case of the great lord's death, to make a Christian change, because our prince has taken his leave according to Christian abandonment, that also the memorial night be ordered and carried out in God's order by his grace, and what is considered unchristian, or to annoyance, to do away with it.

First, the procession. **plackt.**

The receipt of the ge
my people. **plackt.**

The common mockery of the
Bells. **plackt.**

That some persons bear the coffin, covered with delicacy. **plackt.**

l) The words: "by his grace" will have to be referred to Duke John, the brother of the Elector. The same will have asked these questions through Spalatin both to Luther and Melanchthon, and (in the next number) to Gabriel Zwilling, pastor at Torgau.

That the bier with the body, when it is carried through the cities and towns, may be dewed, and the people come to meet it, Most.

Item, if the corpse to the Meet.
place is brought where he shall lie, AtZt^sxeri that one finds Vrgüren, light burns, latina kunsauch of the evening a sermon thut, dris liaderi, and the corpse the night un- ^uarnliadsbegraben leaves. kkillx-

Item quite a few poor people "
standing with lights around the bier, mors.

Item, that a bishop, or great
Prelate Mess hold. non xlaeet.

Item, that the priests and curtains of the altars be clothed in black, and good attendance be given. From Most.

Item, that the coats of arms to the
Candles, bahr, altar 2c. be hung. xlaoet.

Following on the high office, again twofold Masses 2c., fourfold Offertory. of Most.

Item, that mean offering money ge
non Most.

Item, that in such sacrifices viäetur lloo some stallions ge- ^eulo ricki- around the altars. onlurn 8P6-
. otaoulnin;

Item, that one among the sacrifices 8nnt dargängen also shield offers and the dara.
Spit broken. sinnlitsr ricki-

Jtem, that one especially Ge- oulum.
in the funeral, that
you bury a sword with it. ut ex mors.

Item, donation of the poor people. Meot.

Item, the main sermon under the
Office. Most.

Item, whether a measurement of the time . . should and would be ordered, whether communicants were present? "Whether the Mass should be omitted or not?

797 Gabriel Gemini's Concerns of the Burial of Frederick the Wise.

From Cyprian's Charters, vol. II, p. 328.

Because our most gracious Lord has fallen asleep in Christ, it is good that his body should be buried in Christ in a lowly, simple manner, without all ostentation, as the ancient fathers did.

I. That the common people, together with their servants, should go to the grave is right and proper.

II. whether to ring the bells also does no harm.

III. one may well cover a shroud over the coffin.

IV. Whether to ring the bells, through which city the corpse is carried, there is nothing in it.

V. Vigil and light are to be left outside, especially the vigil; there is not much in the way of light, if it is to burn. But that one preaches in the evening to remind the people of death, and to ask that God give his spirit to their future lord, and rule according to God's will, is well done. And if he remains unburied through the night, it is of no consequence.

VI Poor men's clothing is good, though they stand about with lights.

VII. neither bishop nor prelate hold mass; let all masses stand, if one does not want to anger God, and God shall give his grace to our most gracious lord to rule in the future, Duke Hansen.

Neither the priest nor the altar shall be clothed in black. It is good that something is given to the poor people.

IX. That coats of arms are hung on candles and banners is not a big deal. But they should not be hung on the altars.

X. On the morrow there shall be no measurement or sacrifice, but preach and bury it in the name of God.

XI. Give the offering money to poor people.

XII. Let not the stallions be drawn round the altar.

XIII Let all sacrifices stand in a queue, whether it be the sacrifice of the shield or the breaking of the spear.

XIV Let a sword be given to one who has none, if ever he will give one away.

XV. Donation is good, if one is still alive.

XVI The morning sermon before burying the body is good.

I think that if the body of our most gracious lord were carried to the grave in a bad way, the students would go before and sing some good songs, and some of the nobility would carry the body, and the other court servants along with the common people would follow the corpse and greet it in the name of God, so that it would be best, and after

that, when the body was buried, would preach an admonition or sermon to the people. As it is commanded above, to remember the death, and to pray earnestly to God for a godly prince; as we already hope that he has given him to us.

798 Georg Spalatin's personal report on how Prince Frederick was buried at Wittenberg on May 10 and 11, 1525, after having sought the advice of Luther and Melanchthon.

Printed from Spalatin's manuscript in Kapp's Nachlese, vol. II, p. 667.

How my most gracious lord, Duke Frederick of Saxony 2c, blessed and laudable memory, funeral here at Wittenberg Wednesday and Thursday after Jubilate has been held, with D. Martini, Philipp Melanchthon's 2c. Council. 1525.

Wednesday after Jubilate.

In the year of Christ, the birth of our dear Lord and Saviour, 1525, the introduction of my most gracious Lord, Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector 2c, of blessed and praiseworthy memory, as follows, took place here in Wittenberg.

Early in the morning my most gracious lord's, laudable and blessed memory, body was bequeathed in a coffin, carried and placed by eight noblemen to Lochau 1) from his C. F. G. room into the castle chapel, and the office left there, and after the office ordered by the touched eight noblemen to the sedan chairs, and thus begun to be carried to Wittenberg.

From the castle to the Lochau the cortege is accepted by the inhabitants with the procession, with the song: "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" 2c. and "Aus tiefer Noth" 2c.

Likewise at Jessen with all the bells in the procession, and the procession, accepted by the priesthood and the common people, also with Christian songs, also brought to the Eylstern 2) and thus following up to Wittenberg.

At 2 o'clock Count Wolfgang von Warbey, Mr. Hans, Noble of Plavenitz, 3) and Mr. Hans von Minkwitz, both knights, rode from Wittenberg, together with several of the nobility, as much as was required of them, to accept the body of my most gracious lord, of blessed memory, as they did. Then, between 11 and 12 o'clock, the great bells were rung in the parish and in the monastery, and the people gathered together with the university in the parish church, together with the students.

However, the people of the collegiate church have gathered in front of the collegiate church, and they have

1) Is now called Annaburg (Walch).
2) "Eylstern" will probably mean the Elster. Jessen lies on the black Elster.
3) This name is spelled differently: Planitz, Plaunitz, Plawnitz; here Plavenitz.

Stiftskirche, until the procession come to prevent the crowd, not unlocked.

When the students, the university, the council and the common people came before the collegiate church, the people of the collegiate church also went into the procession in their order.

And touched all have kept the order in going out, as in the introduction of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., of blessed memory.

As follows: First a cross was carried, then the disciples went, of whom there were six and fifty. After that, the members of the congregation, then the body of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., was first placed in a coffin, and covered with a black cloth, and with a white cross of linen, and five coats of arms on the coffin, and covered with a black velvet, and with the coats of arms pinned on it, carried eight, all dressed in mourning coats and hats with black silk tails, as follows:

Count Wolf von Warbey. Sir Hans, Noble of Plavenitz, Knight. Sir Hans von Minkwitz, Knight. Kum Rabil. Christoph Gross. Friedrich Brandt. Georg von Hulda, and Matches Loser.

Beside the body went twenty men, all in black, mourning disguised, with burning torches and hanging thereon the high-souled arms of my most gracious lord.

After the corpse, before my gracious lord Duke Franciscus of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Hans von Döltzck, Marshal, Bernhard von Hirschfeld, Councillor of Beimelburg and Bastei went. Then my gracious lord, Duke Franciscus of Lüneburg 2c.

The following is the preceptor at Liechtenburg.

Secretarii 2c.

Then the court and landed nobility, soon after the university, of which some have been counted one hundred and eight and sixty pairs. Then the council, then the commoners. Then the women and virgins. Finally the travellers after all the people.

Then, when the corpse was brought to the Elsterthor, the houseman at the castle began to count the deer, after which all the bells in the collegiate and parish church were rung, after which the procession began, as if touched.

With such a procession the corpse was taken to the collegiate church.

And when they came into the church, they put the body in the middle of the church.

Musmann, together with some of the Wepeners, has been careful with good measure and order that no crowding results from it.

In the entry Hai one poor people give each one a penny, and this is done by master Lucas Cranach, painter, and Christianus, goldsmith 2c.

The proclamation of the entrance, burial and donation is done in the German lection in the morning in the monastery and in the parish church. As soon as the procession has begun, the monks and students are to sing in Latin before the first chant:

8i could 8U8oox> imo8.

After that: From deep distress 2c.

Following: *Media Vita*, Latin.

Then the same song in German.

And when the body was brought into the collegiate church, and, as if touched, placed in the midst of the church, the choir sang, "We all believe in One God." Then the hundred and eighteenth psalm: Oondtomim Domino oto., Latin. Following this, Magister Philipp Melanchthon made an almost good Latin speech in the church against the corpse of my most gracious Lord Blessed.

After this, Doctor Martin Luther preached a very Christian and comforting sermon, based on St. Paul's words in the first epistle to the Thessalonians in the fourth chapter, about those who have fallen asleep and died in God.

At the end of the sermon, they sang: "Now we pray to the Holy Spirit," and then Vespers and Compline were held. The body of my most gracious lord was left in the middle of the church with four burning lights and guarded by several people, but neither sung nor read. The grave was made on Wednesday evening and on the following Thursday morning just below the high altar under the steps.

My gracious lord, Duke Franciscus of Lüneburg, stood over against the body on Wednesday and Thursday on the small Quer[em]porkirche 1).

The twenty men in suffering robes with the burning torches stood beside the Bahr under the office on Wednesday and Thursday, ten on each side.

Thursday after Jubilate.

In the early days the people in the monastery used to sing the masses and other tides in such a way that everything was over between six and seven o'clock.

At seven o'clock the bells rang together in the monastery and in the parish church, and they gathered again in the collegiate church.

Then the hundred and seventh psalm: Con-

1) In the old edition: "Qverporkirchen".

titommi Domino, finely sung slowly and well in Latin. And thereupon the Versicle and Collecten and the Fried, Don8, a yno 8anota d68idoria, read.

Then Doctor Martin again preached an almost Christian, comforting sermon, and also referred to St. Paul's words to the Thessalonians. As on the previous day, there were many people present with saddened spirits.

Soon after the sermon my gracious lord, Duke Franciscus of Lüneburg 2c., together with the council and the nobility of the Quersem^porkirche went to the corpse.

Then the eight persons touched before carried the corpse, as of the previous day.

In front of the corpse, twenty men each walked with the burning torches, two and two.

Soon after the corpse have followed:

First of all my gracious lord, Duke Franciscus of Lüneburg 2c., then the counsellors and the Atzel 2c.

Under the funeral the choir sang, for the first: 8i dona 8ii8ooximii8, mala antom Hiiars non 8U8tmoamu8.

And because they buried my most gracious lord 2c., the twenty men with the burning torches divided themselves, so that on each side of them stood ten.

After that they sang: "Austiefer Noth" 2c., followed by: "Wir glauben alle an Einen GOtt" 2c.

And at last: "Praise be to God and give him praise" 2c.

After that they went out of the church to the table.

On the same Thursday afternoon after twelve o'clock the large bells were rung in the parish church for the donation, and there the donation was given, three pennies to each person, and there were three and a half thousand people who took the donation.

The corpse was also brought on the moat to the castle or fisherman's gate into the city and collegiate church, and to a small being, praise God, demurely and finely gone.

799 D. Martin Luther's two sermons at the funeral of Elector Frederick of Saxony in Wittenberg.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 2032-2099.

800 D. Martin Luther's letter of consolation to the Elector John on the death of his brother, May 15, 1525.

See St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2050.

Chapter Eleven.

Of the imperial congresses which were held at Augsburg, Speier, Esslingen, Regensburg and again at Speier in the years 1525 to 1529.

First paragraph.

Of the imperial diets held at Augsburg, Speier, and Esslingen.

801st Conclusion of the Diet of Augsburg at the end of 1525/) in which the Nurnberg one is repeated, and at the same time a Diet of Speier has been appointed for the month of May 1526.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, pari. gen. eont. I, x. 457.

By the Grace of God, we Ferdinand, Prince in Hispania, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Steyer, of Carinthia and Kram, Count of Tyrol 2c., Roman Imperial Majesty in the Holy Empire Imperial Governor; Wilhelm, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Upper and Lower Bavaria; Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, Pomerania, Duke of the Cassuben and Wenden, Burgrave of Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen; Philip, Margrave of Baden and Hochberg, Count of Spanheim; Erich, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg: do hereby publicly confess and declare against all men: As the Roman Emperor's Majesty, our most gracious Lord, due to the urgent complaints daily occurring in the Holy Roman Empire, especially the disruption and division of our holy Christian faith and religion, the tyrannical Turk is daily approaching the Christian kingdoms, lands and principalities, and is invading them as hard as never happened before in the times of his and his ancestors, as he is aware and aware of; Which the immense necessity of resisting, together with other defects and infirmities in the holy kingdom, requires for peace,

1) Seckendorf reports lÜ8t. Ud. I, p. 42a, that the Diet had only begun in November 1525. But because only one ecclesiastical prince, the Bishop of Trent, appeared in person, the Diet was adjourned to Speier on May 1, 1526. Seckendorf also knows nothing of the date of our document, but only the year, 1525.

The Imperial Majesty, in the course of this time, has been prevented by the highest and most burdensome obligations of her Imperial Majesty, and it is not possible without irreparable and unbearable harm to appear at such an Imperial Assembly. Since, however, Her Imperial Majesty is prevented from attending at this time by the highest and most burdensome obligations, and is unable to do so without irreparable and unbearable harm, Her Imperial Majesty, for the promotion of the common good and the execution of necessary acts, has decreed that we, as Her Majesty's commissioners and rulers, shall attend this Imperial Diet with a stately, full-commmentary order and instruction; Which order and commission we, as obedient Christian princes, in honor of the Almighty and our holy faith, and of the Roman Emperor's Majesty, have not unreasonably accepted for the submissiveness, promotion of the common good, and the maintenance of peace, justice, good police, and the unification of the Christian statutes, and have sent ourselves with an eager mind to the action, according to and by virtue of our authority and the Emperor's instruction. But the things in the beginning turned out to be so troublesome that we, together with the electors, princes, and estates, cannot consider that at this present Diet and Assembly described here, since no elector, prince, and the lesser part of prelates, counts, lords, and cities of the realm personally, even some of them neither for themselves, nor for the people, nor for the people, nor for the people, nor for the people, nor for the people, nor for the people, have been excused either for themselves or by their authorized message with conjugal causes, since otherwise in such public, important matters for final decision and actual execution, the contents of our instruction, could have been fruitfully proceeded with and acted upon: Therefore, for these and other excellent reasons, we as governors and commissioners, after the said electors, princes, and also common imperial estates, have agreed to the following

The Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Council of the Holy Roman Emperor; So that the princes, princes and other estates of the empire, in view of the unavoidable and highly important burdensome matters incumbent on the holy empire, so that the German nation of this time has been more burdened than in human memory never, shall appear in their own persons, the common useful imperial affairs, as above-mentioned, according to the Imperial Majesty's decree, and bring them to actual execution, action and implementation, and especially that the Roman Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Empire and our Christian faith may be honoured, received and prospered, and that the common man may come to peace and unity: We therefore wish to report to and move the said Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, with thorough discovery of all the burdens incumbent upon the Empire, in such a way that we fully hope, from our foreknowledge that her Imperial Majesty intends to leave Hispania for the Empire in the spring, that her Imperial Majesty will, as much as possible, attend the said Imperial Diet in her own imperial person and promote her Majesty's future.

1. And since there are many preachers who are subject to the holy gospel and the word of God in various opinions and to divide it: Let every authority, whether spiritual or secular, take diligent care and earnestly see to it that the holy gospel and the word of God be preached in their principalities, lands, and territories in the meantime, according to the right true understanding and interpretation of the teachers accepted by the common Christian church, without sedition and trouble, for the preservation of God's praise, peace, and unity; As was decided at the recent Imperial Diet in Nuremberg and is in the process of being passed, the preachers are also to be notified of this and warned of it.

(2) For this purpose all princes, rulers, and estates are to keep themselves in their principalities, dominions, and territories in the strongest way possible with good armor, provisions, and safeguards, whether some rebellion, insurrection, and disobedience of the subjects against their dominions will arise and take place, so that they, and each of them
may do and use in the beginning, without further development and gathering of the disobedient, good resistance and opposition, also otherwise keep and show themselves evenly in other ways to the imperial and imperial peace, so that thus, as mentioned above, happens that we hope to God and his omnipotence, all outrage, rebellion and disobedience will undoubtedly be prevented and sufficiently occur.

(3) And so that no one, whether of high or low rank, shall have to complain of the others' refusal of justice, likewise, between the present extended Imperial Diet, namely, until primam Maji, the above-mentioned court and justice shall be held, as before, according to the order of the Holy Roman Empire, and no one shall be denied the same.

4. And for this reason it is further considered good and necessary, because in the recent riots and uprisings that have occurred in many places in the Holy Roman Empire, some subjects have revolted against their sovereignty and authority and fallen away, and have thereby publicly forfeited great punishment, and in part may be considered infamous; and that some of them must be used as judges, speakers of judgement and witnesses, if law and court are to be held again, before high and lower courts, that then from all estates their subjects, who have been related to and part of the said rebellion, and have again been pardoned by sovereigns and accepted for debt, are admitted, and accepted as debtors, that they, irrespective of such their trial, be used in the courts as judges, judges and witnesses, and otherwise for all legal matters without objection, until further action, and after the decision of the intended extended Imperial Diet.

5. For the restoration, unification and unanimous settlement of our holy Christian faith, apart from which it is not possible to establish a common peace in the holy empire and the German nation, we have thought it useful and necessary to maintain a common, free universal council for the whole of Christendom, and have therefore undertaken to petition the Roman imperial majesty (with the greatest diligence) that her imperial majesty, in view of the division and discord of our holy faith, may graciously decree that the German nation will be highly stained and burdened at this time, that Her Imperial Majesty, in view of the division and discord of our holy faith, so that this time the German nation is highly stained and burdened, will graciously decree that a common free council be proclaimed and announced in the most conducive manner, if it is always possible, in the appropriate places of the German nation. If this is obtained, we are undoubtedly hopeful that the Almighty will

to bestow upon all of us his divine grace, for a constant unanimous understanding and knowledge of his holy faith, from which a common peace, unity, its acceptance, welfare, right execution of good police, and praiseworthy government in the whole of Christendom will surely result.

(6) Whereupon we do speak and promise to keep, to perform, to comply with, and to live steadfastly, firmly, unbreakably, and sincerely, all and every thing above written, and understood by us as Imperial Commissioners, by virtue of the power of our own will. In witness whereof we, Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria 2c., Wilhelm, Duke of Bavaria, and Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg, for ourselves, and in place of the said Lords, Philippsen, Margrave of Baden 2c., and Erichen, Duke of Brunswick, our Co-Commissarii, have hereunto affixed our seal of approval.

7. And we, the Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Lords, as well as the Free and Imperial Cities of the Holy Roman Empire, the embassies and rulers named hereafter, also publicly confess with this letter that all and every one of the above-mentioned points and articles have been carried out with our good knowledge, will, counsel and discretion, We also grant, by virtue of this letter, to speak and promise in right, good, true faith to keep and perform, as much as may concern or concern each of his sovereigns or friends by whom he is sent and governed, truly, steadily, firmly, sincerely, and to live up to them to the best of our ability, without danger.

8th And these are the messages of the Electors written hereafter by name: The Archbishop of Mainz, Elector 2c., Marquard vom Stein 2c. The Archbishop of Cologne, Elector 2c., Herman, Gras zu Neuenar, Dietrich, Count zu Manderschied 2c. Of the Archbishop of Trier, Elector 2c., Ludwig Fürster, and Bernhard Düringer. Count Palatine Ludwigs, Churfürst, Schenck Veltin, Lord of Erbach, and Jakob von Flenckenstein of Germersheim. Duke Hansen of Saxony, Churfürst 2c., Philipps of Feilitsch, and Hans Minkwitz. Margrave Joachims, Churfürst 2c., Christoph von Taubenheim. Ecclesiastical princes in person: Bernhard, bishop of Trent. The message of the ecclesiastical princes: Daniel von Rebetz, Bishop of Bamberg. The Bishop of Würzburg, Bernhard von Tüngen and Niclaus Hanawer. The Bishop of Freisingen, Johann Jung, Doctor. Ditrichs von Cleen, German Master, Friedrich Sturmfeder, Commenthur zu Blumenthal. The Message of the Secular Princes: On account of the House of Austria, Wilhelm Truch
feß, Freiherr zu Walpurg; Pfalzgraf Friedrichen, Poley Probst, Doctor 2c. Wilhelm Palgraves 2c., Augustin Lösch zu Hilckershausen 2c. Ludwig Count Palatine 2c., Gregorii von Egloffstein zu Steinberg 2c. Duke Hans of Eleve 2c., Wilhelm, Baron of Rinnenberg, Meirich of Thun, and Johann of Tockheim, Doctor, called Frieß. Duke Erich of Brunswick, Hans of Berlipsen, and Doctor Conrad of Tellingshausen. Duke Henry of Brunswick, Ewald of Lambaden. Count Herrmann of Henneberg, his son, Count Berthold. Duke Hansen of Bavaria, counts of Spanheim; Duke Ludwigs of Bavaria, counts of Veldentz 2c., Margrave Philipsen of Baden 2c., Hieronymus Reusch 2c. Landgrave Philipsen of Hesse, Heinrich, Lord of Eisenberg 2c., and Balthasar of Wendelshausen, called Schrautenbach. Duke Georgen and Duke Barnim, brothers in Pomerania, Jakob Wobbesser 2c. The Prelates' Message: The Provost of Berchtolsgaden, Hieronymus Baldung 2c. Of the Abbot of Werd, Peter Blaundhäufer. On behalf of the provost and chapter of Sultz, Schenck Veltin, lord of Erbach. The embassies of the free and imperial cities: Cologne, Peter Bellingshäufer. According to, Leonhard Eck and Amold Weinmerßbed. Lübeck, Johann Retlinger. Frankfurt and Wetzlar, Haman von Holtzhausen. By reason of the city of Nümberg, with violence Schweinfurt, Windesheim, Weißenburg am Nordgau, Goslar, Nordhausen, Christoph Detzel and Element Volckmar. Worms, Johann Wolfgang Egen, Doctor. Nördlingen, Antoni von Werd and Jakob Weidmann. Rothenburg on the Tauber, Georg Bermenter. Gelnhausen, Schenck Veltin. Augsburg with command Swabian Hall, Georg Vetter, Conrad Beuttinger and Antoni Bienmal.

And therefore, for true testimony, we Marquard vom Stein, and Schenk Veltin von Erbach, for the said Archbishop of Mainz, and Count Palatine Ludwigen, both of them, and other ecclesiastical and secular princes; and we Daniel von Rodwitz and Poley Probst, Doctor 2c., Duke Frederick, Count Palatine, and other ecclesiastical and secular princes, and the mayor and council of the city of Augsburg, for its sake and for the sake of all other free and imperial cities, have hereunto set our seal, which is given in the holy imperial city of Augsburg, after the birth of Christ, fifteen hundred and in the fifth and twentieth year?)

1) This time determination asked Seckendorf, nist. lmtb., 11b. II, p. 42 a, and says, oaß dieser Reichstagsabschied das Jahr 1525, aber kein Datum hat. The alleged correction by Walch, that Seckendorf b e. p. 43 (should be p. 45, aääitio III) found in the Weimar archives that the farewell was dated Jan. 9, 1526, is based on a misunderstanding of what was said there.

802 Emperor Carl V's mandate to the Counts of Mansfeld to appear at the Imperial Diet at Speier, scheduled for St. Martin's Day 1524, concerning Lutheran doctrine and the Turkish tax. April 18, 1524.

This document does not belong in this section, but is already in the fifteenth volume, Col. 2291, in No. 747 (II.) from word to word. Therefore, we leave it here.

803. names of the princes and bishops who were at the Diet of Speier in 1526.

From Kapp's Nachlese, Theil II, p. 679.

Duke Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother.
The Elector of Mainz.
The Elector of Cologne.
The Elector of Trier.
The Elector Palatine.
The Elector of Saxony.
Duke Wolfgang, brother of the Palatinate.
Duke Johann vom Hundsbruck, of the Palatinate.
Philip, Margrave of Baden.
Frederick, Count Palatine.
Philip, Prince of Hesse.
Ernst and Friedrich, Dukes of Lüneburg.
Landgrave of Leuchtenberg.
Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg.
Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg.
Duke Erich of Brunswick.
The Bishop of Speier.
The Bishop of Würzburg.
The Bishop of Utrecht.
The Bishop at Trident.
Ernst, Margrave of Baden.
Georg, Count of Würtemberg.
Wilhelm, Count of Henneberg.
Wolfgang, Count of Henneberg.
Berthold, Count of Henneberg.
Hartmann, Abbot of Fulda.
Johann, Count of Henneberg, Coadjutor of the Abbot of Fulda.
The King's envoy in Hungary.
The envoy from Venice, Carolus Contarenus.
The Roman Pabst's orator, Jerome Rorarius.
Besides many other princes, counts and orators.

804. lecture of the imperial governor and the commissars to the princes, princes and estates of the Roman Empire, at the Diet of Speier, August 4, 1526.

From Kapp's Nachlese, Theil II, p. 680.

By decree of the Roman Imperial and Hispanic Royal Majesty 2c, our most gracious Lord, Governor in the Holy Empire, and other such of Her Majesty's Commissaries, it has been decreed for the present Diet. The fourth day of the month of August, the princes, princes, and other ecclesiastical and secular estates, who have appeared in their own persons and with their embassy, have been given a subsequent oral presentation. Namely, how the same Governors and Commissioners are reminded that the reported Princes, Princes, and other Estates have appointed and ordered a committee on the action of this Imperial Diet. Accordingly, these Governors and Commissarii consider that perhaps through such a committee the article concerning our holy Christian faith might initially be performed; but so that in the same Highly-Appointed Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor. Majesty. Majesty's will, and that nothing be done in which certain imperial governors and commissarii have been appointed. The same governors and commissioners have deemed it necessary, fruitful, and good to remind the reported electors, princes, and other estates of their instruction, which they have received from the Most Highly Revered Imperial Majesty, concerning this article concerning our holy Christian faith. Maj. which has been publicly read out from the true original according to the enclosed copy.

From which Princes, Princes and other Estates of Imperial Majesty may take and understand the mind and opinion of the Governor and Commissarii. Maj. may take and understand the mind, will and opinion, which governors and commissarii do not behave towards the said princes, princes and estates, and their messages of friendly, inclining

and gracious opinion, to promote all things; but the said princes, princes and estates nevertheless want to be informed of them in the other articles,

1) "fourth" put by us instead of: "third" in the old edition, because in the following number we are told that the lecture happened on a "Saturday"; but this was August 4.

to the Imperial Governors and Commissaries, to the same Princes, Princes and Estates, and in other complaints, as far as they are not contrary to the above-mentioned document, to proceed, to advise, to conclude, and to show themselves in such a way that the said Imperial Majesty may graciously recognize their order and request. Majesty may graciously recognize their order and request. And furthermore report and remind their loved ones and common estates that out of gracious and heartfelt contemplation, and in view of the great, noticeable adversities, troubles and insanity, so that I, the Holy Roman Empire and the whole of Christendom have found ourselves challenged, afflicted and in daily apostasy and ruin in these miserable times and times, we would gladly request such an Imperial Diet in our own person, if we had not actually undertaken this time, and for this reason would be in constant and final exertion, also directing and sending all possible diligence to this end, with the grace and help of the almighty God, to rise from this Hispanic kingdom of ours even in a short time, and to go in our own person to Italy and to Rome, to receive there our imperial crown, as befits, and then next to and together with papal holiness, which we find no less inclined and eager for this than ourselves. Such is the concern and grievance of our holy Christian faith and common Christianity, as well as all heresy, insanity, abuse, and disorder, which have occurred in many places, but most dangerously and blasphemously in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, and are being held by a general council and common Christian assembly and otherwise, as necessity may require and as may be most conveniently done, shall be stopped, eradicated, and by a wholesome, unanimous, Christian reformation, order, statute, and life provided for and prevented, not only for such un-Christian, but also for quite inhuman riots, indignations, and actions everywhere.

And that we again want to go to the Holy Roman Empire in the most beneficial way, to show and prove help and assistance to it by restoring and establishing divine, Christian peace and praiseworthy lawful order and good police, also due and needful supervision, and for this purpose use and require all our and our kingdoms' land and people, property, body and goods, so that nothing that a Christian, laudable emperor has to do in such burdens 1) and concerns dangerous to the Holy Roman Empire and common Christianity

1) "Loads" set by us instead: Let.

shall be neither omitted nor neglected by us. And be it therefore our gracious and earnest request, desire, and command to their beloved and common estates that they not at all undertake, act, hear, or resolve anything at this time from such future day of ours and of the realm at Speier that is contrary to our holy Christian faith, or to the laudable laws or ancient customs of the church doctrine, order, ceremonies, and customs, or the ancient customs of the churches, but that they, the contents of our mandate and letter of prohibition, which we have decreed and issued with their advice, foreknowledge and consent at both imperial diets at Worms and Nuremberg, be everywhere in the realm, We have decreed, executed, and commanded to be observed everywhere in the realm, in their own principalities, lands, dominions, and territories, and to abstain and delay this short time, until we ourselves, as mentioned above, dispose of the papal sanctity in a short time, and together with their sanctity, as is due, and proclaim a general council and common assembly of the whole of Christendom, and in this so grave and highly important matter may do all the more bravely and fruitfully, and also undertake and establish a holy, Christian, constant and necessary reformation, statute and order.

For by such particular action and separation, insanity and disobedience are much more likely to be promoted and increased than to be stopped, and the hearts and wanton leaders of the poor, unintelligent church are more likely to be blinded and strengthened than to be enlightened and alleviated.

And thereupon the spouses, our friendly governors and commissioners, shall use all possible diligence in this, so that through our dear nephews, sovereigns, princes, and common estates, this proper and necessary request and order is obediently complied with and carried out, and that we, in turn, most conducively ascribe and instruct such and what they encounter here, as we fraternally and graciously provide for their devotion and love, and always want to acknowledge with special graces. Your love, devotion, and charity do us special good, and our earnest opinion. Given in our city of Seville, 3) on the 23rd day of the month of Martii, Anno 2c. in the 26th year of the Roman Empire in the seventh year.

2) "the more" put by us instead of: this.

3) "Seville" put by us instead: Sivilia.

805 The answer of the imperial cities to the first part of the bortrag, concerning the gospel, at the imperial diet at Speier.

From Kapp's Nachlese, Theil II, p. 685.

Most Reverend, Most Serene, Most Highborn Princes, Most Reverend, Most Serene, Most Highborn Princes; Reverend, Well-Born, Noble, Strict, Most Learned, Most Honorable, Most Gracious, Most Merciful and Most Favorable Lords. Your Electoral, Princely Graces, Graces, and Favors, verbally reproached, Saturday next happened, 1) we, the honorable free and imperial cities sent messages, have heard in submission, and of our retention so much understood, that they divided the first article, in the imperial Instruction understood, into five points. Hereupon we give E. C. F., F. G., graces and favors of submissive opinion to hear that, after E. C. F., F. G., Graces and Favors have considered the first point, that in matters concerning our Christian faith, no change should be made here, nor should it ever be made, we, the envoys, confess that it is true that no change should be made to our true, holy faith, which is based on Christ and His holy, eternal, unchangeable Word.

Secondly, E. C. F., F.G., Grace and favorable concern that all well-established good Christian practice and order be acted upon in the meantime until a free Christian concilio, we may also well suffer: For by well established good Christian practice, order, and usage we understand nothing else than that which is not contrary to the faith in Christ and his holy word; but where some practices and usage or order are contrary to the same, by which the faithful in Christ are led away from their Lord and Creator to the trust of creatures through misbelief or superstition, or otherwise serve to endanger the salvation of souls, we regard E. C. F., F. G., grace and favorable opinion, that the same should remain unchanged until the meeting of a Concilii (which in view of the present course and disagreement should be long drawn out), and thus the faithful in Christ must in the meantime remain in error and danger to their souls. But how the aforementioned customs are to be handled, so that these, in turn, are to be changed and discarded; for this reason, our concern is that they should be changed and discarded.

1) August 4.

In order to prevent future errors and complications, further explanation on this point is necessary.

Thirdly, that E. C.F., F. G., graces and favors are willing, together with other estates, to think of means so that the abuses in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation may be corrected or even abolished, we are not only pleased, but have received a special great joy at such an earnest and gracious request, for it is knowingly evident and unknown to all estates of the Holy Roman Empire, how extensively they have been torn down, and what mischief, mischief, and trouble have arisen from them for the Holy Roman Empire in the German Nation, in the good hope that, if they were so used or put away for the better, they would not be a small help and tax to stop all the pending confusion and unpleasantness that has arisen in the Holy Roman Empire in these times.

Fourthly, concerning the punishment of those who have come here to the Imperial Majesty. Majest. Edict, established at Worms, we consider that E.C.F., F.G., Graces and Favors have graciously offered the punishment entirely out of gracious benevolence, but we could well imagine, where the same imperial edict should be most strictly complied with, that the punishment would extend further. However, E. C. F., F. G., Graces and Favors, along with other estates, at the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, held in 1523, highly considered and well thought out why it was not possible to live up to the mandate, and what might result from it, if it were to be lived up to, as they also gave the papal orator for an answer at that time. Thus our lords and friends of the respectable cities have publicly protested and testified to this at the recently held Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, along with other high estates, on account of their impossibility, for which reason we hope that their Imperial Majesty, as a mild emperor, will never punish what is impossible and not recognized by the common estates of the Empire.

Fifthly, concerning the handling of the points mentioned, we also consider that, if the preceding points were to be dealt with and decided in a harmonious manner, it would be easy to find how to handle such matters, and our lords and friends of respectable free and imperial cities, as obedient members of the Holy Roman Empire, would undoubtedly show themselves to be subservient and obliging.

806 The Articles of Complaint in the Church, compiled, presented, and considered at the Diet of Speier in 1526.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. II, p. 381. Spalatin placed the title above it in his own hand. The title does not cover the content of what is offered in this document. For there are only reviews of articles; these themselves, however, are not included. The articles discussed here are essentially the same ones that were delivered at Worms in 1521 and at Nuremberg in 1523 (St. Louis edition, Vol. XV, No. 539 and 722), but new ones have been added and the order of the earlier ones has not been retained.

Sacrament. **Article.**

Sacrament of the Altar.

On the first article:

Which contains three articles. Because the holy sacraments have their origin [in Christ], my most gracious and benevolent lords agree with these eight decrees on this article. Lords, on account of this article, agree with these eight decrees, where they are of the opinion that one should hold fast to the sacraments which have their origin in Christ and are attached to faith, as their own words read. For there are no more than two sacraments of Christ, namely, of the altar and of baptism. For a sacrament must have two parts, namely, the promise of God and a sign. As these two alone have, Rom. 4.

Otherwise the princes and the message of the other article agree with them that the sacraments should not be preached against. For the clear words of Christ bring with them that the blood and flesh of Christ are true.

Lastly, that such unchristian teachers, according to the content of God's word, be taught the sermon, and where it does not help, be reprimanded and forbidden.

2. to keep the masses. Thus their fathers and their embassies would also agree with them that the masses should be kept as they flowed from Christ, as the first article states. Now it is not found that the masses are of Christ, and bound to the Latin language, or to some place, but are free, and that no one's conscience is taken captive in things outside the word of God, with the wearing of clothes and ceremonies in or out of the church, Col. 2. Nissu surrn surnta saoru sst, sivs prs8d^tsr, 8ivs 1aioii8 818.

3. sacrament of baptism. The princes and embassies consider that it should also not be evil.

because baptism is a sacrament, that one should also leave it free with the language and place. Just as one has no other reason from the Word of God.

4th Confirmation. It is considered by princes and embassies not to urge people to Confirmation, considering that it is not a sacrament, according to the instruction of God's Word.

(5) Concerning ordination, princes and embassies consider that, because ordination does not flow from Christ, people should not be attached to it, nor should they be insisted on it, but that everyone should be free to act according to God's word in the things that their word brings.

(6) Marriage, repentance, and chastisement, because they did not flow from Christ, as they themselves indicate in the first article, they consider that they ought not to be insisted on.

7. abuse of the sacraments of the altar for the sake of money. That the mass should be stopped altogether, and that no one should insist on it, considered the abuses against the word and honor of God, according to the example of Ezekiel. For [the] mass is nothing else than taking the sacrament. It is also found in Isrtulliuno that the Mass arose after the time of Christ.

8. not to overcharge with masses, because they themselves confess that there are abuses in them, and that the priest should not be overcharged with them if he has no desire to do so. That no one should be overburdened with masses, since it has been sufficiently proved that mass is nothing else but a means of obtaining help, and not a sacrifice.

9. to hold the mass in a good understandable voice. This is how it must be held in German in German-speaking countries.

10 To read the gospels and epistles in German is agreed upon, but to add these words: To seek help. For this is the right thanksgiving when we recognize God as a helper. The Sunday Collects, because they are according to God's Word, should remain, but the other Collects of the saints should be avoided.

To drop the Canons.

11. to do away with blessings and histories one is well satisfied.

012 That all sacrifices are left free, it is supposed, that it hath an appearance, as if it were a good work to serve God thereby. Therefore, one should be diligent to provide the priests with their due care and entertainment.

13th Concilium of Constance. The Concilium of Basle has decided on the widow's remedy, so that it is considered just that which Christ has set forth. From

one agrees with them that it could not be done without difficulty, as they themselves indicate. Therefore, it is right to stick to God's word and Christ's suspension and not to seek permission anywhere, but to let everyone take it freely, as he knows how to justify it with God's word.

14th The suffragan bishops, because they have indicated before themselves that the parish priests and other ecclesiastical servants are to be provided with considerable entertainment, let it be just that the ecclesiastical servants be provided.

15. with the funerals 2c. that one arranges a right use, that those who lived in their life Christian, are buried honestly to the earth with Christian songs.

Sixteenthfathers. Because this is an exercise of faith, and in baptism it is asked that God may give the child faith, it would be good that there should be many people present. But the number of godparents should be left to each one's discretion, and should not be laid down in any law. Especially that there be no impediment to the marriage of spouses in the word of God.

17. suffragan bishops confirmation, to go about. He is to preach Paul's words; it is right that the pastors go about, and faithfully drive God's word into old and young people, which serves God's honor and their blessedness, to refer to the Christian profession. Even if confirmation is permissible, it would still be inappropriate according to God's word to deny confirmation to children who have no understanding, in view of the fact that they are given baptism, which is much more.

18. the consecrated interrogation and priestly age 30 years, that it would be best that the priest's authority would be according to St. Paul's order, as God clearly expresses it to St. Paul.

The nature of the clergy. It is right that the priests' doctrine and life be judged according to St. Paul's report.

19. priestly chastity. Decision of Imperial Majesty. Majesty. What God has permitted and left free may not be subject to human permission. But that one may ask Imperial Majesty Majesty of this and other grievances of the German nation at length and in all necessity, be honest, with humble request that His Imperial Majesty will honor God. Majesty, in honor of God and for the common peace of the German nation and of the entire empire, will graciously permit, without any oppression, to carry out in all the articles indicated that which they know to be preserved on the basis of God's word, and that conscience be left free in each case. For the conscience cannot and should not be controlled by any creature, neither in heaven nor on earth, but only by God and His Word.
are ruled. And he that practiseth the antagonism is the Antichrist, as St. Paul mightily casts 2 Thess. 2. Xi6U6ua 8^uoäu8 XXXIX.

(20) Toleration or permission between spouses. Cases concerning marital status are subject to the judgment of a Christian, prudent priest. For one cannot set a certain rule in such matters, and one should not take money for it.

21. to abolish illegitimate cohabitation 1). Since illegitimacy is to be prevented, marriage should be left free. For marriage is the only remedy for illegitimate vices. ?uu1u8: Iluu8czui8HUS p088iä6ut VU8 8UUIU 81116 koruieutiou6.

With the punishment, I guess it stays with their aforementioned punishment.

22. not to forbid one's own people to marry. They shall be free, but only after first asking their parents.

23rd proclamation. 2) Probably stays with it.

24. to stop forbidden time of marriage. To leave free. Vox 8x>ou8i 6t 8pori8L6.

25. secret marriage forbidden. Cheap, 4 Mos. 30.

Twenty-sixth, to put an end to penitential and confessional abuses. It is also good. For confession is absolution.

27. turn off confessional in suspicious [places]. Is also good.

(28) Heresy is not to be delivered outside of mortal peril. There is nothing better than to keep it according to Christ's order and the word of John 20. Therefore, a good explanation from God's word is needed as to who the banished heretics are.

29 With repentance it should be kept according to Christ's word Uuou. 6 ult. It6iri, Oueu6 7. It6iu, Io1iuririi8 5.: Vuä6 in PU66.

New foundations and pilgrimages not to penance. Is good.

Unjustly restore good. If it is sacred, 3) he may keep it euui ud8olutiou6, Dp>Ii68. 4. Hui kurudntur, uiux> 1iu8 riori kur6tur.

Confessors should refrain from asking awkward questions. All right.

(30) Subjects shall not be compelled to confess to others than their pastors. It is right that the priest should interrogate his confessors in order to find out about their faith.

31 Not to hear confession from monks. It has been decided by Paul that it is due to the priest, who is not a lord, but a comforter and helper of consciences and faith.

Thirty-two: that the confession be kept secret. This is the foregoing. It also belongs to the priest's office.

1) In Cyprian: "beysitz".
2) "Proclamation" posse, proclamation.
3) Maybe: cheap?

33. To give the blessing only once. There is no reason for it in God's word. Therefore it cannot be an exercise of faith. For faith must be directed to God's word, Romans 10.

34. the preacher half. Whoever says this is the end-Christ. For God has ever said Matthäi 17, likewise 2 Petr. 1 indicates: Ilio 68t üliu8 M6U8 clil6otu8, in Huo iniln I)6N6 ooniplueui, iUrnn uuäito. Itoin: Oinnis proplistiu non 68t ullutu voluntut6 Uorninuin, 86ä 6x 8piritu 8unoto. It6Ni: Hoo V6rdnin lue6rnu 68t in looo od8ouro, äon661uoit6r oriutnr inooräiUu8 V68tri8. Thus Jerome and Augustine, as it is understood and repeated in their own Decrees, wrote that where there is error or ignorance in the divine Scriptures, one should run to the origin and fountain of the Hebrew and Greek languages. From this it must necessarily follow that the preachers are to be punished unreasonably and contrary to divine and human statute and order.

35 Of holidays. Holidays are to be free, and not commanded to anyone, Col. 2, Gal. 4, Isa. ult. Isa. 1; the other, that the common man may work after he has preached, is also well pleasing to us.

(36) Of fasting. It is unreasonable and unchristian to impose fasts on the whole community. Therefore no better thing can be done than to leave fasts free, like holidays. As St. Paul, Col. 2, also indicates. That the opinion of the fathers should have been good is of no concern to Christians. For it is not the good opinion of men that counts and stands before God, but the word of God, Deut. 6, 12, Deut. 15.

For this reason it is impossible to have cause, reason, right, or authority to punish anyone. For where there is no law, there is no sin; where there is no sin, there shall be no punishment, Romans 3.

For the sake of the offense, we say that, regardless of this, one should and may eat meat freely, as Christ permits. First, because it is insisted upon as a necessary thing, which God has forbidden, Col. 2, I§6ino vo8 M<1io6l 6to. Secondly, that it has now been manifoldly given day by preaching and printing some years ago, that it is free on the ground of God's word. Third, that it has now been publicly acted upon at three imperial congresses. And fourthly, that those who are now no longer weak, but stiff-necked, of whom Christ said Matthew 15: 8init6, ou6oi 8mU, ou6ooruiri (1u668.

(37) Of seven times. 1) It is also best to leave such things free. For Christ saith in Matt. 6, Let prayer be brief.

There is no better way to do this than to restore the church discipline according to St. Paul's instruction, 1 Corinthians 12:13:14, which is far inferior to these present church ceremonies. For therefore it would flow from him how to appoint preachers and interpreters of the Scriptures for the aged, and schoolmasters for the young, to educate them to God's service and honor, honorable arts and good morals. Since the foundation 2) is first established and built as a school of discipline and instruction. As then their names still bring along: Provost, Dean, Schoolmaster, Singer.

38 Visitation of the Parishes. Yes, all authorities are obliged to ensure that their subjects are provided with God's word and Christian bishops and pastors, as well as with peace and justice. For it is clearly seen in the books of the Kings and the Paralipomenon of the Chronicles that the kings were all severely punished by God because they did not stop the ungodly worship in high places and groves.

39. from printing. It is honest and good to abolish pamphlets. But that one should not draw and interpret defamatory writings further than the common right interprets and draws them.

But it would ever be difficult to stop the pressure altogether. Considering that pressure is not a small gift from God, it was undoubtedly given to us by God so that many souls could be saved and won to Christ through this means. For even if it works with the pressure, as with all the other gifts of God, it would not be the pressure's fault, but the devil's fault, who would drive it to that point.

Because it would be much too burdensome to request Roman Imperial Majesty for the sake of pressure. Majesty for the sake of printing, the authorities and powers should be commanded, by virtue of their duty, to take care that abusive writings and unchristian books are suppressed. Majesty and the Roman Empire, to see to it that pamphlets and unchristian books are suppressed.

If it were found by impartial linguists that the previous bibles were wrongly translated, one might well undertake to create another translation by impartial persons: that is, to tolerate a translation next to the other of the truth and to strengthen it, as was done in the time of St. Jerome with the Hexaplis.

1) "Seven times" == üoruo vauonieae.

2) "Foundation" == Pens.

(40) Of the inferior schools. It is Christian and right that children's schools be set up for the best, in view of the fact that nothing on earth is more important to all classes than that the schools be well ordered, as has been further reported in the 39th article.

The secular complaint of the See of Rome, and the clergy forbidden.

1. of the marriage and dispensation.

Because this matter concerns the external clans, it would be best that in this case the papal dispensation should be left alone, and that the secular authorities should be governed in accordance with the order of Moses, 3 Mos. at 18; it being considered that Moses' secular good government is concerned.

(1) Husbands and wives should not and must not hinder anyone from marrying. For if spouses should hinder it, it should hinder all those who also teach and instruct the people in the faith. For they are all fathers, as Paul says in Gal. 4: In Oüristo vo8 Zsuui psr svauZsliou. 1 Cor. 4.

Of the forbidden time.

2. this article is directed before at marriage. Shall also freely fine, for the sake of God's word.

3rd indulgence abused. It is not allowed. For we have the only and best indulgence through Christ alone, Rom.

4. stationirer. The same article is also good.

5. to abolish orders of beggars. According to Christ's order, beggars are not to be admitted at all, Luc. 10, likewise Oueas in ^etis: Nslius sst äars, Hnurn uoeipsrs. Item Thess: Hui uou ladorat, non munäuest. Item Eph.: 8sä ma^is opsrstur, ut Badsat, unäs vietum prasstet neeessitatem patienti. For Christian poverty is not in taking, or begging, or not having, but in not hanging on to temporal goods, and in giving, as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David 2c.

6. foreign beggars. Is a good article, and founded Deut. 15: For every country shall feed and maintain her poor.

With the poor students, I guess their concerns remain as well.

7. inheritance, pledge not to be drawn to Rome 2c. It is also reasonable. For one has judges

1) From here on, Cyprian indicates by numbers in the margin the number of the article to which the expert opinion refers. Since, however, the complaints submitted to Worms are not numbered, but those submitted to Nuremberg are in a different order than here, we, like Walch, have not set the numbers.

enough in such matters in secular judges, as the book of the judges well proves.

8. from the papal conservators. Remains cheap also in doing so, from causes indicated in the next article.

(9) Of exemption. Is also Christian and equitable, according to the word of Paul Rom. 13: Oruuis auiina sudzsota sit potsutiis supsrioridus. 1 Petr. 2.

(10) Ecclesiastical fiefs shall not be granted by the See of Rome. This is also reasonable. For the appointment of ecclesiastical services is due to the authorities by right, and to the community by necessity.

Eleventh Commendations. This is right and just. For it is nothing else, but the evil covetousness, which is a true idolatry, as Paul often calls it.

Twelfth referendums and pensions to be abolished. It is also honest and fine, for a legitimate reason. For if one is good, so is the other.

013 That the bishops are bound to their chapters for the sake of the benefices.

14 The commissions and incorporation of the prelatures shall also be decreed in due form.

(15) Founded by the foundations on the nobility alone. Remains also cheap in this.

Sixteenth annals are to go out and confirmation. This is also good. For the Christian and right confirmation of the bishops 2c. is in the hands of the authorities and the congregation, on the basis of God's Word.

The clergy, places of worship and help against the Turks shall be postponed. In the name of God, it remains so.

(18) The consecrated are not to be exempt from the constraints of the secular courts. This article also remains.

Because the marriage state also affects the conscience, and is a spiritual court, the authorities, together with their pastor, who is the spiritual judge, should have an appointment in these matters. For there is no measure that can be given.

For the sake of the clergy. It remains fair with St. Paul's opinion, Rom. 13. 1 Petr. 2.

Nothing better can be done with profanation than to keep what Paul indicates in 1 Cor. 5.

019 That no man be bidden, save for a mortal sin. Is also Christian. For Paul writes in Titum: Nasrstioum komiusiu äsvita. 1 Cor. 5: That therefore the ban should not be used in any way, except for apostasy from the faith and the gospel.

020 That the excommunication of the temporal authorities be not prevented. In this, the order of St. Paul is kept, 1 Cor. 5, that

a priest together with the authorities and the congregation drive the ban. For he saith in the same place, Oonsuneto spiritu rnso surri spiritu vsstro.

No one holds and carries out spiritual judgment more cheaply than every pastor according to God's word.

(21) Of an authority, and (1) of the houses of chivalry in Apulia and Sicily. Of the same order is to be said that which is said of the other orders, where the word of God is more to be followed and obeyed than to be given outward appearance.

mplaints that the secular have against the archbishops.

(1) Of the useless jnterdicts. Because spiritual persons, as stated above on the basis of the divine word Rom. 13, are subject to the sword like the common man, it is equally right. For the same difference ever God hath not made, but is before God one as another, spiritual as Lai. IsrtuII. äs LxUortations sastitat.: Oi8sor(1iarri intsr oräinsin st plsbsw ssslssias introckuxit autoritas.

...to celebrate the second of St. Nicholas and St. Mary... Remain well and reasonably in liberty, as with the an-

3. the decency of the Prussian article 2) thus remains until its occasion.

4. the Conservatores half is indicated before.

5. change of spiritual goods. Remain that spiritual and worldly goods are equal to worldly goods. For they are the same. Verr 8piritualia sant Uäs.], spss, oburitas. 2 Cor. 13.

6. of the goods abandoned by the priests. It is proper, because they are secular, and otherwise of common right, to divide the goods to the next of kin, ^isi rslingfuunt uxorss st lidsros. For they are subject to the secular rights as well as the laity, even from God's creature and [order] 3) as well as other men of wives and children, and capable of inheriting inheritances to them.

(7) Of the secular goods purchased by the ecclesiastics. This is also done in view of the fact that, according to the aforementioned imperial rights, the estates follow with their burdens.

1) The words: "from an authority and", which are added to the preceding in Cyprian and in the old edition of Walch, we have drawn here. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 1742, likewise there Col. 2162.

2) This will refer to the 29th article of the complaints handed down at Nuremberg. See St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2162 f.

3) Supplemented by us. A gap is indicated in Cyprian.

8. from awarding new foundation. It remains cheap to do so.

(9) Subsidies and investments. This is also done according to the order of divine rights.

10. not to be ordained by unlearned priests. It is also reasonable. For an ecclesiastical minister ought to be learned, as St. Paul writes.

(11) For the reconciliation of the profaned churches there is no better counsel than that the authorities should justly establish and defend themselves, so that such an outrage may no longer take place. For the authorities bear the sword for this reason. Rom. 13.

12. the income of new pilgrimage; is true, as they themselves write. So that it is certain that God is present in his word, and that the devil must depart, Marc. 5 and Luc. 11.

13. how they unseemly take money from the virgin monasteries, provostries^. It is thus decreed. For such drudgeries have been much in some countries.

14 That abbots and abbesses be ordained in vain. Remain with the foregoing, speaking of monks and nuns. For it does not flow from Christ. Nor is it dependent on faith without means.

(15) The complaints of officials shall be justly abolished, and what the officials have hitherto done shall be ordered to pious pastors, as they have reason to do from the divine word, 1 and 2 Tim. and Titum.

(16) The laity are not lawfully brought before spiritual courts, as men only know.

Some articles remain cheap in their established order, considered that it is cheap and right.

(17) The reformation of the ecclesiastical court is due to the pastors, for the reasons indicated above.

018 That the bishops be not ensnared by their chapters, before they come to the government. It is also good.

(19) In matters concerning the conscience, not to take money for penance. This is also reasonable. Neither should repentance be imposed, because never to do it, as Christ himself says: Vuäs st noli amplius psssars, Joh. 8.

(20) That no one should do new public penance for secret sins. Is equitable. Os ossultis non zuckisat Dsslssia.

021 The spiritual magistrate's unjust interest in marriage is justly set aside altogether, inasmuch as it is a vain avarice.

22) That the ecclesiastics want to bar secular jurisdiction, is reasonably dismissed. For initio irialurri tsrnporis trastu riori sonvalsssit.

023 That ecclesiastical judges tolerate illegitimate cohabitation shall be stopped together with usury.

24. senders 1) and weekly allowance of craftsmen shall also be turned off.

25. the power, called Bannales, is given up, by St. Paul's saying 1 Cor. 7: NaritUA uxori äsditum rsääut. There is no day exempt.

Twenty-sixth, to put an end to unreasonable detentions. This is also fair.

27. that one should not proceed 6x otUoio. Is also cheap.

028 That no stranger's advocate should be needed in spiritual matters; for it concerns the conscience, and belongs to the pastors.

029 For no cause ought the poor to be denied the sacrament, but because of unbelief.

(30) The rebuke in Sending is to be stopped, for it has served more for annoyance than for good.

(31) That no one should buy the funeral. For it is ever unreasonable to do this and other things for the sake of money.

32) It is not to be denied that some clergymen keep house. It is also reasonable. For St. Paul says: I)tzi ssrvuna non oportst irnplioitum 6886 86ou1urU)N8 n6Zotii8.

(33) That wills should not be forced upon the sick to the detriment of the heirs. And it is right. For such torturing and scraping is of no avail.

034 That mendicant orders should be subject to the ordinaries. Yes, they are subject to all authority, according to this saying, Romans 13.

(35) That honest persons be placed in the convents of virgins. It is right, and especially so, that no nuns be forced to remain there all their lives, any more than monks, since monasteries and convents are nothing more than schools of learning and education from their first beginnings.

(36) The secular estates are concerned that the bishops of the empire are so highly indebted to the Roman see. This is also reasonable. For since the archbishops and bishops of the Roman Empire want to be members, and are in part councillors of the Empire, it is also their duty to follow the Roman Emperor's Majesty and not the Roman See, in view of the fact, as has been indicated many times before, that there is no other authority than the temporal one.

1) In Cyprian: "Sendthern". Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XV, 2175, article 64.

7 An article concerning the free, Christian and impartial Concilium.

From Kapp's Nachlese, Theil II, p. 688.

The article concerning the free, Christian, and impartial concilium should thus be observed until a free, Christian, and impartial concilium has faithfully spoken of, decided upon, and established how, on the basis and continuance of God's word, the ceremonies may be ordered by God's help, according to the occasion of each principality, dominion, and country, and as the common peace and unity of the land may require.

For the reason that a Christian congregation has power and reason to do this, and should also judge and act according to God's word, to bring the infants and children further in their faith, it is considered that the ceremonies are nothing other than child rearing, which one may set up and do according to occasion, person, time and place, according to God's word and approval, as it is considered and found best.

808. article of what is to be abolished except for a free, Christian and impartial concilium.

From Kapp's Nachlese, Theil II, p. 689.

Except a free, Christian and impartial Concilium.

I. Mendicants and ceremonies.

2. the things moved to Rome.

3. let mendicant monks and nuns die off.

4. clumsy pastors and parish administrators.

5. to abolish the incorporation and absence of pastors, and to put the authorities in charge of pastors 2c.

6) The priest 2c. public fornication, and whether they are reminded and admonished by divine Scripture to enter into matrimony, even if at times they are well inclined to do so, as it would undoubtedly be better for a priest who does not abstain from women, as well as a layman, to have his wife, and to live honorably, 2) they will not tolerate it. But the other, their evil, adultery and fornication, are all let pass; therefore it is considered necessary and useful that the clergy should henceforth be left free to marry, and whoever should engage in fornication and fornication over them should be allowed to marry.

2) "will" put by us instead of "because" in the old edition.

If a man commit adultery, he shall be duly punished by the temporal judge, as other temporal judges.

(7) Unjustly quarreling about spiritual freedom, that a secular judge has to punish for malice. This will undoubtedly not be difficult for the pious clergy, and will urge the wicked to obey.

8. that the priests should be bound in civil duties.
9. the clergy interest.
10. the use of hospitals to be communden.
11th Pontifical Conservatores.
12. exemtores.
13. to abstain from banishment and secular property.
14. spiritual court.
15. to pay the tithe of the official.
16th holiday.
17. food free, sermon free.
18. ceremonies, concilium.

809. parting and resolution of the Imperial Diet at Speier, Aug. 27, 1526 made known.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, pari. Mn. cout. I. , p. 466.

We Ferdinand by the Grace of God, Prince and Jnfant in Hispania, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy 2c., Count of Habsburg, of Flanders and Tyrol 2c., and from the same graces we Philip, Margrave of Baden, Bernhard, Bishop of Trent, Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, Pomerania, Duke of the Cassubians and Wends, Burgrave of Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen, and Erich, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg 2c., of the Most Sublime, Great, Highborn Prince and Lord, Mr. Caroli the Fifth, elected Roman Emperor, our most gracious Lord, decreed and sovereign governors in the Roman Empire, and commissioners decreed to the crazy Imperial Diet here at Speier, publicly confess and declare with this letter: After the above-mentioned Roman imperial majesty has announced and proclaimed a common imperial diet and assembly on St. Michael's Day, in the year 1525, next to Augsburg, which day was later, for obvious marital reasons, moved and postponed by us, with the advice and consent of the electors, princes, estates and the holy empire's embassies, which were then at Augsburg, next to Speier, until the first day of May. Thereupon

we have appeared in our own person, as appointed Imperial Governors and Commissaries, such as the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, and their embassies in brave numbers. That we therefore, in place of and on account of the most illustrious Roman Imperial Majesty, together with the now reported Princes, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire and the same embassies, have written out the points and articles in her Imperial Majesty's writ, and especially the Instruction sent to us by the Commissars, taken them in hand, discussed them with timely and brave counsel, and therefrom united and compared all our past counsels and actions, as is written from Article to Article hereafter.

1. And first, since the Imperial Majesty's Instruction primarily expresses and contains that from this Imperial Diet, in matters concerning the holy Christian faith and religion, also concerning the ceremonies and well-established customs of the holy Christian church, no innovation or determination shall be made or undertaken, and then it is judged and considered that the discord is not the least cause of the previous outrage of the common man, as well as of all the discord that now exists in the German nation: So, where with timely brave counsel it is not seen that still greater uproar and indignation between high and low estates is to be worried. Accordingly, and in order that a unanimous, uniform understanding in the Christian faith be established in such a way, and that peace and unity be planted and maintained in the German nation between all the estates, we, also the princes, princes and estates, have not been able to determine and decide on this in a more fruitful, better, more agreeable and more skillful way than through a free general council, or at the very least a national assembly, which is to be held in a year or a year and a half in the German lands. So that this may proceed in the most beneficial way, we, the Princes, Princes and Estates, have duly sent a trespassing message, namely N. N. and N., to Imperial Majesty, with urgent instructions, for the reasons stated therein, to request and entreat their Imperial Majesty most humbly to take the heavy burden of the German nation, on account of such discord and misunderstanding, graciously to heed and consider it, to dispose of it in its own person in the German nation in the most beneficial manner, and to have and procure understanding, so that a General Council or at least a National Assembly may be convened in a definite manner.

Time, without, long lift would like to be made, all further contents of the same instruction.

2. And because on such message, considering distance of the way, opportunity of the landscape, also future wintry time, not a small presentation and cost (as we the overruling) belongs: so thereupon a rather common notice to electors, princes and estates is considered good and made, so that each one shall deliver his due share, between All Saints' Day next future, to mayor and council of the city of Speier, as then the same share and place of payment shall be further indicated to each one in writings.

3rd And the same sent ones shall, on their return, give us Archduke Ferdinand, governor, and our uncle, lord and friend, the Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz, as archchancellor, their action, and what they encounter, report and give notice of it to the others.

4. Accordingly, we, also Princes, Princes and Estates, and their embassies, have now unanimously agreed and united here at this Imperial Diet, in the meantime of the Council, or National Assembly, nevertheless with our subjects, each of us, in matters in which the edict of the Imperial Majesty was issued at the Imperial Diet held at Worms, to live, govern and hold himself in such a way as each of us hopes and trusts to answer to God and the Imperial Majesty.

5. On the other hand, when in various years frightful, outrageous and unchristian rebellion of the subjects occurred and arose almost in all places of the Upper German nation against the supreme and honorable authorities, to noticeable Christian bloodshed, devastation and destruction of country and people; for which reason Her Imperial Majesty, in the Instruction she issued for this Imperial Diet, has expressly willed and commanded that serious caution be exercised, so that in the future such rebellion and outrage of the subjects may be prevented and occur. Since we now owe our obedience to Her Imperial Majesty in this matter! We have pledged and promised each other to their Imperial Majesty for their submissive obedience and favor, also to the German nation, to the same subjects, and to the common good, that each of us shall and will keep and maintain the land peace established beforehand by the Emperor and the Holy Roman Empire at Worms with good honor and loyalty, so that neither may wage war against the other, rob, see, overrun, or besiege the other,

Neither shall any man take, despoil, burn, or otherwise damage another's cities, castles, or towns; nor shall any man by force or deed spoil, deprive, or force away another's property, either by himself or by any other person; In addition, no one shall dangerously contain or push away the other's enemy and damaging party, nor show help, counsel and assistance in any way; but whoever has to speak to the other shall do so with due rights, all other contents, even with penalty and punishment of the affected land peace.

6. And although the common man and subjects in past rebellion have hardly forgotten themselves, and acted rudely against their authorities: However, that they may feel the grace and mercy of their superiors and mediators, [more] than their [un]reasonable 1) deed and action, every authority shall have power and authority to restore their subjects, who have gone into grace and disgrace and have been punished, according to opportunity and their pleasure, to the former state of their honors, to qualify them and make them competent, to hold council and court, to give advice and hold office, and to hear them and others in their concerns and complaints at any time graciously, and to give gracious and favorable advice according to the state of the case. They also not unreasonably complain by themselves, their bailiffs, mayors and other servants, but who may suffer right, to let it remain.

7. If some of the subjects of their sovereignty have insulted or damaged someone, and for this reason they do not wish to be relieved of their duty and support, then they are to return to the damaged party the damage they have inflicted, according to the assessment of their ordinary authority under which they sat, or according to the Imperial Court of Appeal, and to make restitution according to the order of the Empire, and what is thus mitigated by their authority, as now reported, it shall remain so, and the injured party shall therefore continue to leave the other injured party unchallenged, by deed or otherwise, whether with or without right, in some manner. If, however, one party believes that he is adversely affected by a decision or judgment rendered before the ordinary judge, he shall be at liberty to use his right of appeal in the proper manner, including up to the Court of Appeal. 2) And the contracts shall hereby be subject to the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeal. And herewith the contracts and decrees which the weaker judge has made are to be respected.

1) "unreasonable" put by us to give sense. Compare § 8.

2) "unbenommen" put by us instead of: taken over.

bische Bund in Bavarian indignation made, nothing withdrawn or broken off be.

(8) Every authority shall, on the occasion of every trial, so show itself against those who have gone out on account of the peasant revolt, that the subjects, however much they may suffer, may feel and find more mercy and kindness than severity and disfavor. However, without special public cause and motion, which are the concern and power of all authorities, those who have been the instigators, winders, and main supporters, or special promoters of such rebellion, shall not be accepted for any pardon, nor shall they be housed, hosted, or removed by anyone, but rather, where they are found, they shall be dealt with and punished severely according to their experience, as is proper. In addition, the subjects are to behave obediently, faithfully, and peacefully toward their superiors, whether of spiritual or secular rank, and to act as they are obligated to do; they are also to be instructed in their duties and oaths, and are not to give any cause for their own destruction or harm.

9. Thereupon we, together with the princes, princes, prelates, counts and estates of imperial majesty, have united in submissive obedience and have agreed that if, as a result of the above-mentioned grace and clemency shown by some of our subjects, whether of ecclesiastical or secular rank, they should again come together, If, after the above-mentioned clemency shown by some subjects of ecclesiastical or secular status, they continue to converge, again arouse rebellion and insurrection, then the abutting princes, lords, earls and other authorities in which the rebellion has arisen, shall request, from time and place, and also most urgently on horseback and on foot, to come to their aid and rescue them. And if the same help, thus requested, would be too weak for the riot that has arisen, then the other next-sitting princes, lords and estates shall, upon request, as above, in the same way, as strongly as they can, also go to silence the disobedient rioters again, to bring them into obedience, and to punish the charge, and to show and hold ourselves all one against the other in this no differently than if such rebellion and insurrection had occurred and happened in each of our own principality, dominions and territory, and in such a way each would have liked to have done and take from the other.

(10) In order that there may be no confusion or misunderstanding between the helper and the one who has been helped, the help of the princes, prelates, counts, or estates, who are required by the other for rescue and help, shall be given to the sovereignty of the principality, dominion, or territory.

If the rebellion has arisen, the governor shall give the most powerful assistance, horse and foot, and, if necessary, at his own expense and damage, for one month against the disobedient subjects; but in such a month, the arrival and departure shall be counted. If, however, such assistance extends over a month and is delayed, the party to whom the assistance is rendered shall then unite and settle with the assailant for the assistance which he will render and perform over the month. For this purpose, the helper against whom he has rendered assistance shall keep and perform such assistance in a tolerable, friendly, and neighborly manner, as he would have liked others to do and perform in the same case.

11. And after consideration and deliberation at this present Imperial Diet, how in many places the clergy or the secular are in danger of their life and limb, and how their interest, rent, validity, and tithes are held against them, and how they are to be prevented from entering and lending, and how no one is to be spoliated and deprived of his own against the law: Every authority, ecclesiastical or secular, shall faithfully defend, protect and protect its subjects, ecclesiastical or secular, from violence and injustice, according to their own content and by virtue of the order established by the peace of the land or the Holy Roman Empire, until the future council, so that peace, unity and equality may be maintained between ecclesiastics and seculars until the future council, and neither ecclesiastics nor seculars may have cause to complain of any improper administration or appointment. They are also to treat each other in a friendly and skilful manner, as befits each class.

12. Further, as the royal dignity of Hungary, an urgent message has been prepared here for this Imperial Diet, which, on the basis of the credence handed over to us, opens up and makes known to us how the enemy of the Christian name and faith, the Turk, with great power, on horseback and on foot, in his own person, is approaching to invade the kingdom of Hungary and bring it under his cruel power, was about to overrun the kingdom of Hungary and bring it under his cruel power, with the highest request and entreaty not to leave their love and royal dignity, as a Christian king, in such extreme distress, with hasty, brave, comforting help, and especially as granted above. And after we have received here at Speier for this reason, the longer the more certain and difficult the message and report from the crown in Hungary and elsewhere, that everything, as mentioned above, has taken such and somewhat difficult shape, and especially that the Turk has more violently attacked the fortifications of Peterwardein and other castles.

The Turkish army has conquered the German land, and no longer has a necessary fortification in front of it, but has an even approach to the furnace and the German nation, so that no other resistance, consolation, help, or other means can be provided, except a battle in the field, and that therefore all welfare and misfortune stand with God and on the happiness of the same: We, together with the princes, princes and estates, have considered the great power and might of the Turk; even if he (since God is the Almighty for him) should prevail in such a battle, retain the victory, and conquer Hungary, that he would then soon (after he had thereby increased his power and might somewhat) move on into the German nation, and after that it would be difficult to resist him. And therefore, not only for the protection and shielding of our own lands and people, we have considered it a great necessity, but also Christian and just, not to leave the crown and the kingdom of Hungary, as a Christian kingdom, at this time with help, and therefore, for the urgent help of the Crown of Hungary, the two-fourths of the twenty thousand on foot, which at the recent Imperial Diet in Worms were given to the Roman Emperor's Majesty for her campaign in Rome, and which were given to the Crown of Hungary at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg in the year 1523. The first year, the next two were promised and decreed at Nuremberg, but had no progress, now again promised and granted for six months. And thereupon, because the trade may not suffer any delay, but requires great haste, captains have been placed here who are to accept such servants and lead and use them down into Hungary against the Turks. For the causes now mentioned and such haste, the above-mentioned two-fourths have also been paid in one money, which money, according to the tender, is due to every state in the Holy Roman Empire in such two-fourths six months, half of which is due on St. Michael's Day. Half of it is to be paid on St. Michael's Day, and the other half on St. Martin's Day next after, to the mayors and councillors of the cities of Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfurt and Strasbourg, whichever city is most convenient for each estate. And 15 Batzen, 60 Kreuzer, 21 Meissen Groschen and 26 Albus are to be paid for the Gulden, which receive the same, and for these hereafter named, by reason of Electors, ecclesiastical and secular Princes, Prelates, Counts and Estates, namely Philipsen von Gundheim, Ulrich Schellenberg, Knight, Bastian Schilling, Knight, and Christoffel Plarer, all four of the Imperial Regiment Councillors, or who would be appointed in place of the Reg[iment] Councillors, the

We have specially decreed to receive such money, and nowhere else but for the maintenance of such two quarters on foot, to go out for six months, to give and answer. They shall also render their due account thereof to princes, princes and estates. The Imperial Majesty's Fiscal has issued a serious order that anyone who is found to be in default for the stated purposes and does not pay his due share is to proceed against them in the proper manner.

13. We, the Governors and Commissaries, Princes, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, have also specially united and decided, as our letter also states, if such an addition of the two fourths reported above does not proceed this summer, or if such a people would be attracted and demanded again before the end of the six months, that each estate, according to a good modest account, shall again receive its fee without hindrance or entry; As we, the princes, princes, and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, have specially bound the above-mentioned four appointed collectors in their duty to keep such money with them in this case, and not to return or turn it at anyone's request or commandment until a future Imperial Diet; Then, according to good account, the number of each estate shall certainly be given again by the princes, princes, prelates, counts and estates of the realm who appear there, and no one shall make a demand of this kind on anyone else for the sake of his investment, except on us governors and commissioners, as well as on princes, princes, prelates, counts and estates of the realm altogether. As we also here with this agreement all talk and promise, if mayors and councillors of the mentioned cities Augsburg, Nuremberg, Strasbourg and Frankfurt, on account of the aforementioned ordered receipt of such money, are approached and challenged by anyone, legally and physically, or otherwise suffer or suffer any damage because of this, to represent them in this, to answer for it, and to hold them harmless without any danger.

(14) And that such urgent help may be the more fruitfully applied and rendered, we have made the well-born Georgen, Count of Wertheim, Philippsen of Feilitsch, Knight, and Veit Arenbergers, with instruction, credence, and several articles, to the royal dignity of Hungary, to confer and compare with their beloved and royal dignities in form and measure, how such servants may be of most use and benefit.

shall be used most fruitfully, as this was also discussed at the above-mentioned Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, and so acted, that the same deputies, what they hear and hear, and what will arise for them to answer, about how it is going on everywhere with the Turk's actions and actions, and also the resistance of the Hungarians, shall inform us, Archduke Ferdinand, Governor 2c., as the warlord ordered in these matters, to inform our lord and friend, the Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz, Elector 2c., as the Archchancellor, and to report this to others.

15. It has been especially unanimously decided and considered good where the affairs of this war exercise of the Crown of Hungary against the Turk would be such that they would not have to use such help of the two fourths, as where the Turk (since God Almighty is for) conquers the Kingdom of Hungary, or obtains a treaty of his own liking, or turns from Hungary to the House of Austria or other adjoining principalities with his people of war, that then such aid should be used for the House of Austria or other adjoining principalities where it is most necessary.

16. Since the resolution of the recently held Imperial Diet at Nuremberg contains, among other things, that we, the governor together with the appointed regiment, are to give consideration, and think of ways and means, how and to what extent a constant and persistent maintenance of the regiment and the Court of Appeal may be invented, we, together with the princes and the estates, herewith submit to the most diligent and faithful attention of the governor and the regiment a number of points and articles in writings; For this reason, at the present Imperial Diet, we submitted a number of points and articles in writings, of which we, together with the Electors, Princes, and Estates, are now here most diligently and faithfully considering and discussing which of the ways and means proposed therein would be least burdensome and most beneficial to all the Estates of the Empire. For excellent reasons, however, we have not been able or willing to finally decide on any of these points, but rather have directed and placed them in the orderly regiment for further consideration and advice.

17) So that the established Regiment and Court of Appeal may continue in its essence, and the Holy Empire of the German Nation may remain in law, peace and unity, the Princes, Reigning Princes and Estates, as well as those who have sent messages to them, have granted and promised that the Regiment and Court of Appeal will continue from Whitsun onwards, at a different time from the two years previously granted at Nuremberg, until the next future St Michael's Day in 1527. year,
which together bears six and a half quarters of a year, in the form and measure granted at the recent Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, namely, to the half part, and to the other half part by Imperial Majesty. And the payment is to be made to two ends, namely in the two Frankfurt fairs. And the first goal of such payment shall take place at the next Frankfurt Lenten Fair in the year 1527, and shall be immediately and irresistibly placed and paid behind the mayor and council of the cities of Augsburg, Frankfurt, Nuremberg, or Speier, which money shall be delivered and handed over to the collectors who have been specially ordered to do so; the same collectors shall also do a thorough and fair accounting of it at the end of the six and a half quarter year.

(18) The order shall also be kept, as the six Electors and twelve Princes, in their own persons and by their counsels, shall sit in it every Quatember. And namely, after in the Nuremberg parting in the order, Count Palatine Ludwigen, Elector, the Bishop of Bamberg, and Duke Georgen of Saxony are to sit, now on Michaelmas, coming next, the Bishop of Bamberg, as the ecclesiastical prince, shall sit in his own person, and Palatinate and Saxony shall send their councils.

(19) The other quarter of the year, which is due to the archbishop of Treves, the bishop of Wuerzburg, and Duke William in Upper and Lower Bavaria, Duke William, as the temporal prince, shall sit, and Treves and Wuerzburg shall send their counsellors.

020 The third quarter of the year, in which Duke Hans of Saxony, Elector, and Bishop of Speier, and Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg sit, the Elector of Saxony shall sit in his own person, and Speier and Brandenburg shall send their counsels.

021 The fourth and last quarter of the year, in which the archbishop of Cologne, bishop of Strasbourg, and Duke Henry of Mechelburg sit, the bishop of Strasbourg, as the spiritual prince, shall sit in his own person, and Cologne and Mechelburg shall send their counsellors.

22 However, the prelates have been granted, at their diligent request, that they may appoint a persevering, skilful person to be in charge of the regiment for all their sakes. The governor and the regiment shall have the power and authority to act in every form and measure, by virtue of the regimental regulations first established at the Imperial Diet held at Worms, and subsequently amended at the Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg in the year 1524, so that the same amendment shall be observed by them.

(23) And we, together with the princes, princes, and estates, have changed the aforementioned regiment and chamber court here to Speier for movable reasons, and thereupon have given the administrators of both regiment and chamber court chanceries, through our uncle, lord, and friend, the cardinal and archbishop of Mainz, as the archchancellor, orders to dispose of the chancery acts and actions, together with the persons belonging to them, in the most beneficial manner to Speier, so that they will be here at Speier before St. Michael's Day. Michaelmas Day, so that they will be here at Speier with the utmost certainty, so that all matters and actions will be carried out as befits.

24th And after all kinds of defects and deficiencies were found in the imperial regiment and chamber court, so that the necessity requires to do their reformation and to give them good order, and this cannot now be done in half the time: so we have united and agreed that we, Archduke Ferdinand, in place of and on behalf of imperial majesty, our hosts, lords and friends, Mr. Albrecht, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz 2c, Mr. Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria 2c., both Electors, each of us a Councillor; our Oheimes and friends, Mr. George, Bishop of Speier, and Mr. Hans, Duke in Bavaria, cousins, both Counts Palatine 2c., of their own persons; our friend, Mr. William, Bishop of Strasbourg, Landgrave in Alsace, and Philip, Margrave of Baden 2c., also decree each a council for such visitation and reformation, which all on St. Michaelmas, and shall have full power and command from us, the Imperial Governor and Commissaries, as well as from the Princes, Princes and Estates, which we also give them here with this farewell, both to visit the regiment and chamber court with the highest diligence of necessity, and to reform it most diligently and best, in persons and other defects and infirmities most faithfully, to put it in good useful order, as befits it.

Item 25: When at the Diet of 1523. The above-mentioned two-fourths of the twenty thousand men, firstly granted to the Crown of Hungary to help against the Turks, and at that time many of the princes, princes, prelates, counts and estates complained somewhat highly of the excessive and unequal attacks, and counts and estates of the excessive and unequal attacks, complained, and did not consent to the same aid of the two fourths in any other way, than that the remaining part of the twenty thousand on foot, also four thousand on horseback, which will be sent hereafter, should not be used.

shall not grant or give anything for this purpose in any new facility, unless such proposals had previously been reduced according to each estate's opportunity and fortune 2c.; and because from some Electors, Princes and the Counts in the Wetterau, in Swabia, Franconia, Harz and Thuringia and other estates 2c. again at the present further granted maintenance of the Regiment and Chamber Court therefore the suggestion has been made 2c., that we, together with the princes, princes and estates, hereby want to have renewed and again promised to them the pledge made here before at the above-mentioned and the last Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg for this reason.

(26) If the monopolies and large companies have committed a selfish, unpleasant act, which is forbidden by the common imperial laws with heavy penalties and punishments, the imperial treasurer shall proceed and act seriously against them, as is proper in law, so that this may be remedied and the common good promoted.

27 As the governor and the regiment, due to the passing of the Imperial Diet in the year 1523, have established an order of coinage in the Holy Roman Empire, which has not yet been put into use and enforced, we, the princes, princes and estates of the empire, want and believe that the same order of coinage should again be diligently inspected by the councils of the regiment and finally enforced.

28. Item: When at the beginning of the Imperial Diet some princes, prelates and other estates made a mistake in the session, which had a certain effect in prolonging the actions and affairs of the empire, for which reason princes, prelates and estates, at our request, kindly made to them by the governor and commissioners on the ninth day of the month of July, kept their sessions of this Imperial Diet in a sociable manner, without danger and without any order, We, on the authority of the Imperial Majesty, do not want any prince, prelate, or estate to be harmed, damaged, or degenerated in any way by such a session and survey of this Imperial Diet, which is held in a convivial, harmless, and orderless manner.

29) Item, when some estates of the Holy Roman Empire went out against the mandate and prohibition at the recent Imperial Diet at Nuremberg not to mint any more coins, the Imperial Fiscal proceeded and acted against these estates ex officio, and such minting happened in the past peasant uprising out of noticeable emergency circumstances: our of the Holy Roman Empire is to be punished.

on account of Imperial Majesty, also of the Princes, Princes, and Estates, order and opinion that the Fiscal shall not proceed further against such, for that which has happened, but shall desist from his suit and let it fall.

(30) As it has happened at previous imperial diets that the treaties have not at times been printed and sold in conformity with the true original, we decree that no one shall print this treaty of this imperial diet unless the sealed original is shown to the printer by Andressen Rücker, Secretary of the Mainz and Imperial Departments, nor shall any printing of it be believed unless it is collated, extracted, and signed in his hand by Andressen Rücker.

31. we Ferdinand, Prince and Commander in Hispania, Archduke in Austria, in Burgundy, 2c., Imperial Majesty's Governor, and we, the commissioners aforesaid, in virtue of our power, by reason of the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, all and every thing that is above written, and may affect Imperial Majesty, steadfastly, firmly, and sincerely, to comply and live with it strictly and without refusal, and not to do, perform, or act contrary to it, nor to allow anyone else to do so on our behalf, except all danger. In witness whereof we Ferdinand, Prince and Archduke, have hereunto set our seal for ourselves and our fellow commissioners.

32. And we Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Lords, and also the Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and the Free and Imperial Cities of the Holy Roman Empire, envoys, embassies and rulers, hereinafter called, also publicly confess with this farewell that all and every one of the above-written points and articles have been made and resolved with our good knowledge, will and counsel, and also approve the same altogether and especially herewith and in virtue of this letter; We do, in right, good, and true faith, speak and promise, as much as each of us may concern or be concerned with his sovereignty or friend, by whom he is sent or trusted, to keep and perform them truly, steadily, firmly, sincerely, and unbreakably, and to comply and live with them to the best of our ability, without any danger.

033 And these that are written hereafter are we the princes, princes, prelates, earls, lords, and the free and imperial cities of the holy realm, embassies and rulers: By the grace of God we Albrecht, of the holy Roman Church
of the title of St. Peter ad vincula Priest-Card inal, of the Holy See of Mainz and of the Abbey of Magdeburg Archbishop, Administrator of Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, Pomerania, Duke of the Cassuben and Wenden, Burgrave of Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen. Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, Duke of Westphalia and Engern. Richhard, Archbishop of Trier, Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire in Germania, Gaul and through the Kingdom of Arelat and through Italy. Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria 2c., Johann, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen 2c. On account of Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg 2c., George of Schirn. Archduke of Austria 2c., Georg Truchsess, Baron of Walburg.

Ecclesiastical princes in person: Conrad, Bishop of Würzburg. Heinrich, Coadjutor of Worms. George, Bishop of Speier. Wilhelm, Bishop of Strasbourg. Johann, Coadjutor of Fulda. The messages of the ecclesiastical princes: Bishop of Salzburg, William, Bishop of Strasbourg... The Bishop of Bremen, Ewald von Bambach. The Bishop of Bamberg, Daniel von Rewitz. The Bishop of Eichstädt, Wilhelm von Seckendorf. The Bishop of Augsburg, Conrad Reintz, Doctor. Of the Bishop of Constance, Johann Faber, Doctor, by order of the Bishop of Basel. The Bishop of Freisingen, George, Bishop of Speier. The elector of Münster, Wilhelm, Count of Mörß. The administrator of Regensburg, Augustin Ross, Doctor. Bishop of Brixen, Leonhard the Disciple, Baron of Ubelfels. Bishop of Ratzenburg, Johann Michaelis. Walther von Kronberg, Master of the Teutons. Secular princes in person: Frederick, Duke in Bavaria 2c. Johann, Duke of Bavaria. Ernst, Duke of Lüneburg. Philips, Landgrave in Hesse. Ernst, Margrave of Baden. George, Duke of Pomerania. George, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg, on account of his father, Wilhelm, Count of Hennenberg. The messages of the secular princes: Duke Wilhelm and Ludewig of Bavaria, Christoph, Baron of SchwarZenburg, and Wolf of Selbolsdorf. Duke Georgen of Saxony, Ott of Pack, Dieterich. Duke Ott Heinrichs and Philipsen of Bavaria, Reinhard von Neumeck, Knight, and Conrad von Rechberg. Duke Louis of Bavaria, Counts of Veldentz, Wendelthür, D. Duke Henry of Brunswick, Ewald of Bambach. Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg, George of Schirn. Duke Hans of Eleve and Jülich, Wilhelm, Lord of Renenberg. Johann Georgen and Johann, Counts of Anhalt, Lorenz Zocht, Doctor.

Prelates in person: Gerwig, Abbot of Wein-

garden, on account of his and the prelates written afterwards. Namely Johann Bastian of Kempten. Rudolf of Friedingen. Conrad of Kreißheim. Josten of Salmansweiler. Jerome of Elchingen. Andreas of Ochsenhausen. Peters of Ursin. Johanns at Rod. James at Mindernau. Johanns at Schussenried. Henry of Markthal. Rüdiger of Weissenburg, all abbots. Of the Abbot of Rockenburg, Bernhard Besserer, Mayor of Ulm. Abbot of St. Cornelia, Leonhard Stockheimer... The Abbot of St. Heimeran at Regensburg, Augustin Roß, O.; on account of the Abbess of Obern- and Niedermünster at Regensburg, Augustin Roß, O. The Abbess of Essen, Ulrich von Thun. The Aebtissin of Rotenmünster, Conrad Mock, mayor of Rotweil. On account of the counts and lords in the Wetterau, Swabia, Franconia, Thuringia, Harz and others, Bernhard, count of Solms, has power. Count Georg of Werthheim, Ulrich, Count of Helfenstein... Hoyer, Count of Mansfeld. The Free and Imperial Cities' Embassies: Cologne, Arnold Brunnweiler, Arnold of Siegen, and Johann of Freisen, Doctor. Strasbourg, Martin Herlin, and Jakob Sturm. Metz, Gerhard Thammer. Worms, Philips Wolf. Frankfort, with orders of Wetzlar, Haman of Holzhausen, and Berchtold of the Rhine. Bisanz, Johann Libelin. Hagenau, Johann Huß. Colmar, Johann Humel. Goslar, Conrad of Dilligshausen. Mulhouse, Bastian Roderman. Nordhausen, Jakob Boffman. Dortmünd, N. Mayor. Offenburg, Johann Gostenhoffer, town clerk. Regensburg, Georg Schneider and Johann Heimer. Augsburg, Conrad Herwart. Nuremberg, Christof Kreß, Bernhard Baumgarter, Johann Müller. Constance, N. Geißberg. Ulm, Bernhard Besserer. Reutlingen, Paulus Klein. Nördlingen, Jakob Weidman, Johann Rottinger. Rothenburg on the Tauber, Conrad Eberhard, Bonifacius Wormbser, called Böhem. Schwäbischen-Hall, Herman Büschler, Michael Schütz. Rotweil, Conrad Mock. Ueberlingen, Johann N. Hailbrunn, Caspar Herlin. Memmingen, Eberhard Zangmeifter. Schweinfurt, Andreas Glückeisen. Wimpfen, Johann Fisch. Gemünd, Giengen, Älen has power Bernhard Besserer. Schlettstadt, Weißenburg, Landau, Obern-Ehenheim, Kaisersberg, Müyster in St. Gregorienthal, Roßheim, Türkenheim has power Johann Humer. Dinkelsbühl, Windsheim, Weißenburg in the Nordgau, has Bernhard Baumgarter command.

In witness whereof we Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz and Elector 2c., Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine 2c., Elector, on account of ourselves and our fellow Electors, and we Georg, Bishop of Speier 2c., Johann, Count Palatine of the Rhine 2c., of
Gerwig, Abbot of Weingarten, for our sake and for the sake of the prelates. We Bernhard, Count of Solms, for our sake and that of the counts and lords. And we, the mayor and council of the city of Speier, for our own sake and for the sake of the free and imperial cities, have affixed our seal to this farewell. Given and done in the holy imperial city of Speier, on the seventh and twentieth day of August, after the birth of Christ in the fifteen hundred and six and twentieth year.

810 Aurifaber's report of this Imperial Day.

This document is found in the Eisleben Collection, vol. I, p. 278; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 657; and in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 533.

In this year a Diet was held at Speier in the month of June, to which John, Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave Philip of Hesse also arrived, along with many other princes, where, for the sake of religion, it was once again decided that the Lutherans should rejoin the papal church and not undertake any innovation, and that they should behave according to the Edict of Worms, issued in 1521. Since the estates were divided and divided in this action, and the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse wanted to break away from the Imperial Diet and go home, the matter was resolved by King Ferdinand and the Bishop of Trier, Elector, that a Christian, free council should be held in the German lands within a year, in which these religious disputes would be settled and resolved, and in the meantime everyone should behave quietly and peacefully.

811 News of the Battle of the Turks that took place on Aug. 29, 1526, and other news, written from Nuremberg on Sept. 22, 1).

Äus Kapp's Nachlese, Theil II, p. 696.

From the Battle of the Turks in Hungary in 1526, on the 29th day of the month of August, on the day of St. John Enthaup from Nuremberg on Saturday the 22nd of September.

1st Willing service, honorable and highly respected, especially dear lord and friend. You have undoubtedly heard of the extent to which the King of Hungary lay down against the Turks a few miles from Fünfkirchen on August 29.

1) In Walch's old edition: "the 12th of Sept. ", but, as below, it reads the 22nd of September, which was a Saturday.

The king is said to have been betrayed by his own, to have lost the battle, and to have received considerable damage, for which reason only the men fled from Ofen and the queen to Bratislava; three bishops and great lords are said to have perished. Of the king I do not yet know any news that he is alive, although they sang Te Deum laudarnus at Prague, but he is said to have drowned in the flight.

(2) As yet they have no lack at all in Milan, nor do they fear that the Venetians lie before it and do nothing, though they have lost a brave summa of people in several storms and skirmishes before Cremona.

3rd Further, the alliance undertakes to besiege Genoa with a powerful armada, but hopes that they will not achieve anything.

(4) The emperor is sending a great armada from Rome, which, if they arrived happily with divine grace, would change many things. He has also made on Genoa and the Low Countries by bill of exchange over four times a hundred thousand ducats; but the payment is consumed by evil practica.

5th Verhosse, Lord George of Fronsberg shall lately lead ten thousand good servants into Lombardy to relieve Milan.

6th The king of France has the dog put to death, and the emperor and the pope send themselves against each other in such a way as if one wanted and had to make himself master of the other, although I have no doubt at all, and trust God well, that the emperor will intercede. One hears that the Turk has further plans.

Inserted note eoäeni the.

Letters have also come that the Turk has taken the county of Cilli, under the Archduke's jurisdiction, has taken the city of Ofen, has burned out the plague. He has stabbed young and old, besieged Stuhlweißenburg, and is seeking Styria; the Grand Count is staying in Transylvania, may be patient to become king in place of the deceased king; the Archduke and Duke Wilhelm together with Duke Ludwigen have been with each other not far from Kopfenstein; the princes of Bavaria have described their countryside to Ingolstadt.

812 Emperor Carl V's letter to the princes of the German Empire about the true cause of the Hungarian defeat, in which he blames King Francis in France. Dated 29 Nov. 1526.

From Goldasts oo "8t. iMp., tom. I.

Translated from the Latin by Joh. Frick.

Carl von GOttes Gnaden, gewählter römischer Kaiser, zu allen Zeiten Mehrer 2c., den hochwürdigsten und Hochgebornen Fürsten, des heiligen römischen Reichs Churfürsten 2c.

(1) Most reverend in Christ the Father, venerable, highborn princes, beloved friends and homes. What we have hitherto done for the welfare, peace, and tranquility of the commonwealth is, we believe, so well known to men that our reputation and honor will not be harmed in the least by the malice of any man. We have been careful at all times not to prove our actions with made-up and false words, as most do, but with the deed itself, not before individuals and those who lack right understanding, but before the great God who tests the hearts, and before all of Christendom.

2. 2. Since we do not wish to mention older histories here, it is precisely because we desire and wish with all our hearts to provide for the common good and especially for the tranquility of the German Empire, that we are opposed to the King of France, whom, as everyone knows, we had good reason to hold captive with us, after we had received him with all love and grace in our Spanish lands, and he also stood in great honor with our subjects, had been so kind that, if he had not himself forfeited his fortune, it would have easily gained the appearance as if he had not only not been defeated in the encounter at Pavia, but had even been the conqueror. Although he was our enemy, we nevertheless married our beloved eldest and in the successes of so important kingdoms closest sister to him, so that he might become our friend and brother-in-law from an enemy. Everyone considered him a destroyer of Christianity, and we wanted to bring the glory of general welfare upon him. He took much from our ancestors in the kingdom of Spain and the duchy of Burgundy by force and kept it against all justice and equity; nevertheless, we granted him our rights and only asked him for what we could not pass without hurting our honor and dignity and without the constant reluctance of our subjects, namely, what he himself had to give us back, even without our seeking (if he otherwise wanted to rightfully claim the name of the most Christian). This king, who was pardoned with so many benefits, we have rescued from captivity in

1) Perhaps: succession?

his royal honors, and, although many who thought him not to be trusted at all advised against it, allowed him to go to France, and would rather put his fidelity to the test and forgive us something in our right, than let us be blamed for a misfortune that might come upon Christendom. ...blame us.

3. And while we, after the internal disturbances had been settled, were getting ready for the journey to Italy, as had been agreed among us, and in the hope that he would keep his word just as we keep ours, direct our weapons against the constant arch-enemies of our religion with united forces, as by both of which the kingdom of Hungary could have been protected and the enemies removed from the country, he, on the other hand, is arming himself against us for a bloody war, and is attacking us, after he has entered into an offensive alliance with the Roman pope and several other potentates in Italy and divided our Neapolitan kingdom among them, and after he has entered into an offensive alliance with the Roman pope and several other potentates in Italy and divided our Neapolitan kingdom among them, so that the one with empty assurances, what he promised us, to keep, the other but us, to defend Hungary, only that they may invade us unawares, with these his aliirs hostile to our lands and the Holy Roman Empire, putting out of sight both our love and affection, and the good of Christendom and the honour of our religion.

(4) But as they did not succeed in their enterprise as they wished in the just judgment of God, it was not enough for the French king to attack us by force, but he also throws blasphemies around him and has them printed with royal privilege and scattered everywhere, without concern that he might invalidate his own words by his actions and deeds contrary to them. And therefore we (although this responsibility or rather scandalous writing, which in days gone by was printed in both Latin and French with a royal decree in Paris, was answered without our knowledge) did not at all want, and rather expressly forbade, that something like this should be printed in our reigns, that such a thing should be published in our kingdoms and countries, and considered far better to win him by virtue than by counter-insult, living in the hope that our gentleness and modesty would subdue and tame his will to anger.

005 But now that a copy of the letter which the king himself wrote to you and to the rest of the estates of the holy Roman empire, on the one which you wrote to him for the preservation of the free

If you have allowed to reach us the letter of the Holy Roman Emperor's authority for the nuncios to arrive and depart in the name of the Empire, which has been delivered to us on occasion, not in copy, but printed in Paris, and we perceive that the King of France therein expressly sets out on us and our imperial dignity and honor, we are obliged, whether we wish to act in these confused and dangerous times, to reveal the truth to everyone and to give an account of our actions, Although in these confused and dangerous times we would much rather act on the common and private matter, we are nevertheless obliged, whether we want to or not, to reveal the truth to everyone and to give an account of our actions, so that it does not appear as if, through our excessive silence, we accept such false abuse and blasphemy as known.

6. Accordingly, we send you the aforementioned responsibility or rather invective, together with an enclosed rebuttal of the same, issued in our defence, so that you may the more thoroughly and widely see by what right and in what manner the French King can excuse his broken loyalty and oath; How he would be considered a peace-loving lord, and boast as if he had offered us cheap peace proposals, even though he had not kept a treaty, but contrary to the loyalty voluntarily given and accepted, forged an offensive alliance against us, of which we also send a copy, and made a hostile incursion into our lands. How inclined he is to Christianity, the ornament of our religion and the honor of the Christian name, that when he hears that the cruel tyrant, the Turk, is invading Hungary with a large number of soldiers and instruments of war, he makes war on us and compels us to defend our, Hungary's, determined power within our borders. power within our borders for the protection of our subjects! Hence it came to pass that the arch-enemy, to the greatest dishonor of the Christian name, was granted his wish, and brought this strong rampart of our religion under his impious command, murdered the illustrious king, drove the Christians from their homes, defiled so many temples, and shed so much innocent blood, that we cannot tell it without the utmost sorrow of heart. And since he has given rise to this and all other mischief and misfortune of the common people, he now pretends to have felt this evil, just as if he had given more credence to his words than to his deeds and the testimony of all those who saw them with their eyes. But we hold that he wrote this with the intention that he might shut those up,

who caught his breeze, and did not allow themselves to be turned away from claiming that the Turks had so grimly attacked Hungary through his help and incitement. But let us pass by the words of others with silence, and rather come to the letters of the king himself written with such a false and dissembled sentiment.

(7) If he was concerned that the Christian religion might be endangered; if he wished the republic well; if he cursed the weapons that would be taken against the enemies of our religion; if he cursed the power that would be brought against them; if he cursed the attempts that were made to exterminate them, but were made against ourselves, and that a Christian should shed Christian blood: why did he himself stir up new wars and thereby endanger the republic? Why did he deprive them of their peace and quiet? Why has he invaded our countries by force, and shed Christian blood at the very commencement of his government? Why has he forced us, by his cunning plots and undertakings against the common welfare, to withdraw our power and our plots, which have been repeatedly made against the common enemies of our religion, for the protection of our subjects? Why, then, would he rather, in spite of the divine justice which aids our righteous cause, be so often cut short, be so often unhappy with the shedding of much Christian blood, than look to the glorification of Christ and his own honor?

(8) This, although it is known to men, he has no hesitation in laying all the blame on us, without considering whether he is spreading truth or lies, by pretending that we seek to conquer a small piece of land with much blood. Certainly, we were satisfied with a small piece of land for the liberation of such a great king, and would not even have demanded this, if our right to it, as can be clearly seen from the answer to the French apology, were not known to all, and the disregard of it could not be interpreted both for a piece of Christianity, or for a generosity, but rather for a carelessness and sleepiness. And the king, both in the covenant made and apart from it, with express words which he had heard from his mouth and confirmed with a sacred oath, gave the assurance of himself that he would restore this duchy to us, and afterwards, when he was released from captivity and came to his kingdom, verbally and by his own words, that he would restore it to us.

In his letters written to us in hand, he indicated that he wished to keep and fulfil all the covenants contained in the alliance; finally, however, he changed his mind and no longer wished to think of restitution: We have not been able to decide to take revenge for the broken covenant, to invade his lands, and to offend the common peace by new hostilities, but have urged his hardened heart, partly in writing and partly orally through our nuncios, that he should keep his promise, and if not for the honor of the commonwealth, at least for his own honor. But because he prefers to see the whole of Christendom plunged into obvious danger, and that his given loyalty and sworn oath be completely forgotten, the misfortune he himself cites has just affected us. In the meantime, he is not afraid to say how wrongly he would have protested to us to accept the Christian peace, and in this he uses the very words that we have often reproached him with, that he should not break the oath and the loyalty.

9. That, then, time is wasted by many a delay, the fields of the Christians are laid waste, cities are destroyed, fire and murder are committed, the borders of the enemy are extended, and their power is daily increased, is something that Christendom has no one to thank but King Francisco, who, dwelling in the midst of Christendom, boasts and brags that he is far removed from this fire of war and from the imminent danger to Christendom; Who confuses everything, lets no one live in peace, compels the peoples to be sent against the Turk to lead against him, detains in his kingdom the envoys sent for the good of the common people, and reckons on fine victories that the Turk has thus overrun our brother-in-law's kingdom, enjoying himself with it, and regrets our brother-in-law's misfortune, who sacrificed his life for the faith, for the fatherland, and for the honor of God Christ, and came to a better, leaving to posterity the fame of a pious, brave, and magnanimous prince. For all sensible people must consider this not a misfortune, but a good fortune. But how far more unfortunate the King is in France, he may see for himself. At least we would rather exchange our fortune with the king in Hungary than with the Frenchman, even though he often and impudently lashes out, saying that he will try everything to preserve the peace of Christendom. If he seeks it, who will challenge him to a quarrel? Who will invade his lands?

Who wants to get involved with him? Who would stir the dung? If he desires to see again his sons, whom he gave us as a scourge, why does he not keep the treaties made? If he promised something which it is not possible for him to keep, why does he not return to captivity as he promised? Truly he will learn that we are at once concerned for the common welfare and for his honor. But if he desires to continue the war, should we put our honour so completely second and allow such a great enemy to attack the army entrusted to us in a senseless way? This reminder, this protestation, which he wants to make to us, is most suitable for him. But we must almost be ashamed of ourselves that we respond so broadly to this empty and unworthy talk.

(10) If he is far from danger, if he enjoys the most pleasant peace and tranquillity within the limits of his kingdom, we never begrudge him this happiness, but rather congratulate him on it from the bottom of our hearts; indeed, we would congratulate him still more if, while he enjoys tranquillity, he would also let his neighbours live in peace, and would neither start so many wars, nor endeavour to confuse everything by secret connections. All this, although it cannot be unknown to anyone and therefore needs no testimony, we have nevertheless wanted to report to you, so that no one would think that such gossip must be believed, and so that so many bad words would not in the least offend our still unsullied honor; and finally also so that you know that it was only due to the King in France that we were not able to complete the journey we had begun, of which we had thought something to you in the previous days.

(11) However, with the help of God, we hope to arrange our affairs in such a way that, if he is already against us, but his intention has been frustrated, we will satisfy our desire to make ourselves well deserving of the commonwealth and our zeal for the purity and propagation of our religion. For in the end, on the twentieth day of the next coming month of January, we want to hold a general assembly in this Castilian kingdom of ours, namely in our city of Valladolid, to which we are now departing, where help is to be sent quickly to Germany, so that we are not only in a position to defend it, but also to weaken the enemy's efforts and bring them away from the Christians again. For the Spaniards have thereby been led into such a movement of mind.

that they have already begun to risk all their strength and fortune, yes, their own blood, and encourage us to this campaign, for which (if it will be good) we have sacrificed not only all our kingdoms and dominions, but also our person, blood, yes, even our soul to Christ, the great God.

(12) In the meantime, however, if by divine inspiration the king of France should come to better thoughts and make peace with us, let us not only endeavor to promote his benefit, honor, and reputation in all things sincerely, and to forgive him gladly and willingly for the wrong done us, but let us also be ready to yield him something of our rights, only so that, after the disputes have been settled, we may with united forces defeat the enemies, drive them from their abode, or even, according to God's will, bring them the more easily into the sheepfold of Christ.

Thirteenth By the way, let it be known to you, beloved friends and foes, that we do not know the pernicious intrigues of the French, for it is their business to think constantly of how they may make mischief. It will only come to you to believe their words, so that they may know that you, as great princes, care nothing for them. Given in our city of Granada, the 29th of November, in the year of our Lord 1526, the eighth year of the Roman Empire.

813th Farewell of the Imperial Diet at Esslingen, established in 1526. Given in Esslingen on 21 December 1526.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, pari. Zen. eont. I, x. 468.

By the grace of God, we Philip, Margrave of Baden, Imperial Governor, and the decreed counsellors of the Imperial Regiment in the Holy Empire; also we the Electors, and twelve ecclesiastical and secular princes, appointed in the Imperial Regimental Order, established at Worms; and of the same embassies, named at the end of this farewell, do hereby publicly confess, as is provided by a special article in the now touched Imperial Regimental Order: if it should come to pass that any remarkable thing should happen concerning the Holy Empire, that then an imperial governor together with the regimental councils of the Roman imperial majesty, our most gracious lord, should proclaim this, and nevertheless let it reach the six electors, as well as the twelve ecclesiastical and secular princes appointed in the said order, who then shall be informed of it.

They shall appear at the reported regiment and further act and decide according to their best reputation together with governor and regiment, for the benefit and best of imperial majesty and empire. And if the matters were thus public, which would not suffer any delay, they shall proceed in the matters and comply with what is decided by more than one part; Or, if the magnitude of the matter requires it, other princes and estates of the empire shall be summoned to them, and that these princes and estates shall also appear obediently thereupon, and thus do and act with diligence and faithfulness, as they are related to and owe to the imperial majesty and the holy empire; as then this article actually contains. That therefore, and as we the above-mentioned governors and regimental councillors judge, with what swift and serious rage the hereditary enemy of the Christian faith and name, the Turk, recently last summer attacked and invaded the Christian kingdom of Hungary, the royal dignity there, of blessed memory, together with its land and people of war, forced to its rescue, a battle with great defeat and cruel bloodshed of the Christians, the Oerter, so that also the said king himself perished, victoriously accomplished. Then the capital of Hungary, called Ofen, together with the little town of Pest, was conquered, along with other towns and villages, plundered and burned after the miserable murder and death of the inhabitants, devastated, with the dragging away of the Christian people, as well as a great number of goods and livestock and other plunder, which cannot be compared to a small treasure: In consideration of the noticeable damage, and that such a victory of the Turk, as an instrument and advantage for such a further penetration and rampage in Christendom, will incite him to more poverty, iniquity, and treachery, and that also his final intention and plot is directed to persistently persecute Christendom to complete conquest and extermination.

(1) And therefore especially this, as the supreme cause, by virtue of the proposed article, the above-mentioned Princes and Princes, on the first day of the month of December, lately summoned to us, in such burdensome matters and as to meet such intentions and invasions of the Turk, to act and deliberate and decide together with us in a proper manner. Upon which request we, the above-mentioned princes and princes, have appeared here in person, and the others, who were prevented from attending and stayed away for reasons of marriage, have appeared by their excellent message. And thus we all have two ways, the first, one of them

The governor and the regiment have taken before their hands the urgent and the other the persevering help, which we have drawn up in different articles to be further discussed, and have put these into diligent consideration as to how they are to be applied and used most usefully and most effectively against the Turk, and found that especially on a great and persistent help nothing can be done or acted here now, but that the greatness of the matters requires a common imperial diet or assembly of all imperial estates.

(2) And in consideration of the fact that the above-mentioned article is capable of being applied in the order of the regiment in question, and that this concerns not only a principality or a region of the empire, but also the whole German nation, and in addition also the Christian faith, and the soul, honor, body and goods of every one, and therefore a common work, the same common assembly is highly required to undertake and act with common counsel.

3. And so that such common persistent help and resistance against the Turk may thus reach its final progress, we, the above-mentioned governors and regimental councils, also princes, princes and their embassies, have considered it unavoidable and necessary that for the settlement of such common stately and persistent help and resistance, and tyranny practiced by the Turks against the Crown of Hungary, and especially since a further serious invasion by the Turks is to be expected in the near future, a general assembly of the imperial estates is to be described.

(4) And therefore, as the letter of the above article of order is able to require other princes and estates of the realm to appear in their own persons on Monday after the Sunday of Lent in Lent next 1) at Regensburg, decided unanimously. However, if for the sake of one or more conjugal affairs they do not appear, they should nevertheless finally decide their message with complete force and without hindsight 2) to order such persistent help and what may serve to resist the Turks and their followers, also in other necessary matters, which have been referred here from Esslingen to the same general assembly, to deliberate and conclude.

005 And after the emperor's majesty and the holy man

1) That is, the 1st of April, 1527.

2) In the old edition, "without bringing behind them," which is as much as without backing, without first inquiring of their masters.

If Her Majesty is aware that the whole of the Roman Empire, the whole of Christendom, and especially the German nation are greatly interested in such and other burdensome matters and affairs, then she should be informed of this meeting and the reason for it in writing by post, with the appendix that we, the governors and regiments, princes and princes, and their embassies, desire nothing better, than that Her Majesty, if it were possible, appear at such assembly in her own person, considering that this would do much good to the whole of Christendom, the Roman Empire, and especially the German nation, and would be no small comfort in the heavy burden in which the German nation now stands.

(6) Since the time is somewhat too short, so that Her Majesty will probably not be able to appear, nevertheless Her Majesty will dispose of the German nation for comfort and help in the most beneficial way, so that the Holy Empire, especially the German nation, and the other high and burdensome concerns and necessities may receive salutary and gracious counsel, help, and understanding, so that the German nation and the members of it may be placed in a peaceful, unified being. To such a day we, the above-mentioned governor and regiment, wish to appear.

7th Further, for the sake of immediate help, it is considered good that the bordering princes, sovereignties, and countries, whose place the Turk would like to invade, be reminded with the provision of passports and otherwise, and again be put off to the same time of a counter-help.

(8) And after Austria, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bavaria have respected the adjoining provinces, and then have the princes of one part in their own persons, and the others have embassies, it is now acted with the same princes and embassies that the princes and the sovereigns of the embassies send themselves in resistance, so that one part may come to the rescue and help of the other, and be able to be shot.

(9) And although the Turk, after having conquered the Hungarians, has gone home (as it is said), it is not certain, and it is to be feared, that he has done this to his advantage, and is willing to invade Hungaria or other parts of the German nation again in the future spring, and to extend his power further. In order that the rulers, lands and dominions who are in contact with him may not be abandoned or shortened by the urgent aid, it is mutually agreed and resolved that the urgent aid of the two fourths shall be granted to the Crown of Hungary and others against the Turk at the recently held Imperial Diet at Speier.

The governor and the regiment will therefore take great pains to see that this is done and that the imperial treasurer is ordered to proceed with it. And what is thus imposed, that the same be kept with the four ordered cities and not be used or turned to any other place, but only to resist the Turks, as such has recently been granted at Speier, and the article of farewell is able to do so.

(10) And in order that this may be strictly and certainly complied with, it is considered good that, in addition to the four regimental persons named in the treaty at Speier, some more be appointed by princes, princes and the same councils and other estates, who, by their princely dignities, and the councils and others by their duties, shall pledge not to attack such money or to transfer it to other places.

(11) That also these decreed princes and rulers shall have power and command at any time, if necessity shall require it, to attack and use the above money for the resistance of the Turk alone, in the places where it shall be most necessary.

(12) And these are the princes and sovereigns so decreed, namely, the royal dignity of Bohemia, as archduke of Austria, the elector of Saxony, the elector of Brandenburg, duke Frederick and duke Louis of Bavaria, and the bishop of Augsburg, as adjoining and bordering princes.

(13) And especially for the promotion of trade, it is well considered here, if the Turk should make his attack on Poland in the coming spring, that Saxony and Brandenburg, for the sake of urgent help, should require the other princes, namely Austria, both dukes of Bavaria, reported above, and Augsburg, also the four in the regiment, ordered according to the farewell at Speier, to go to Coburg. If, however, the Turk were to march on Austria or Bavaria, Austria, Bavaria and Augsburg, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the above-mentioned four regiments should have the power to take on competent captains, to attack the money for this purpose (as above), and to render urgent assistance where it will be most necessary, but nowhere else than against the Turk.

014 The four cities also, whither the money of the hastening help is to be brought, shall be informed of this opinion, namely, that, notwithstanding the former commandment, the parting of Speier, they shall pay all that which is behind them of such hastening.

for the sake of help, is or will be, without but the order of the above-mentioned princes and princes, now ordered here at Esslingen, and also of the four regimental persons, appointed in the parting above-mentioned, not to give it from them or to hand it over to someone, but to keep it with them until the above-mentioned princes, princes, and the four regimental persons have been informed.

(15) And, nevertheless, the same money laid up for urgent relief, where it is not given against the Turks, or would be unnecessary, shall be delivered and handed over again to each estate, according to the article contained in the decree of the recently held Diet of Speier.

(16) That princes, sovereigns, and the decreed councils shall also have power, where the greatest need and haste require it, to draw such urgent assistance from six months to three months, and thus to duplicate the number of the footmen.

(17) To this end it is also considered good that the princes and the abutting princes inquire in the meantime of the assembly of the Turk's nature and occasion, the like of other abutting princes, counts, and dominions, and of the same borders, as much as possible, how it is everywhere and situated, and that the princes, princes, and others, ordered to the money, at all times inform each other of this, and have the better to direct themselves to it in counsel and in taking urgent and persistent help.

(18) And these are the names of our Electors hereafter appointed, who appeared in their own persons at Esslingen, and the messages of the others. By the Grace of God we Albrecht, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Bishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Administrator of Halberstadt 2c., Archchancellor and Elector of Germania. Reichard zu Trier, archbishop, through Gaul and the king
Reich Arelat of the Holy Roman Empire Archchancellor and Elector. Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire. On account of the Archbishop of Cologne, Dieterich, Count of Manderscheid, and Doctor Bernhard von Hagen, Canonicus and Chancellor. Of the Elector of Saxony, Mr. Hans von Minkwitz, Mr. Christoph Groß. Of the Elector of Brandenburg, Philipp von Weißenburg and Hans von Arnim.

19, The names of the other twelve ecclesiastical and secular princes: Matthäus von GOttes Gnaden, der heiligen römischen Kirche Priester-Cardinal, Erzbischof zu Salzburg 2c.; Weigand, zu Bamberg. Conrad, at Wuerzburg. George, at Speier. William, at Strasbourg. Christoph, at Augsburg; all bishops. Frederick, duke in Bavaria, count palatine of the Rhine. William, Duke of Bavaria, Count Palatine of the Rhine. Messages: By reason of Duke George of Saxony, Lord Hans of Schönberg. Margraves Casimir, William of Wiesenthaw, Simon of Zegwitz. Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Caspar of Schöneich.

And in witness whereof we the governors and regiment have decreed this ordinance with the imperial secret to be touched regiment, that we use ourselves herein. And for the sake of us, the princes and princes, also the embassies, we Albrecht, Cardinal, and Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Primate 2c., and Ludwig, Count Palatine on the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, princes; and we Weigand, Bishop of Bamberg, of the six ecclesiastical princes; and we Frederick, Count Palatine on the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria 2c., all the above-named, for the sake of the six secular princes, each of us has affixed his seal to this farewell. Given at Esslingen, on the 21st day of the month of December, after the birth of Christ our dear Lord, fifteen hundred and six and twentieth years.

The second section of the eleventh chapter.

Of the imperial congresses held at Regensburg in 1527 and again at Speier in 1529.

814: The Council of the Empire at Regensburg, established in 1527. Given at Regensburg, May 28, 1527.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, pari. Zerr. oont. I. , p. 471.

We Wolf, Count of Montfort, Imperial. Governor's Administrator, and the Councilors decreed
of the Imperial Regiment in the Holy Empire. We, too, the Electors, Princes, and other estates of the Holy Empire, hereinafter called embassies, do hereby publicly confess, as Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, Governor, and we the above-named Regimental Councillors, together with the six Electors, and the twelve Imperial Councillors of the Holy Empire. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, Governor, and we the above-named Regimental Councillors, together with the six Electors and twelve ecclesiastical and secular Princes, in the Imperial Regiment Order, to

The kingdom of Worms was erected, determined, and the embassies and rulers of the same, according to the order now reported, appeared at the request of each other at Esslingen in the month of December of this year, to report on the swift and serious rage which the hereditary enemy of the Christian name and faith, the Turk, recently exercised against the Christian kingdom of Hungary last summer, attacking and raiding the same, the royal dignity there, of blessed memory, together with its land and war people, forced to its rescue, a field battle, with great defeat and cruel bloodshed of the Christians, the places, so that the said king perish, victoriously accomplished, many cities conquered, and partly burned, after miserable deaths and murders of the inhabitants plundered, burned, devastated, with dragging down much Christian people and robbery. People and robbery 2c., and that such a victory of the Turk [as a tool and advantage] 1) for such further invasions and ravages in Christendom, will incite him to more poverty, outrage and defiance; and that finally all his intentions and plans will be directed to persecute Christendom to complete conquest and extermination.

(1) Thereupon two ways, the first, a hasty one, the other, a persevering help, as at that time had been drawn up by governors and us, the regiment, in articles to be deliberated on in various ways, delivered to princes, princes and their embassies, taken before the hand, the same put into diligent consideration, how they were to be carried out, raised, and used for the most useful and most shootable 2) against the Turk. And he found out that especially on a great and persistent help at that time, nothing could be done nor acted upon, but that the greatness of the action and things requires a common imperial diet or assembly of all imperial estates. And in view of the fact that the article in the regimental order in question is able to do this, and that this not only affects one principality or region of the empire, but also the entire German nation, as well as the Christian faith, each person's soul, honor, body, and goods, and thus a common work, this common assembly must be held.

1) Added by us from the parallel passage in the previous number.

2) In Walch's old edition: "erschlüßlichsten". Cf. §§ 1 and 8 of the previous number. The word "erfchießlich" stands in Luther in the meaning: ersprießlich; this, however, Luther derides as a neologism (Dietz).

The meeting shall be held in the presence of the President of the Council.

2. And therefore governors, and we councillors of regiments, also princes and rulers, [and] of the same embassies, so that such persistent help and resistance against the Turks may thus achieve its final progress, and especially because this summer a further serious invasion by the Turk is to be expected, have, according to the unavoidable necessity, held this assembly day, and all the estates of the realm have been summoned to appear on Sunday Lätare, here in Regensburg in their own persons, or, if one or more would be prevented by marital causes, by their embassy, to finally deliberate and decide on the above-mentioned persistent assistance and what may serve to resist the Turk and his followers. Thus the noble, highborn Prince and Lord, Philipp, Margrave of Baden 2c., as imperial majesty governor, together with us, the regimental councillors, content of the farewell and tender at Esslingen, arrived here at the right time in such a number, and first of all his princely grace; and when the same left some days ago for noticeable reasons, then we, the above-mentioned governor's office administrators and regimental councillors, were ever and always willing and ready to take our part in the actions therefore required; also to await the arrival of the absent estates or their messages, so that the latter may reach and obtain their progress, so that in this case nothing would have been lacking or invented on our part, as far as and where subsequently moving causes indicated by the estates would not have been present. Likewise, we, the embassies, as many as arrive here and are named hereafter, dispatched by our most gracious and gracious lords and superiors, in the form of the content of the tender that has been issued, to take action according to necessity; also to help advise, act and conclude everything that is required by Roman Imperial Majesty, common Christendom and the Church. Majesty, common Christendom, the Holy Empire and the German Nation for honor, benefit, good and welfare. And although it was found that, considering the gravity and greatness of the matters, our most gracious and gracious lords, princes and rulers were eager, willing and inclined to attend such a day in their own person, the diligence of the disobedient half of the subjects, who are still not completely satisfied at this time, as well as other troubles, which would otherwise have been in many other ways, would still be present;

which all, besides other more incumbent hindrances of the personal arrival, and especially of this time to get out of their dominions and territories, give cause.

(3) Accordingly, we, the embassies, have taken the matter in hand, consulted it most diligently, and out of dutiful obedience, but also according to the inclination, form, and opportunity of the transaction, have been most eager to undertake, advise, act, and decide all that the above-mentioned farewell and the tendering of the property, and the necessity of the matter, requires.

4th We have considered, first of all, the greatness of the matters, and that the estates and their messages arrive here in small numbers, and whether the assembly is already present in greater numbers, which we cannot decide or suppose, that therefore nothing substantial, fruitful, and final may have been done and acted upon.

5. So that we may consider that our most gracious and gracious lords, the six electors and twelve ecclesiastical and secular princes, who have been in person at Esslingen for the most part, in addition to governors and regimental councils, in such highly important and burdensome matters, which not only, as has been heard, not only a principality or a region of the empire, but the whole German nation, in addition also the Christian faith, and each one's soul, body, and goods, do not want to submit to the action, or to decide therein, but which are placed and postponed at the request 1) and action of all estates of the holy empire.

6. To the fact that also the Roman Imperial Majesty was informed by the above-mentioned governor and regiment, electors, princes and the same embassies, of such a meeting and the cause of it from Esslingen in writings according to the length, with the appendix that they desired nothing better, than that Her Majesty, as far as possible, wanted to appear at such a meeting in her own person, considering that this would do much good to all of Christendom, the Empire, and especially the entire German nation, and would be no small consolation in the heavy, sorrowful burden in which the German nation now stands. But since the time is somewhat too short, so that Her Majesty is presumably not well able to appear there, that nevertheless Her Majesty will come to the consolation and help of the German nation in the most beneficial manner.

1) In Walch: "Auferforderung".

We and the embassies decree that the Roman Empire, especially the German nation, will receive salutary, gracious counsel, help, and understanding for this and other high and burdensome concerns and necessities, so that the German nation and the members thereof may be peacefully united. But since this has not yet been done by Her Majesty, we and the embassies consider that it has undoubtedly been omitted and prevented by Her Majesty's great marital duties 2) and business, and in no other way. Therefore, for these and other excellent reasons, we, the embassies, find it highly and almost burdensome, and also not useful, to undertake some action in this work, as we would have been well inclined to do, willing and obliging, where there was nothing fruitful in it, or to submit to it. And therefore, if it should be delayed any longer, it will be considered that time will be lost, and that the form of the matter will reach the imperial majesty much more slowly, and that the less will be done to resist the Turk, and in the end nothing else will happen, but the greater the burden, harm, mischief, scorn, and ridicule, all to the great irreparable damage and burden of the whole of Christendom, and especially of the German nation.

7. Therefore we, the embassies, have not known how to delay the matter any longer, but have considered it necessary, useful, and good, for the obvious reasons mentioned and for the considerable need, that this action, as it would take shape, should also be of interest to the Roman Imperial Majesty, to all of Christendom, to the Holy Empire, and especially to the German Nation and its members, be reported to the Most Reverend Roman Imperial Majesty, as our most gracious Lord, in the most urgent and beneficial manner, with the highest and most humble request and appeal, that their Imperial Majesty will first of all, in their humble and faithful opinion, graciously strive for and receive our present action, which is due to the present embassy, not otherwise than to meet the need.

(8) And since, for the above-mentioned reasons, nothing fruitful or definite was done or decided at this appointed meeting of the principal articles for which the meeting was called, let our governor's stewardship and regiment, as well as the decreed and skillful embassies, be further un-

2) "Ehehaften" as a noun occurs again in No. 814. In Luther "Ehehaften" as an adjective occurs only once in No. 747 of the previous volume, otherwise "ehehaftigen," that is, lawful. See Dietz 8. v.

Most humbly requesting that Her Imperial Majesty would lead this matter, as it is in herself, to an imperial mind and heart, and have, hold, and provide the German nation with gracious command, protection, and protection, to the above-mentioned and other high and burdensome duties and hardships, so that the heavy, painful burden of the tyrannical Turk of necessity may be averted, and the German nation and its members may be placed in a peaceful, united being.

(9) And for this reason we have considered in good, faithful opinion that nothing more useful and more advantageous 1) could be done to this trade than that Her Majesty should have had an Imperial Diet held and announced at a convenient time and place for Her Majesty's benefit, and yet we have wished to have this done for Her Majesty's good pleasure.

10. After it has been judged that the doing of this work and trade, as indicated above, does not only concern the German nation, nor does it stand in its capacity to meet or oppose it properly alone, but is also highly and urgently respected by all other Christian kings and potentates for the urgent help against the Turks: We would like to remind Your Imperial Majesty most diligently that Your Majesty deigns to work with all diligence so that a common peace of Christendom, as much as possible, or at least a cessation of the now pending confusion and disunity of the high Christian heads and estates, may be achieved in the German nation.

(11) And when the well-born and noble lord Ulrich, count of Helfenstein, and lord Sigmund Ludwig, lord of Poland, on account of the royal dignity of Bohemia and Hungary 2c. have made several half-article requests to us, the embassies, and first of all, since they have heard that we are willing to take hold of this assembly day, they have, on account of royal dignity, made their request and request that, in consideration of these grave and important matters, in which the Holy Roman Empire is not a little concerned, this day be extended until the following Martinmas, and that it be again appointed and held here in Regensburg. On the other hand, after the maintenance of the Regimental and Chamber Court has been granted no longer than the next St. Michael's Day, and the time of such maintenance will then end, that on account of Our Gracious Lady, the Court be extended until the next St. Michael's Day.

1) Walch: "erschließlichers".

We, the embassies, have agreed to grant the maintenance of half of the regiment and chamber court mentioned above until St. Martin's Day. Thirdly, that for the causes which they have put in writs and handed over to us, we want to follow with royal dignity the urgent aid which has recently been granted and decided at Speier and Esslingen. Lastly, whether the Weyda 2) wants to take care of and order servants and warriors in our most gracious and gracious lords and sovereigns' principality and sovereignty, so that no passport or passage would be granted to them, as they have presented all of this to us at length and most skillfully.

(12) From our previous deliberation and diligent consideration of the matter, we have given and opened the answer to the above-mentioned von Helfenstein and Poland: namely, to the first article, that this Assembly Day shall be extended until Martinmas and shall again be appointed here 2c., We would remind ourselves that the holding and enquiry of an Imperial Diet belongs to the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, and is not within our power and authority. However, we do not wish to keep it from them that we have resolved to write to the Imperial Majesty and indicate for what brave and moving reasons nothing fruitful or worthwhile may have been done at this assembly in these highly important matters, and for this reason we have placed it in her Majesty's will and favour to call an Imperial Diet.

(13) With regard to the other article and the preservation of the regimental and chamber court, we, the embassies, have no doubt that the decreed royal dignity has good knowledge that this day was not set aside and announced for the sake of such entertainment, but for other reasons; for this reason we have no order or authority from our most gracious and gracious lords and sovereigns. Since, however, it is to be written to Imperial Majesty, as mentioned above, we trust that Imperial Majesty will have and do his gracious understanding in this matter of necessity.

014 And as for the urgent assistance, we, the embassies, undoubtedly consider it, that our most gracious and gracious lords and sovereigns of royal dignity may show kind and submissive will that they are particularly inclined to it; so we, the embassies, would be willing for our person also; but we would have

2) Weyda - Woiwode?

have inspected the next agreements drawn up at Speier and Esslingen, and therein expressly decree that these agreements give form and measure as to how and in what manner such urgent assistance is to be used, and if anyone should need it, who is to be asked for it; therefore it is not within the power of our embassies to change this, as they themselves 1) would like to accept and judge.

15. In the last place, for the sake of the servants and the people of war, we, the embassies, wanted to reach our most gracious and merciful lords and sovereigns, confident that they will behave and show themselves to be of good will and of due dignity; But because, as has happened up to now, many servants have secretly gone behind their lords' knowledge, the embassies consider it good, since such servants commonly take their course through the kingdom, principality and country of the royal dignity, that the royal dignity should also take precautions at their passports so that such servants or people of war are not allowed to pass through.

(16) After the Estates of the Empire at the Imperial Diet held at Speier had jointly undertaken and resolved to appoint several Oratores, with credentials and instructions ordered and sealed, to the Imperial Majesty in Hispania, who will also be named in due time, and at the end of this Imperial Diet will be ordered to our most gracious Lord Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Elector 2c., as soon as the escort [from] the King of France, to whom 2) has therefore been written, will arrive, then to deliver appointed Oratores for emergency. And subsequently it was found in the arriving escort that [it] was set for four months alone, one of which was already gone, and therefore the appointed Oratores were to wait for the arriving day at Esslingen, so that they had been in hand for a short time, and from then on the eighteen princes and princes, and the same messages, for reasons mentioned and other moving causes, the sending of indicated orators to this Imperial Assembly Day happened, as they were then attributed to Imperial Majesty, and thus thereupon reported to us, the other embassies, by us, the Mainz embassy all here, the business and causes of the delay, with presentation of suggested sealed credence and instruction. Thus, we, the embassies, have considered such action carefully, and have taken special care to ensure that it is highly useful and good.

1) Walch: "where" instead of: probably.

2) Walch: "the" instead of: dem.

Oratores have long since been dispatched, would still be dispatched, or in other ways suggested Instruction to Imperial Majesty, in consideration of what the Holy Empire and especially the German Nation are interested in. However, since we know how, in what measure and form, and also for what reasons, the instruction in question has been issued, and the orators have been ordered to do so by unanimous consent, moreover, we have not taken any action here for the reasons mentioned above, and thus it is not within our power or authority to change what was decided at the Imperial Diet in question, we do not need to be aware of this time.

17. And when on the held day at Esslingen a decided missive, issued by royal dignity of England to the princes of the realm, arrived, which also at that time, though some princes and lords had been restrained, was opened by the others, of whom again answer to it in writings, among others of the content that at this assembly day of the realm such letter should be held up to common estates: Thus the suggested letter of the tyrannical Turk has contained a practiced action, admonishing to what extent he should be resisted, to which their royal dignity also wants to lend its power and help. 2c., together with the reply made thereto, have been submitted to us in their entirety. However, since we have not taken any action in the main articles for which we have arrived here, nor does anyone appear on account of the royal dignity, we have put the matter to rest. However, a copy of it has been sent to the Emperor's Majesty, and a copy of it shall be sent to any person who requests it.

18. When, in the beginning and order of this Imperial Diet, some princes and other estates sent messages objecting to the session and subscription of this farewell on behalf of their lords and sovereigns, since, as they indicated, it would be contrary to and detrimental to their customary privileges, use and justice, Therefore the same embassies, at the request of the said imperial governor, as well as of our steward and regiment, held their session and subscription of the present farewell convivially, safely, and without all order on the day of the meeting: That therefore it is our, the governor's, official administrator's and regiment's, and because of the imperial majesty's mind and opinion, that every prince and estate may safely attend this assembly day.

The law of the state of the United States of America provides that the law of the state of the United States of America shall not be prejudicial, injurious, or objectionable to its customary use and justice in any manner whatsoever.

(19) And these are they which are hereafter written, we, the princes, princes, prelates, counts, and embassies of the holy realm, rulers, and deeds: by reason of the archbishop of Mainz, Frobin of Hütten, knight, and Caspar of Westhausen, doctor, chancellor. Of the Archbishop of Trier, Dieterich von Stein, and Michael Stut, Secretary. Of the Archbishop of Cologne, Dieterich, Count of Manderscheid, and Bernhard of Hagen, Doctor, Chancellor. The Count Palatine of the Rhine, Schenck Veltin, Lord of Erbach, and Lucas Huge, Doctor; all four Electors. Messages of the ecclesiastical princes: on account of the bishop of Bamberg, Daniel von Rebnitz; the bishop of Würzburg, Bernhard von Thüngen and Ambrosius Geyer. The Bishop of Speier and Administrator of Regensburg, Augustin Roß, Doctor, Chancellor. ...the Bishop of Augsburg, Hans Stadion... Dieterich, count of Manderscheid, and Bernhard of Haben, doctor 2c. Of the Bishop of Osnabrück and Paderborn, Conrad von Dellingshausen, Doctor. Of the Bishop of Merseburg, William of Wiesenthaw. Of the Bishop of Camin, 1) Antonius Netzmeier. Of the Coadjutor of Fulda, we obgemeldt, Frobin of Hütten 2c. and Caspar of Westhausen, Doctor. Of the Master of the German Order in German and French lands, Friedrich Sturmfeder, Commenthur zu Blumenthal. On behalf of the secular princes: Duke Friederich of Bavaria, Georg, Lord of Heideck 2c. Duke Georg of Saxony, Dieterich of Wertram, D. Duke Wilhelm and Ludwig of Bavaria, brothers, Johann Weisenfelder, licentiate. Duke Ott Heinrichs and Duke Philippsen, in Upper and Lower Bavaria, Kuntz von Rechberg, of Hohen-Rechberg, at Stauffeneck. Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg, Caspar von Schöneich, chancellor. Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg, Hans of Dachsberg, Knight 2c. Duke Johann of Eleve, Jülich and Berg, Johann of Deckheim called, Doctor. Duke Georgen and 2) Barnim, brethren, of Stettin and Pomerania, Antonius Notzmar, and Georg Kusswa. Margrave Philippsen and Ernsten of Baden, Wilhelm von Wiesenthaw. 3) Landgrave Hu Leichtenberg, and his foster son Ladislawen, and Leonharden, Gra-.

1) Walch: "Camain".
2) "and" put by us instead of: "of".
3) Walch: "Weisenthaw".

fen zu Haag, brothers, Georg Boheim, called Spieß, Doct. Of the prelates: Ambrosius, abbot of the church of S. Heimeran 4) at Regensburg, personally, Rector. Johann König, by force and on account of the prelates subsequently named: namely, Johann Bastian of Kempten, Rudolphen of Fridingen, Landcommenthurs of the Ballei Alsace and Burgundi, Teutonic Order. Conradus, of the church of Kreißheim. Georgen of Salmonsweiler. Gerwingen of Weingarten. Jerome of Elchingen. Andreas of Ochsenhausen. Peters at Ursen. Johannsen at Rod. Jakob at Mindernaw. Johannsen zu Schussenried and Heinrichen zu Marckthal, all of them of the affected places of worship. Of the Landcommenthur at Coblenz, Wilhelm von Niedern-Eisenburg, German Order. Of the Abbot of Rockenburg, Bernhard Besserer. Arnold of Siegen, of the House of God at Werden. Of the Aebtissin of Essen, Caspar of Westhausen, Doctor. Of the Free and Imperial City of Cologne, Arnold von Siegen. Strasbourg, Jakob Sturm and Martin Herlin. Speier, Dieter Drawel, town clerk, with command of the town of Hagenau, Colmar, Schletstadt, Weifenburg, Kaisersberg, Münster, Obernehenheim. Frankfurt, Philipps Fürstenberger, by order of the city of Wetzlar, Conrad von Dillingshausen, Doctor. Mühlhausen, Bastian Rodermann. Nordhausen, Christian Müller. Friedberg, Hermann Binkel. Regensburg, Simon Schäblin and Wolfgang Lumbeck. Nuremberg, Christoph Detzen, with command and violence Nördlingen, Schweinfurt, Dinckelsbühl, Winsheim, Weißenburg am Nordgau and Heilbrunn. Ulm, Bernhard Besserer, with command Reutlingen, Bibrach, Gemünd, Veil, Gengen, Ysne and Alen.

In witness whereof, we, the governor's stewards and regiment, have sealed this parting with the imperial seal, ordained to the touched regiment, that we use ourselves herein. And we Froben of Hütten, and Schenck Veltin of Erbach, on account of our and the Electors' messages. We Bernhard von Thüngen, and Georg von Heideck, on account of our message and that of the ecclesiastical and secular princes. And we, chamberlains and council of the city of Regensburg, on behalf of ourselves and the free and imperial cities, affix our seal of approval to this assembly. Given and done in the holy imperial city of Regensburg, on the eighth and twentieth day of May after the birth of Christ 1527.

4) Heimeran - Emmeran.

815 Emperor Carl V's power of attorney for his commissioners delegated to the Diet of Speier. Valladolid, 1 Aug. 1528.

From Joh. Joachim Müller's Historie von der evangelischen Stände Protestation wider den Reichsabschied zu Speier, lib. I., eap. II., s 3, p. 14.

We, Carl, Roman Emperor chosen by the Grace of God, at all times Major of the Empire, in Germania, Hispania, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia King, Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy 2c., Count of Habsburg, Flanders and Tyrol 2c., publicly confess with this letter, and make known to all men: Having considered that we, as Roman Emperors, on account of our imperial dignity and office, are most deserving to consider, seek and promote the benefit, honour and welfare of the Holy Roman Empire: for this reason we now, out of necessity, call a general Imperial Diet and assembly of all Princes, Princes, Prelates, Counts, Lords, Cities and Estates of the Holy Empire, on St. Blaffen Tag [3 February 15]. Blaffen Tag [February 3, 1529], next coming, in our and the empire's city of Speier, by a common open notice. Especially for the reasons reported in the same notice. And we now (although we would like nothing better than to appear at such a day, meeting and action ourselves) are prevented at this time with such apparently great objections and marital obligations 1) that it is not possible for us to do so, we then want to cause ourselves unbearable and irreparable harm and damage, that we therefore, and so that such necessary actions may nevertheless achieve their progress, and for this reason also no lack may be felt, call upon the most noble Prince, Lord Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia 2c.., Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Silesia, and Würtenberg 2c.., Margraves of Moravia and Counts of Tyrol, our friendly dear brother and governor in the Holy Roman Empire; and the venerable, our Vice-Chancellor, Orator general in the Holy Roman Empire, and dear devout, Balthasar, Bishop of Malten, Postulirten of Hildesheim, Coadjutor of the Constance Cathedral; and the high-born and venerable, our dear cousins, sovereigns, and princes, Frederick and William, and the noblemen of the Holy Roman Empire.

1) Marital-legal causes.

helm, Gevettern, Pfalzgrafen beim Rhein, Herzoge zu Ober- und Niederbayern; Bernhard, Bischof zu Trent, und Erich, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, our Councillors, as Commissarien und Botschaften zu solchen Reichstag und Handlung gemacht und verordnet haben, ihnen auch gemeinsam und besonders unsere vollkommene Macht und Gewalt zugestellt und gegeben haben. And we order, order, and give it to them knowingly in virtue of the letter, so that they appear before the above-mentioned imperial estates, and also the mentioned imperial assembly, in the common imperial council for our sake, also in our place, together with the same estates, on the articles mentioned in the mentioned letter, to resist and ward off the enemy of our holy Christian faith and name, the Turk, the journals of the same of our holy Christian faith, also for the maintenance of our regiment and chamber court, and otherwise in everything else that may arrive at and serve the honor, reception, peace, welfare, peace, justice, execution, unity, and good police of the holy realm, to help, to consult, to act, to approve, and finally to decide, and also to do and leave everything and anything else that we ourselves, if we were personally present, could, should, or would like to act in such everything for the benefit and best of the same realm. And whatever is done, acted upon, approved, and decreed by the aforementioned Princes, Princes, and other estates, or the greater part thereof, together with the aforementioned our Imperial Commissaries and commanders, is and shall remain our entire will, opinion, and good pleasure, We also wish to keep all of this firmly in our part, and faithfully help to carry it out, in all measure, as if we ourselves had personally carried it out, approved it and decided it, without any danger, with the certificate of the letter, sealed with our imperial attached seal. Given in our city of Valladolid, in Castile, on the first day of the month of August, after the birth of Christ our dear Lord, in the fifteen hundred and eight and twentieth, of our kingdoms, of the Roman in the ninth, and of all others in the twelfth.

CAROLUS manäatum Eassarsus st Oatkolioas Nassstutis xroxrium.

Alexander Schweiß, Registrar Offenburger.

816th Imperial Diet Proposition at Speier. 1529.

From Müller's History of the Protestant Estates Protestation 2c., p. 18.

I.

Receipt of the Reichstag Proposition.

The Roman Imperial and Hispanic Royal Majesty 2c., our most gracious Lord, Governor in the Holy Empire, Orator and Commissarien, ordered to this Imperial Diet, the most illustrious, high-born Princes and Lords, Mr. Ferdinand, of Hungary and Bohemia 2c. King, Jnfant in Hispania, Archduke of Austria 2c., Mr. Balthasar, Bishop of Malten, Postulirter of Hildesheim, and Coadjutor of the Constance Chapter, the said Imperial Majesty Vice-Chancellor and Orator general, Mr. Frederick and Mr. William, cousins, Count Palatines of the Rhine and Dukes of Bavaria, and Mr. Bernhard, Bishop of Trent, in place of themselves, and on account of the most illustrious Prince and Lord, Highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Erich, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, their fellow Commisfarien, give the Holy Roman Empire's noble Princes, Princes, ecclesiastical and secular, and other estates, who appeared at the present Imperial Diet, friendly, favorable and gracious opinion to recognize 2c.

II.

Second 1) Propositional point, concerning the matter of religion.

(1) Secondly, His Imperial Majesty bears no small sorrow and grievance that such evil, grave and pernicious teachings and errors have arisen in our holy faith. Majesty bears no small sorrow and complaint that in the German nation, during the time of her reign, such evil, grave, pernicious and corrupt doctrines and errors have arisen in our holy faith, and are now spreading more and more every day, that thereby not only (which is the highest and most important thing) the Christian and praiseworthy laws, customs and usage of the Christian church are held in contempt and blasphemy, to the shame and dishonor of God our Creator, but also her Imperial Majesty and the Empire, and especially the German nation, estates, subjects and relatives, are being held in contempt and blasphemy. Majesty and of the Empire, and especially of the German nation, estates, subjects and relatives, have been moved and inflamed by this to severe miserable indignation, rebellion, war, lamentation, bloodshed among themselves, and thus their Majesty's mandate and commandment, also the separations of the Empire, have been kept little before their eyes, but in much way have they been kept out of sight.

1) Müller has omitted the first propositional point, which concerns the Turkish War.

and contemptible, which is not to her Majesty's small, but to the highest displeasure, and furthermore to watch and permit (as she, as the supreme head of Christendom, is obliged to do) is by no means meant.

(2) And when in the parting, recently made at Regensburg, by the said imperial governor, the governors and councillors of the imperial see, the The governor and councillors of the imperial regiment, also of the churals and princes, and also of other estates. The messages of the princes and princes, as well as those of other estates present, are considered good, that in the confusions and disputes, which partly arise from the thought of our holy faith and Christian religion, a unanimous and uniform understanding should be made, which could not be done more fruitfully than by a free general council or at least a national assembly, which should have been held in a year or a year and a half at the longest possible time. 2) that her Majesty's governors, administrators and councillors of the imperial regiment, as well as of the absent princes, princes and estates, have considered messages at their discretion concerning the General Council, and that they consider such a meeting to be fruitful. At the same time, however, from the person of Her Imperial Majesty alone it has not been possible. If Her Majesty had established the General Council by special authority of the papal sanctity, and had not used the form of the law, it would certainly have caused considerable unrest and division among all the estates; therefore, Her Majesty considered it burdensome to establish the same General Council at the same time, and thus avoided it in the best way.

(3) Now, if matters between the said Imperial Majesty and Papal Holiness are in good Christian understanding, Her Majesty is certain that the General Council will not be held by Papal Holiness. Majesty and the Papal Holiness are, by the grace of the Almighty, in good Christian understanding, that Her Majesty is certain that the Papal Holiness will not refuse to hold the General Council, but that, according to her ascription, it will be sent to the Imperial Majesty at a later time before the Imperial Council. Majesty before the Imperial 3) that such a General Council be granted to the said Papal Holiness to be the first to be written out, in addition to Her Majesty, and that there should be no lack of it, so that then, in such cases of error, the Pope's Holiness may be able to act as the first to be written out, and that there should be no lack of it at all.

2) The following passage and the beginning of § 3 are included in the Preface to the Augsburg Confession. See No. 960.

3) Walch: "verfodern" instead of: befördern.

We hope that the faithful will act in a manner conducive to our holy faith, and that our holy Christian faith will be preserved in its good nature, and that we may remain as good Christians.

(4) Accordingly, it is the will of the said Imperial Majesty. Majesty's will, opinion, and especially serious command, commands and mandates every person, ecclesiastical and mundane, of high and low rank, to perform the duties with which each person is related to Her Imperial Majesty and the Holy Empire, even in the event of the loss of each person's regalia, fiefs, freedoms, and graces. Majesty and the Holy Roman Empire, also in the event of the forfeiture of any regalia, fiefs, liberties, gifts and graces, and in addition in the event of serious penalties and punishments, it is understood in the mandates issued that between the establishment and holding of the intended council, contrary to our true Christian faith, no one of spiritual or secular rank shall punish the other with the act, on account of the faith, with confiscation and deprivation of ecclesiastical or secular authority and goods, contrary to old usage and custom, does not rape or urge the other to give himself to an unlawful or foreign faith, or to make himself dependent on the new sects, as may have happened in some places up to now, but each one, as seems good to an obligated person and kinsman of the realm, obeys her Imperial Majesty's commandments. Majesty's commandments and show, as dear to each one, the above-mentioned penance, repentance and punishment, and in addition the attention and disregard of the Holy Empire, 1) in which anyone who, contrary to such a serious commandment of her Majesty, in fact does nothing violent, shall immediately be cast out, without further declaration and explanation.

(5) For if anything should be done about such a command of Her Imperial Majesty. 5. For if, contrary to our Christian faith, nothing should be done about such a command of Her Majesty, or if someone should be overpowered, as has been said, this would cause further unrest, disobedience, rebellion, and indignation, which in the end would cause insurmountable harm and damage to those who would be the originators, and which Her Majesty would not like to grant to anyone.

(6) And to forestall such aforesaid diligence, mighty deed and action, it is further ordered by the said Imperial Majesty. Majesty's serious command, if new outrages, riots, or rapes should occur and happen through such a serious prohibition by her Majesty, that then the next-souled shall appear with help and rescue to the one or ones who would be overpowered, damaged, or burdened; as the agreement, made in the 26th year here at Speier, executes such according to [the] length 2).

1) Walch: "Oberacht".
2) Walch: "long ago" instead of: Length.

(7) And after an article has been included in the Imperial Diet of Speier, made in the above-mentioned 26th year, which says that the princes, rulers and estates of the Empire, and the same embassy, have unanimously agreed and united, in the meantime of the Council, with their subjects, in matters which the edict, made by the said Imperial Majesty at the Imperial Diet of Worms, touches. Majesty at the Imperial Diet at Worms, to live, rule and keep, as any one hopes and trusts to do against God and their Imperial Majesty. Majesty hopes and trusts to answer 2c. Her Imperial Majesty is not a little dismayed by the fact that this article, which has been understood, interpreted and explained by many of the estates of the Holy Roman Empire to their liking, has caused great disquiet and misunderstanding against our holy Christian faith, disobedience to the authorities by their subjects, and much other harm; But so that in the future the same article will not be further accepted and interpreted according to everyone's liking, and that what has hitherto been done from it contrary to our holy faith will be prevented: Her Imperial Majesty Her Imperial Majesty hereby rescinds the Article indicated in the aforesaid decree, and cassates and destroys the same now as then, and then as now, all out of imperial power and perfection. And is her imperial. And it is the command of Her Imperial Majesty that in its place the article now read concerning the faith be placed and used in future imperial decrees, and that no one act contrary to it, avoiding punishment, penance, and penance; Her Imperial Majesty will provide this to the Princes, Princes, and Estates completely and without refusal. This has been declared by the said Imperial Governor, Orator and Commissary. Governor, Orator, and Commissaries, but by the command of the Imperial Majesty, to the Electorate. Majesty's command to the Princes, Princes, and Estates of the Empire in the best way that each may be guided by it, to prevent harm and damage, in a friendly and gracious opinion.

III.

Conclusion of the Reichstag Proposition.

And finally, in the name of and on account of the aforesaid Imperial Majesty, the above-mentioned Stadtholders, Orators and Commissars, graciously and earnestly wish to grant their friendly and gracious request, petition and desire. Majesty, graciously and earnestly, also for themselves, their friendly and gracious request, petition and desire, Electors, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire to promote the above-mentioned two Articles, as the noblest, in which the Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation are most concerned, which cannot or may not suffer any delay or standstill.

In the same way, in other matters incumbent upon the Empire, which are also conducive to the establishment and preservation of peace and justice, good police and the welfare of the Empire, and as the above-mentioned Imperial Diet may act, the above-mentioned Imperial Diet may act. All this the above-mentioned imperial governors, orators and commissars. The above-mentioned Imperial Governors, Orators, and Commissaries, not only according to their orders from the said Imperial Majesty, but also for their own good. Majesty, but also for themselves, as members of the Holy Roman Empire, to the best of their diligence and ability, in addition to the said Electors, Princes and Estates of the Empire, to promote, administer and help to carry out. Such a speedy action, conducive to the electors, princes, and other estates, would confidently benefit all beings, and the imperial majesty would recognize, consider, and never forget this with all graces toward them as a whole, and toward each of them in particular.

817 Concerns of the Princes, Princes, and others delegated to the Great Committee, about the above Imperial Proposition. Bor the 10th of April 1529.

From Müller's History 2c., p. 25. We have the time determination according to the information found in No. 820 that the term "put forward" in the committee had been overlooked again on April 10.

(1) The princes, princes, and other delegates to the great committee, the royal dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as the commissars of other decreed Roman majesties, have taken before them a written presentation and instruction, and have considered and considered the article concerning our holy Christian faith with the greatest diligence and all necessity. And after the other and last imperial congresses held at Nuremberg, item, the next one at Speier, and also at Regensburg, the princes, rulers, and estates of the empire have conferred on this matter with excellence and courage, and have unanimously decided that nothing more fruitful could be done for Christian unification and the laying down of such a law, than a free general council in the German nation, which would therefore be addressed to the Roman imperial majesty with the highest submissive authority. Majesty, with the highest submissive request to carry out the same. Since her Majesty now allows her the same General Council, the content of the instruction handed over, to be carried out, with the narration of the
Causes why the same could not have been until now, and most gracious consolation that Her Imperial Majesty is certain that by Papal Holiness the General Council will not be refused. Majesty is certain that he will not refuse to hold the General Council by papal sanctity, with gracious reverence and consolation, to act and to pursue that the same General Council be proclaimed by papal sanctity next to her Majesty:

(2) Thus the Electors, Princes, and the members of the Committee deem it necessary and good that such a thing be accepted by Imperial Majesty's gracious grace with high and humble gratitude. Majesty's gracious command be accepted with high and humble thanks, with notification: After in many held imperial congresses it has been advised and decided in an emergency and bravely, but until now, not to little trouble and extension of the above-mentioned misunderstanding of the holy faith and confusion, it has been difficult, and has grown to such an extent that the trade should now not suffer a longer time or delay 2c., and attached request, that her majesty, as the supreme bailiff and head of Christendom, would take such a grave case and concern of the common German nation to the highest heart, and would graciously promote and be sure of it, that a free, Christian general council, at the first it is always possible, and safe for the longest possible time in one year after date, and after that for the longest possible time in the next year, and thereafter for the longest time in a year or a year and a half, and held in the German nation at the places determined above, as at Metz, Cologne, Mainz, Strasbourg, or at another location in the same nation, so that the German nation may be united in the holy Christian faith, and the pending discord may be discussed.

(3) If, however, at a certain time the General Council should not be able to proceed because of the accidental prevention of Papal Holiness, or otherwise, the German nation will by no means want to be reassured by Imperial Majesty and Papal Holiness that then their Imperial Majesty will be able to take care of it. Majesty and Papal Holiness, that then Her Imperial Majesty will call a general assembly of all the estates of the German people. and others, if the necessity should require it, should call for one in Germany at an appointed time and place; and that Her Majesty, as the head of such assembly, would be in favor of all things, also in his own person, and promote and bring all this into actual execution, so that it may reach its certain progress without some prolongation or refusal (as the highest necessity requires).

(4) And after in the parting of the recent Diet here at Speier an Article

Respecting that the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire and of the same embassy have unanimously agreed and united to live, govern and keep in the meantime of the Council with their subjects, in matters concerning the edict made by Imperial Maj. Maj. at the Diet of Worms, to live, to govern and to keep, as each one hopes and trusts to answer for such against God and Her Maj.

(5) And the same article has since been misunderstood by many, and has been used as an excuse for all sorts of frightening new doctrines and sects; so that this may be cut off, and further apostasy, strife, discord, and discomfort prevented: therefore the princes, princes, and other estates have resolved that those who have hitherto adhered to the above-mentioned imperial edict shall now also adhere to the same edict until the future concilio, and shall and will hold their subjects to it. The same edict shall now remain in force until the future Council, and their subjects shall and will be held to it.

(6) And in the case of the other estates, among whom the other doctrines have arisen, and some of which cannot be averted without noticeable turmoil, trouble, and danger, let all further innovation be prevented, as far as is possible and humane, until the future Council.

(7) And especially some doctrines and sects, as much as they are contrary to the reverend sacrament of the true Corpus Christi and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall not be accepted among the estates of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, nor shall they be allowed or permitted to preach there publicly; likewise the offices of the holy mass shall not be taken away, nor shall anyone be forbidden, prevented, or urged to keep or hear mass in those places where the new doctrine has gained the upper hand.

(8) Likewise, because of the rebirth, which, contrary to previous imperial and papal law, has long since gone out, there is also a certain and obvious cause and intention to arouse new sedition and rebellion in the Holy Empire. Therefore, a new mandate should be issued by Imperial Majesty from this time on, and the same rebaptism should be seriously forbidden, and whoever enters into such vice should be punished according to the contents of the same mandate. When at Nuremberg, at the last two imperial congresses held there, two articles were passed and approved, especially concerning preachers and printing, the princes, princes and all estates want the same to be lived and obeyed; namely, that every prince, prince, prelate, count and other estates in the empire, with all possible diligence, shall be punished in his own right.

Order and decree that all preachers shall speak and act in a proper manner, avoiding in their sermons anything that might cause the common man to move against the authorities or lead the Christian people into error; but that they alone preach and teach the holy gospel, according to the interpretation of the scriptures, approved and accepted by the holy Christian church, and that they abstain from preaching and teaching it in matters of dispute, but that they await the above-mentioned Christian council's decision. To this end, princes, rulers, and estates of the realm shall and will take all possible care in the meantime of the Council in all printing houses and with all bookkeepers of every authority, that nothing new is printed, and especially defamatory writings are neither publicly nor secretly carried or interpreted for fine purchase, But what is printed or sold for that reason shall be inspected beforehand by persons appointed by every authority, and if any deficiency is found in it, it shall not be permitted to be printed or sold under severe penalty, but shall be strictly forbidden and kept.

(9) After all this, the Imperial Majesty commands every cleric and secular, of high and low rank, by the duties that every one owes to Her Majesty and to the Holy Roman Empire. and the Holy Roman Empire, also in the case of the loss of any regalia, fiefs, liberties, gifts and graces, that between the appointment and the holding of the intended council, no one of the ecclesiastical or secular rank shall in any way oppress the other by depriving and depriving him of his authorities, goods, rents, interest and customs. But whoever, contrary to this commandment of the Emperor's Majesty, would do or act in a violent or criminal manner, he or they shall be subject to the disgrace, attention and disregard of the Emperor's Majesty, but with a previous declaration.

(10) The truce, as established at Worms and decreed at the recent Imperial Diet at Speier, shall be firmly maintained, and it shall be lived by and complied with. If, however, contrary to such a serious imperial commandment and peace, new outrages, riots, and rapes should occur and happen, then the next in line shall give the person or persons who have been raped the right to demand that they be released.

1) Walch: "more daily"; but it is to be read "more compliant" according to No. 818, § 8.

or would be burdened, appear on demand, and also, if they realize this for themselves, with immediate help and rescue, as also otherwise the Speierische Abschied shows such according to the length 1).

818. the Diet of Speier, to which the Imperial Constitution or Statute, how brother's or sister's children of their father's brother or sister shall divide among themselves abandoned inheritance, and the Constitution or Mandate against the Anabaptists is incorporated. April 22, 1529.

This Reichstag resolution was printed in folio in Mainz in 1529 and is found in its entirety in Lünig's Reich Archives, pari. Zen. oont. I, x. 480 The date we have set is the day on which the farewell was signed. The draft of it was made on April 7, 1529; on April 12 the Protestant estates had their counter-script read. On April 18 they were denied a further hearing by a decree, and on the day following this the draft was approved as a formal Reichstag treaty and signed on April 22. On April 25 they drew up their protest against it. See Document No. 820.

We Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Hungary and Bohemia, infant of Hispania, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy 2c., Governor of the Holy Roman Empire. And by the same graces, we Balthasar, bishop of Malten, orator *genralis of* the convent of Constance. Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria; William, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria. Erich, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, and Bernhard, Bishop of Trent, of the Most Sublime, Great, Highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Caroli the Fifth, elected Roman Emperor, to this Imperial Diet here at Speier specially appointed Commissaries 2c., hereby declare and manifest: Since the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, out of great necessity, for the advancement of the Holy Roman Empire, and especially the honor, benefit, and welfare of the German Nation, has once again ordered a general Imperial Diet to be held here at Speier, and has proclaimed it on several necessary points, such as the discord between our holy Christian faith; item, how and in what manner the Turks may be met with speedy aid and persevering resistance, and also how the regiment and court of justice may continue to be maintained,

1) "of length" put by us instead of: "long ago".

and other necessary matters, in accordance with Her Imperial Majesty's invitation and instruction 2c., to act, to deliberate and finally to conclude. However, due to highly important and public concerns and hindrance, Her Majesty was unable to appear on such a day in her own person, and on account of Her Majesty provided us with emergency powers and instructions: So we have, according to and by virtue of the same, our authority and command, as well as the princes, princes, prelates, counts, and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, who have personally appeared there in brave numbers, and have taken the absentees' messages, the above-mentioned and other points and articles with timely and brave counsel, and have thereupon all united in a parting of the same counsels and compared them, as the same follows from article to article.

1. And first of all concerning the article of the discord of our holy Christian faith: because hitherto at many held imperial congresses, and also now after brave counsel, nothing more fruitful and better could be found or considered for Christian unification and settlement of such conflict, than to hold a free general council in the German nation; as then imperial majesty hitherto requested and requested by the estates to promote the same by papal sanctity 2c., and the Princes, Princes and Estates have heard from the Instruction now handed over to their Imperial Majesty that their Majesty is not only pleased to hold the Council, but that it is certain that their Imperial Holiness will not refuse to hold the General Council, and that their Imperial Majesty also wishes to promote it, so that it may be announced by their Papal Holiness in addition to their Imperial Majesty: So the princes, princes and estates of her majesty have once again written, requested and reminded her most humbly that her imperial majesty, as the supreme, head and bailiff of Christendom, will graciously take to heart, be involved in and promote such a grave case and concern of the common German nation, and that the trades may no longer suffer a long delay, so that, first of all, a free, Christian general council may be held, and without danger, within a year of the date, and then, for the longest time, within a year or a year and a half, and held in the German nation, in the places determined beforehand, as at Metz, Cologne, Mainz, Strasbourg, or in some other place in the same nation, so that the German nation may be able to live in the holy Christian world.

The question is whether the two faiths should be united and the pending conflict discussed.

(2) If, however, at an appointed time, the General Council should ever fail to proceed, either through the accidental prevention of Papal Holiness or otherwise, then Her Majesty would have a general assembly of all the estates of the German nation, and others, if the need should require it, to be convened in Germany at an appointed time and place. And that her Majesty, as the head, would also want to be present at such an assembly, for the benefit of all things, and promote everything in such a way and bring it into actual execution, so that it achieves its certain progress without some prolongation and refusal, as the highest necessity requires.

3. And after an article has been included in the proceedings of the Imperial Diet held here at Speier, stating: that the princes, princes and estates of the empire have unanimously agreed and united, in the meantime of the Council with their subjects, to live, govern and keep in matters touching the edict made by the imperial majesty at the Imperial Diet at Worms, as each one hopes and trusts to answer for such against God and his majesty.

4. And the same article has since been drawn and interpreted by many in great misunderstanding and as an excuse for all kinds of frightening new doctrines and sects, so that such things may be cut off and further apostasy, strife, discord and discomfort may occur: We, together with the princes, princes, prelates, counts, and other estates, have decided that those who have remained with the aforementioned imperial edict until now, should and will remain with the same edict until the future Council, and hold their subjects to it. But in the case of the other estates, among which the other doctrine has arisen, and in part cannot be averted without noticeable revolt, trouble, and danger, all innovation shall be prevented as far as possible and humane until the future Council.

(5) And especially some doctrines and sects, so much as are contrary to the reverend sacrament of the true Corpus Christi and blood of our Lord JEsu Christ, shall not be accepted by the estates of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, nor shall they be allowed or permitted to be preached thereunto;

1) "great" put by us instead of: "greater" by Walch. So it is to be read, both after No. 816 and 817 and after No. 821.

Likewise the offices of the holy mass are not to be taken away, nor is anyone to be forbidden to hear the mass in the places where the other doctrine has arisen and is held, nor to be prevented from doing so, nor to be urged to do so.

6. Since a new sect of rebaptism has recently arisen, which was forbidden in common law and condemned many hundreds of years ago, which sect, by imperial mandate, is increasingly breaking in and gaining the upper hand, and since her Majesty, in order to prevent such grave evils and what may follow, to preserve peace and unity in the Holy Empire, has established a lawful constitution, statute, and order, and has proclaimed it everywhere in the Holy Empire, thus reads: That all and every Anabaptist and rebaptized, male and female, of understanding age, from natural life to death, shall be judged and put to death by fire, sword, or the like, according to the occasion of the persons, without the preceding of the ecclesiastical magistrates' inquisition. And those who break the peace, the main fan, the runner, and the agitated rewinders of the touched vice of rebirth, even those who persist in it or fall down another time, shall by no means be pardoned in such, but shall be dealt with seriously with punishment by virtue of such statutes. However, those persons who "immediately confess" their error, either for themselves or after instruction and admonition, are willing to recant it, accept penance and punishment for it, and ask for mercy, may be pardoned according to their status, nature, youth, and all other circumstances. That every man also, according to Christian order, custom, and usage, should have his children baptized in youth. But whoever despises this and does not do so, as if the baptism of such children were nothing, that he who insists on it is considered an Anabaptist, and is subject to the above-mentioned imperial constitution, and none of them, for the above-mentioned reasons, shall be pardoned, relegated to other houses, but shall be condemned and bound to remain under his authority, which then shall have a diligent supervision, lest they fall away again.

(7) Likewise, no one shall abstain from, subdue, or postpone another's subject or kinsman, who has departed and left their authority because of the departed person's rebirth, but the same authority, under which the departed person abstains, shall immediately take possession of such transfer or be transferred.

he shall act strictly against the same who escaped, according to the above-mentioned imperial statute, and shall not suffer or tolerate them to do so, all with penalty of eight 2c., that 1) thereafter we, also princes, prelates, counties and estates, unanimously agreed to live, comply with and execute such imperial constitution, order and statute, in all the above-mentioned points and articles, faithfully and diligently.

8. And when at Nuremberg, at the two last imperial congresses held there, two articles, especially concerning preachers and printing, were passed and approved, we, together with the princes, prelates and counts, have agreed and united that the same shall again be followed and complied with, namely, that every prince, prelate, count and other estates in the empire shall order and decree with all possible diligence in their authority, that all preachers be spoken to and acted upon in a proper and proper manner, to avoid in their preaching anything that might give rise to the agitation of the common man against the authorities, or to lead Christians into error, but that they alone preach and teach the Gospel according to the interpretation of the Scriptures, approved and accepted by the holy Christian church. And as for controversial matters, to abstain from preaching and teaching the same, and to await the decision of the said Christian Council.

9. To this end, we, as well as the princes, princes, and estates of the realm, shall take every possible precaution in all printing works and with all bookkeepers of every authority, in the meantime of the Council, that nothing new is printed, and especially that defamatory writings are neither publicly or secretly written, printed, sold, or displayed, but that whatever is written, printed, or sold for this reason is first inspected by every authority by persons appointed for this purpose, and if it is found to be defective, it is printed or sold under great penalty, or roped, that is to be inspected beforehand by every authority through reasonable persons appointed for this purpose, and if deficiencies are found therein, that the same is not permitted to be printed or sold with great punishment, but is thus strictly forbidden and kept, and the poet, printer and seller, who transgresses such commandment, is punished by the authority, under which they sat or entered, according to opportunity.

(10) We, also princes, prelates, counts, and estates, have unanimously agreed, and have promised and pledged to each other in good and true faith that no one of spiritual or secular rank shall be able to take advantage of the other for the sake of faith.

1) With Walch: that.

The king shall not rape, invade, or encroach upon, nor deprive of his rent, interest, tithes, and estates. Likewise, none of the other subjects and relatives, for reasons of faith and other causes, should nor want to take them into their own protection and shield against their authorities; all this under penalty and punishment of the imperial peace established at Worms, which all its contents shall remain in dignity, be firmly held and enforced.

11. And that there may be no lack of such execution: We, princes, prelates, counties and estates, have further agreed and united, if it should come to pass that one estate, contrary to all that has been reported, wants to overrun the other with military force or otherwise violently, that then the Imperial Court of Appeal, from the request of that or those estates, who are concerned about the overrun and have duly offered to do so, shall have complete command, power and authority over them, who are concerned about the attack and have duly offered to do so, shall have full command, power and authority to order those who are in arms and armor, with the penalty and the penalty of eight, to refrain from such a violent attack and attack, and to be content with it.

(12) But if he, or they, who are so commanded, should disobey, the Imperial Fiscal shall immediately proceed and proceed in the most expedient manner against such disobedient person, or persons, for the declaration of the above mandates; and such disobedient persons shall be declared by the Court of Chancery to be subject to the penalties of the peace of the land, as may be proper. And in addition to these, the Court of Appeal shall nevertheless make a common demand against all and every helper, the one or ones who, as mentioned above, are in armor and are in charge of the mighty attack, with penalty of the eight, also for the most beneficial outcome. The other neighboring states of the empire are also to demand and exhort to handle everything, as mentioned above, with a fine of eight, and to draw to the rescue of the one or ones who want to be so covered or attacked with a goodly shell.

(13) The rapist shall also be obliged to pay off and reimburse the war expenses incurred by those who are required and conscripted to do so, and shall be at the will of the assistants to enable the rapist to pay the costs of the crime as soon as possible, or, upon the moderation of the court of appeals, with the penalty of eight, to bring this about from him, for which purpose the court of appeals shall also assist him and refuse to do so.

(14) The Article of the next Imperial Diet held here at Speier, made for the sake of the rebellious subjects, shall also exist and remain in force. Namely, if some subjects of some authority, spiritual or secular, are gathered together, again arouse rebellion and insurrection, then the next-joining electors, princes, counts and other authorities shall, at the request of the same authority in which the rebellion arose, petition, from hour and in view, also at the earliest, on horseback and on foot, to draw in, save and help; And if the same help, so requested, would be too weak for the riot that has arisen, then the other next-sitting princes, lords and estates shall, upon request, as aforesaid, in the same manner as is strongest possible for them, also go to silence the disobedient, the rioters again, to bring them into obedience and to punish them. And all of us, one against the other, shall show and hold ourselves in this no differently than if such rebellion and insurrection had occurred and happened in each of our own principalities, dominions, and territories, and in moderation each would have liked to have done and take from the other.

15. In order that no confusion or misunderstanding may arise between the helper and the one being helped, the help of the princes, prelates, counts and estates, who are called upon to rescue and help others, shall be given, the authorities in whose principality, dominion or territory the rebellion has arisen, on horseback and on foot, as strongly as possible, and if necessary, at their own expense and damage, for one month against the disobedient subjects. However, in such a month 1) the collection and withdrawal shall be counted. If, however, such assistance extends over a month and is delayed, the person to whom the assistance was rendered shall then unite and settle with the assisting party for the assistance which he will render and show over the month. For this purpose, the helper against whom he has rendered assistance shall be kind, friendly, and neighborly in his attitude toward such assistance, as he would like others to be and do in the same case.

(16) Secondly, as far as the point or article of urgent assistance is concerned, having heard from the imperial instruction that the Turk is making a supreme bid, intending and intending to overrun the crown of Hungary and the common Christendom this spring, electors, princes, prelates, counts, and others

1) With Walch: "mandate" instead of: Month.

The states have considered how the Turk of the next year 1526. year, had violently overrun the Crown of Hungary, had retained the victory, and had thereby at this time violently held the greater part of the best castles, passes, and fortifications against Hungary and Germany, and that there was no power and authority in the Crown of Hungary to resist the Turk alone; for which reason the matter has now grown to such an extent that where the Crown of Hungary does not receive substantial assistance in resisting the Turk, he would like to bring the entire kingdom of Hungary, including the adjoining principalities and dominions, under his control, and draw promoters into Germany. Should the Turk then once again gain his will against the Crown of Hungary (since the Almighty God is in favor of it) and advance against other bordering principalities, it would be easy to see what noticeable trouble would ensue for the entire German nation, what fright, pusillanimity and apostasy would result everywhere. And therefore we have all and unanimously resolved not to abandon the Christian Kingdom of Hungary, considering that it will bring honor, benefit and welfare to the common Christianity, especially to the German nation, and comfort and salvation to itself. For this reason, and in order that the urgent mission may be carried out all the more effectively, we, as well as the electors, princes and estates, have granted and approved that the quarter and a half, three months, and half a quarter, six months, on foot, and the four thousand on horseback, which are still left over from the aid granted above, be used for the march on Rome and against the Turks, and are to be used against the Turks, are also to be put up at one money, made half at Worms by virtue of the attachment of such granted shells, and together with the aforementioned two-fourths on foot are to be sent to the Crown of Hungary or to the adjoining principalities, where it will be most necessary, against the help of the Turks and are to be used.

17. And so that such a noble and brave help is not undertaken in vain or unfruitfully, nor is it used anywhere else but only to counter and resist the Turk, and not before the Turk undertakes a mighty military campaign on Hungary or the subsequently named principalities of the German nation: So much has been done with the Electors and Princes, who are in the process of parting at Esslingen, that they should and will at all times make certain announcements as to the state of the Turk's actions and undertakings. And that each of the six princes or princes inquires about this and certainly learns about it, or otherwise becomes aware of it for himself, that one of them should inform the other.

to be known and informed at all times. And if they find that the Turks are in such a condition that necessity would require them to advance and render the above-mentioned aid to the Crown of Hungary: They shall then, together with the four regimental councils, for themselves, or at the request of the Crown of Hungary, require and receive the money, which has already been paid by the two fourths, and which is to fall and be paid from now on, from the one who has collected it, The king shall take and appoint captains and men-at-arms on horseback and on foot, as they may most usefully and profitably unite with the royal dignity of Hungary, or consider and decide for themselves the best, and shall have power and authority to send the same people of royal dignity to Hungary. Even if one or more of them do not appear due to matrimonial impediment, or if no one else decides on their behalf, those who are present shall nevertheless continue unimpeded in all this, and shall give a clear account of all their expenditures, revenues, and other actions at the next Imperial Diet of the princes, princes, and estates of the empire.

(18) In this matter, too, it has been especially unanimously considered and deemed good, if, through some hindrance, things turn out that the Turk will not make his move or attack on Hungary, but on Poland, Saxony, or Brandenburg, then the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg shall, for the sake of urgent help, require the other four princes, namely, Austria, both Dukes of Bavaria, and Augsburg, also the four in the regiment, ordered according to the farewell at Speier and Esslingen, to go to Regensburg. If, however, the Turk should march on Austria or Bavaria, Austria, Bavaria, and Augsburg shall require the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, together with the members of the regiment, to march on Augsburg as well, and the six Electors and Princes, as well as four appointed councillors of the regiment, shall have the power to accept competent captains, and to attack and use the money, as mentioned, solely to resist the Turk where it will be most necessary.

(19) The above-mentioned Electors, Princes and four Regimental Councillors shall also have the power, if the greatest need and urgency requires it, to extend such urgent assistance for six months to three, four or five months, depending on the occasion and the nature of the matter, and thus to turn the sum of the above-mentioned request into more or less men-of-war, on horseback and on foot.

(20) For this purpose the above-mentioned princes and lords are to send and place themselves in brave armor and readiness, so that one part may come to the rescue and aid of the other and be able to shoot.

(21) And the deposit of the money, now touched and granted, on horseback and on foot, which is due to each estate, in consideration of the great urgency and necessity, on St. James's Day [July 25] next coming, shall be done without delay to Augsburg, Nuremberg or Frankfurt, 15 batz, 60 kreuzer, 21 Meissen groschen, and 26 albus for the florin, and against the disobedient shall be strictly proceeded with and acted upon by the Fiscal.

22. And because the two-fourths of the twenty thousand on foot, which have been laid up in four places, namely Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Frankfort, and the necessity of the things requires that the same be brought all together to one place, situated for the war trade: We have all unanimously agreed that the two-fourths of the money, as well as that which has been deposited by means of the above-mentioned order, shall be delivered most advantageously to two places, namely Augsburg and Regensburg, by proper means and channels, through the collectors of the above-mentioned three places.

23. And after the imperial treasurer had reported many estates that had not yet paid the two-fourths of the granted Rome tax, nor part of the one-and-a-half-fourths that had been used in Hungary before, his manifold petition and lawsuit against them was held before the imperial chamber court; and in the Worms Decree it was declared, among other things, that no one is to be exempted from the same horse and foot charges laid according to the Worms Decree, and that for this reason no one is to apply to the Imperial Majesty or be processed, and that no one is to be spared the confiscation of the same, that the imperial treasurer shall bring in all the deficiencies, which are everywhere and also the two fourths, together with the whole of the granted Rome campaign, now ordered to the Turkish Help, as reported above, and that the court of appeals shall assist him in this.

(24) And although at the other Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg a special article was set forth in the agreement, that princes, rulers, and estates shall not consent to the remaining part of the twenty thousand on foot and four thousand on horseback that are to be sent, nor shall they give anything for this purpose, unless such proposals are diminished and appropriate according to each state's opportunity and fortune. 2c. But because this is a needful, mild, and Christian thing to do

Work, to which each one shall also be reasonably inclined to help and advise with his disadvantage, and where now some wrangling is to be undertaken and take place, that the same would give birth to a great prolongation and delay of this undertaking, in addition to a noticeable break and wringing of the attack and help. In addition, the decree at Worms clearly states, for the sake of the aid granted, that no wrestling shall be done in any way by anyone. Accordingly, so much has been said and done with those who complain about the attacks and have therefore supplicated, for the reasons indicated, that they alone want to be patient this time for the promotion of such good work, but that in future attacks due consideration will be given to them.

(25) If it should happen that it is not necessary to use such urgent aid against the Turks, it is considered good that the same money should nevertheless be collected with the greatest diligence and kept together in a safe place until the future Diet.

26. Furthermore, we, also princes, prelates, counts, and estates, have judged the article of persistent resistance against the Turk to be of the highest order, so that in our opinion not only the high, unavoidable necessity requires and demands that we act against the Turk with urgent help, but also that, with timely counsel, ways be found by which the Turk may be driven by force behind him again, also that which he brought under his power some years ago may again be conquered, and common Christendom may at last be restored to peace and quiet for the sake of its hereditary enemy. Accordingly, we have taken before our hands the counsels and agreements made before the Imperial Diet held for the sake of such persevering help, as well as the writings that the six princes and twelve princes made to Imperial Majesty at the Imperial Diet in Esslingen, inspected and considered them, and found that the time had been most carefully considered when such a persistent move against the Turks should be made, that first of all it would be necessary to have a certain peace in the Holy Empire. That the wars which have arisen between some Christian leaders and potentates may first be brought to peace, or at least to order. Because such brave actions are not only in the hands of the princes, princes, and the German nation, but also in consideration of the Turk's power and authority, other Christian leaders and potentates, who concern this matter no less than the German nation, may be helped and supported.

The assistance in this will also be necessary, as then governors and regimental councils, also the twelve princes and princes, have indicated and reminded all this to Imperial Majesty in the above-mentioned writing, issued at Esslingen, with humble request that Her Majesty, as the head, act as much as possible for the benefit of all potentates and move them so that the latter, in addition to Her Majesty and the empire, may persevere against the Turks, to her hereditary kingdoms and lands, as well as to all potentates, to act in the most beneficial way, and to move them so that the latter, in addition to her Majesty and the Empire, will provide persistent aid and assistance against the Turks, as is just, and as they are obliged to do out of Christian love. Since, however, the above-mentioned causes have not yet been accepted, and the Turk's power has increased and strengthened, nothing definite has been done about it here, but princes, princes, and estates have indicated such a cause to Imperial Majesty in writings, with the most humble request that they alone appear with the most gracious help and counsel.

27 Furthermore, as previously ordered at other imperial congresses, the imperial government is to consider and deliberate on proper means and ways for the constant maintenance of the regiment and the court of review; which has been done, and seven different points and articles have been handed down by the governor and the regiment for this reason. But since we, also princes, prelates, counts and estates, after diligent, brave and necessary advice and consideration of these articles, have found that the court, which is in part due to movable causes, as was also considered at previous imperial congresses, is highly burdensome, and in part also due to the fact that the court is not only a court of law, but also a court of justice, and in part extensive, so that this time may not be fruitfully acted upon and deliberated by one or more, and the Imperial Regiment and Court of Appeal have therefore undertaken to preserve peace and justice in the Holy Roman Empire. Accordingly, and as a courtesy to the Roman Emperor's Majesty, and for the honor and good of the Holy Roman Empire, and for the maintenance of peace and justice in the Empire, it is hereby granted that the Regiment and Court of Appeal be maintained for two more years, approximately at the rate of half of what has already been paid, and that the first year shall begin on the first day of the next month of May, and that half of the payment of the same year shall be made at the next Autumn Fair in Frankfurt, and the other half at the following Lenten Fair. The payment shall be made in the same manner in the following year, and shall be deposited at any time in the place and at the place designated and indicated beforehand. And nevertheless, in the meantime, such two years shall be considered in other convenient ways, as the

The maintenance of the Regiment and the Court of Appeal shall be carried out by the Estates without complaint.

28. And after an article had been written in the farewell of the next Imperial Diet held here, stating that the Imperial Regiment and Court of Appeal should have been visited and reformed, and that this had no progress for several reasons, and that we, also the Princes, Princes and Estates, subsequently judged and found that due inquisition, visitation and reformation of the same Regiment and Court of Appeal was necessary: So we have united and agreed that we, Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Governor 2c., and the imperial orators and commissaries, instead of and on account of imperial majesty, also our hosts, lords and friends, Mr. Albrecht, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg 2c. , Mr. Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria 2c. , both Electors, our each a Council; and Mr. George, Bishop of Speier, and Mr. Hans, Duke in Bavaria, cousins, both Palatines 2c., of their own persons; our friend, Mr. William, Bishop of Strasbourg, Landgrave in Alsace, and Philip, Margrave of Baden 2c., each of them to appoint a council for such inquisition, visitation and reformation, all of whom will certainly appear here at Speier on the first day of June, and will have complete authority and command from us, the imperial governors and commissaries, as well as from princes, princes and estates, which we also give them here with this farewell, Both the Regiment and the Court of Appeal with the highest diligence of necessity on them now all here by us placed and handed over mandate to investigate, to visit, and to reform to the most diligent and best, according to their discretion, in persons and other defects and infirmities and to put in a good, useful order. But whoever among them refuses and resists such inquisition, visitation, and reformation, or is otherwise found or deemed unfit by them, to remove him or her, and to write to the Electors and Princes, as well as to the districts from which such removed persons would be taken, and to request that other suitable persons be presented in due time in the place of the same removed persons.

(29) The governor and the councillors of the regiment shall also appoint some skilful and prudent persons from the regiment and the Court of Appeal, and order them to draw up the rules of the Court of Appeal from all the decrees, to omit what is superfluous, and to put in order, establish, and rubricate in its place what has been improved. And when this has been done, then to the
Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz, Electors, as the Archchancellor, to inspect and measure the same, and by the same order have it printed and published in the realm, so that everyone may receive the knowledge.

(30) It is also considered good and decided, for highly mobile and brave reasons, and especially in view of the present time and events, that the Imperial Regiment and Court of Appeal shall remain here at Speier for the above-mentioned two years.

31. Item, as hitherto doubted by the jurists, whether a deceased brother's or sister's children should divide the inheritance of their father's or mother's brother's or sister's estate among themselves into the heads or tribes: and therefore in such doubts among the subjects of the Holy Roman Empire many disputes, repugnances and justifications may arise, to their subjects' not inconsiderable disadvantage and harm, and therefore the Roman Imperial Majesty, for the common good, has prevented such quarrels for future justification and the resulting mischief, with our, the Holy Roman Empire's, Electors, Princes and Estates' timely, preceding council, set and ordered: If a person dies intestate, and leaves no brother or sister after him, but his brothers' or sisters' children in unequal numbers, then those children of his brother or sister shall inherit into the heads, and not into the tribes, and shall so succeed to the deceased of their father or mother's brother or sister, and be admitted. And in order that further confusion and judicial quarrels may, as far as possible, be cut off, and that equality may be maintained in this respect throughout the Holy Roman Empire and among the members and subjects thereof, their Imperial Majesty has thereby cassified, abrogated and repealed all and every statute, special charter, custom, usage, ancient usage and liberties, which in some places were found to be contrary to their Imperial Charter, except in the above-mentioned case; but with the following moderation, viz: If in some places in the Holy Empire there has been a special statute, order, or custom that in the above-mentioned case the estate of the deceased shall be divided into the tribes, and not into the heads, by virtue of the now-mentioned statute, order, or custom, and in the same place an inheritance is now to fall, or between [and] the first day of the month of August, coming at the earliest, omitting the same day, by any person's death shall fall, the inheritance shall, after the expulsion of the same, be divided into the tribes, and not into the heads.

In such a case only, and between the first day of August now mentioned, without hindrance of such order of Her Imperial Majesty, the statutes, ordinances, or customs shall be divided. If, however, a case of inheritance in places and ends where no special statute, freedom, order, or custom has yet come to pass in the aforementioned case, or if it has not yet been adjudicated in the first and second or third instances, or if the division has not yet taken place, or if it has come to pass between then and the aforementioned first day of August, or if it will take place thereafter, the distribution and adjudication of the same case shall be governed by the above-mentioned imperial statute. 2c. That therefore we, also Princes, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Estates, unanimously united and agreed to live, comply with, keep and execute this Imperial Constitution and Statute in all its contents; also to proclaim and make known the same to all our subjects before the said first day of August, according to Her Majesty's command, so that each may know how to judge and keep himself according to it.

Item 32: When the imperial government, by virtue of an article in the proceedings of the Imperial Diet held at Worms, inspected the punitive court order, as a form was set up for the time, and has now handed it down to us, we have considered that this matter and order affects human honour, life and property, We have judged and considered that this matter and order affects the honor, life, limb, and property of man, and requires great, brave, and important counsel, and especially because the articles are many, item, the customs and conventions in many places are unequal, and that it should be a perpetual, permanent constitution and statute, and therefore not to be hurried, but to be undertaken with good forethought, sufficient experience, and timely counsel: Accordingly, we, also princes, rulers and estates, have deemed it necessary that each estate take a copy of the same letter, which will examine and assess the necessity, and that each of the six districts, from Our Lady's Day of Purification [2 Feb.Feb.], shall send two skilful, learned, understanding and experienced persons with their advice and discretion to Speier to the imperial government and order them all to submit to and compare with the government such court order, according to opportunity, and to publicize it later.

33 And after the imperial government, for the sake of the coinage, has set up a council on the order made here before at Esslingen, and has now presented the same council to us here. But because such a council is part of every estate

Since the necessity requires good consideration, we have agreed, as well as princes, lords, and estates, that each of us should take a copy of the same advice, consider that of his necessity, and each estate that has to coin should order its mintmaster or other coin experts to act and take advice on St. Jacob's Day at Speier to the imperial regiment for the settlement of a permanent coin in the holy realm. And in order that such an action may be the more fruitful and stately, princes, counts and others who have gold and silver shall first of all, in the meantime of such a day, be subject to the settlement of a permanent gold or silver purchase, and from such appointed day shall dispatch their envoys with full power, to unite with the said Imperial Government and the other envoys for the same gold and silver purchase, so that at least for some years a regular, constant, correct and true coinage may be established and maintained in the realm.

(34) Since the monopolies and large companies, a selfish and unpleasant action, are forbidden in the common imperial laws with heavy penalties and punishments, the imperial treasurer shall proceed and act seriously against the same, as is due in law, so that such is stopped and the common benefit is promoted.

35) And when, in the parting of the recently held Imperial Diet here at Speier, an article was placed to the effect that, by the order then made on behalf of the subjects, nothing shall be taken away or broken from the treaties and orders made by the Swabian Confederation on account of the Bavarian outrage, 2c.., is once again our unanimous resolution, will and opinion that the same article, made for the sake of the subjects in the touched parting, shall be unbreakable for the treaties and orders made by the Swabian Confederation for the sake of the Bavarian outrage, and that no court shall act against the same confederate treaties.

36 Item, after Doctor Batt Weidmann, Hans Melchior, and Hans Heinrich von Morsheim, brothers; Anna von Hagen, Doctor Reinhard Tiels, about kaiserl. Fiscals, abandoned widow; count Bernhards von Eberstein son, count Christoffel von Tengen, doctor Jakobs von Landsburg, doctor Johann von Dockheim, called Fries; Augustin Lösch, Sebastian Schilling, doctor; Caspar Mar, imperial Fiscal, and master Hans Leser, for some outstanding pay, touching from the chamber court, requested, and for Entrich-

We have asked for the payment of the same. If we now deem it fair that each one pays his due wages, but at this time there is nothing available to satisfy them: therefore we have directed them to the old back-digit Chamber Court notices for their payment, and thereupon it is our opinion and order that the Imperial Fiscal shall proceed and act conducively for obtaining and issuing such old back-digit notices, for which purpose the Chamber Court shall also assist him. And what he thus produces shall be paid to the plaintiffs concerned by the collector for the payment of their debt.

37. Item: When at the beginning of this Imperial Diet some princes, prelates and other estates erred in the session and enquiry, which led to a prolongation of the realm's actions and affairs, so that princes, princes and estates, at our friendly request of the governor and commissioners, kept the Imperial Diet's session and enquiry harmless and without any order, We, by the authority of the Imperial Majesty, wish that each of the Princes, Princes, Prelates, and Estates shall not be prejudiced, harmed, or violated in any way in their customary use and justice by such a survey and session, which is not dangerous to this Imperial Diet, nor by the subscription made at the end of this parting.

Imperial Constitution and Statute, how brother's or sister's children of their father's brother or sister's deserted inheritance shall be divided among themselves.

We Carl the Fifth by the Grace of God, elected Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire, in Germania, Hispania, both Sicily, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. King, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy 2c., Count of Habsburg, Flanders and Tyrol 2c., to all and any princes, princes, ecclesiastical and secular, prelates, counts, freemen, lords, knights, servants, captains, governors, stewards, administrators, bailiffs, mayors, judges, courts, councillors, burgesses, municipalities, and otherwise to all other of our and the empire's subjects and faithful, in whatever dignity, state or being they are: As it has hitherto been doubted by the jurists whether the children of a deceased brother or sister should divide the inheritance of their father or mother's brother or sister among themselves into heads or tribes, and therefore in such doubt among our and the Holy Roman Empire's subjects and faithful they should be divided up into tribes.

The fact that we, as Roman Emperors, have graciously seen to it that such disputes, future justifications, and the resulting mischief are to be prevented, is for the common good: That we, as Roman Emperor, for the common good, have graciously seen to prevent such quarrels, future justification, and the resulting mischief, and with our and the Holy Empire's Princes, Princes, and Estates' timely, preceding counsel, have established and ordered it, as we also by Roman Imperial power hereby knowingly order and establish in the above-mentioned case, thus: If a person dies intestate, and leaves no brother or sister after him, but his brother's or sister's children in unequal numbers, that then these children of his brother or sister shall inherit into the heads, and not into the tribes, and shall be allowed to succeed the deceased of their father or mother's brother or sister in such manner. And so that further confusion and judicial quarrels may, as far as possible, be cut off, and equality in this respect be maintained throughout the Holy Roman Empire and among its members and subjects: We herewith, out of our imperial authority and right knowledge, want to condemn and abolish all and every statute, special statute, custom, old conventions and liberties, which in some places have been found contrary to our imperial statute, only in the above mentioned case, which we also herewith condemn, abolish and abolish, but with the following moderation: namely, whether in any place in the Holy Roman Empire there has hitherto been a special statute, ordinance, or custom that in the above-mentioned case the deceased's estate, and by virtue of the statute, ordinance, or custom now mentioned, should be divided into the tribes and not into the heads, and in the same place an inheritance should now come to pass, or between now and the first day of the month Augusti, the inheritance shall be divided according to the special statutes, ordinances, or customs of that place, only in such case, and between the first day of Augusti now named, without prejudice to this our ordinance. If, however, an inheritance in places and at ends where no special statute, freedom, order or custom now applies, has not yet been adjudicated in the first and second or third instance, 1) or the division has not yet taken place, or has fallen between then and the first day of August, or has lapsed thereafter,

1) "geurtheilt" set by us, according to § 31 of the Reichsabschied, instead of: "getheilt".

it shall be held with judgement and decision of the same case contents of this our imperial statute.

2. So that no one may be excused for ignorance of our imperial statutes in decisions, judgments, or otherwise: We herewith order the princes, prelates, counts, lords, estates and all other subjects of our and the empire's spiritual and secular state, who have some authority and subjects in fief or property from us and the empire, or in the empire, seriously to observe this imperial statute of ours, between now and the above-mentioned 1st day of August, for the benefit of everyone. That they publicly proclaim this imperial charter to the best of their ability to all their subjects, dependents, landsmen or backers, and if any of the authorities fail to publish and openly proclaim it between now and the first day of August, or fail to do so between then and thereafter, that nevertheless, on the above-mentioned first day of August, and thereafter, this imperial charter of ours will be considered publicized, opened, and proclaimed by all men, and will also be faithfully observed by all men, and that it will be complied with everywhere without any hindrance. In this you have our earnest opinion. Given in our and the Holy Roman Empire's city of Speier, on the 23rd day of April, after the birth of Christ in 1529, of our Roman Empire in the 10th year and of all others in the 13th year.

Constitution or mandate against the Anabaptists.

We Carl the Fifth by the Grace of God, elected Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire, in Germania, Hispania, both Sicily, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. King, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy 2c., Count of Habsburg, Flanders and Tyrol 2c., do to all and any princes, princes, ecclesiastical and secular, prelates, counts, freemen, lords, knights, servants, captains, bailiffs, governors, stewards, bailiffs, mayors, judges, courts, councils, citizens, municipalities, and otherwise to all other of our and the realm's subjects and faithful, in whatever dignity, station or nature they may be, our friendship, grace and all good.

(1) Reverend and honorable, highborn, dear friends, nephews, grandfathers, princes, well-born, noble, honorable, devout, and faithful! Although it is ordained and provided in common law that no one who has once been

It is forbidden for any person who has been baptized in the first order to be baptized again or a second time, nor to baptize some of them, and especially in imperial laws, to do so is punishable by death. Therefore, at the beginning of the next twenty-eighth year of the lesser number, we, as Roman Emperor, supreme bailiff and protector of our holy Christian faith, by our open mandate, earnestly command all of you, together and especially, to protect your subjects, relatives and dependents from the same insanity and sect of rebaptism that has recently arisen, and their unwilling, seductive and seditious followers, by your commandment, and otherwise in the pulpits by Christian, learned preachers, faithfully and earnestly to remind, admonish, reject and warn them of the penalties of justice in such a case, and especially of the great punishment of God which they have to expect. And against those who are thus declared, found, and entered into such vice and error of resurrection, to proceed with punishment and penance of the law, as is due against each one according to his fault, and therefore not to be tardy, so that such evil may be punished, and other mischief and further development, which otherwise arise from it, may occur and be prevented: We find daily, however, that beyond the common law, even our past mandate, such an old, condemned and forbidden sect of rebaptism, condemned many hundred years ago, is breaking in and getting out of hand the longer and the more troublesome. To prevent such evil and what may follow from it, to preserve peace and unity in the Holy Empire, and also to abolish all disputation and doubt that might follow the punishment of rebaptism: We therefore decree, decree, declare, and declare the foregoing imperial laws, as well as the mandate we have issued and proclaimed thereupon, by imperial authority, perfection, and right knowledge, that all and every rebaptizer and rebaptized person, male and female, of reasonable age, shall be judged and put to death by fire, sword, or the like, according to the occasion of the persons, without first being subjected to the inquisition of the ecclesiastical judges. And the same preachers, captains, countrymen, and seditious agitators of the touched vice of resurrection, even those who persist in it, and those who fall down another time, shall by no means be pardoned in this, but shall, by virtue of this our constitution and statute, be dealt with seriously with the punishment against them.

002 But which persons have their error for themselves?

(1) If any of them, either by themselves or through instruction and exhortation, immediately confess to recanting the same, and are willing to accept penance and punishment for it, and ask for mercy, they may be pardoned by their authorities, according to their station, character, youth, and all circumstances. We also desire that every man shall have his children baptized in youth, according to Christian order, custom, and usage. But those who despise this, and will not do it, as if infant baptism were nothing, shall, if they insist on it, be regarded as Anabaptists, and shall be subject to our Constitution. And none of those who are pardoned for the above-mentioned reasons shall be relegated and expelled to other places, but shall be confined and bound to remain under his authority, who shall then take diligent care that they do not fall away again.

(3) Likewise, no one shall contain, subdue, or deport another subject or relative who has departed from his authority for a declared reason, (2) but as soon as the authority under which the departed person is held becomes aware of such transfer, he shall take strict action against him who has thus departed, according to our statutes, and shall not suffer or tolerate him to do so, all with a penalty of eight. Hereupon we also command all and every one in particular, whatever his dignity, standing or nature, to avoid our severe disgrace and punishment, in the duties and oaths, so that you may be devoted and related to us and to the holy kingdom, and we want all of you, and each of you in particular, to keep such our constitution and statutes of reconstitution strictly, firmly, in all matters and points, to judge, to act, and to execute them negligently; You will also show such obedience in this as you are obliged to do, and the necessity of things for yourselves requires; of this, therefore, we will provide ourselves without doubt, and you will also do our part in this. Given in our and the Holy Empire's city of Speier, on the 23rd day of April, after the birth of Christ, 1529.

4th Thereupon we, Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, 2c., Imperial Majesty's Governor, and we the appointed commissioners, do speak and promise, by virtue of our authority,

1) In Walch: "or Untermahnen"; improved by us according to s 6 of the Reichsabschied.
2) Walch: "to push away"; in § 7 of the farewell: to push forward - to advance.

By reason of the Roman Imperial Majesty 2c. to keep and perform all and every thing above written, and which may touch the Imperial Majesty, steadfastly, firmly, unbreakably, and sincerely, to comply with it strictly and without refusal, and to live, not to do, perform, act, or cause anything to be done contrary thereto, nor to permit anyone else to do so on our account, except all danger. In witness whereof we Ferdinand, supra, have hereunto affixed our seal for ourselves and our co-commissioners.

5. And we Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Lords, also of the Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and of the Free and Imperial Cities of the Holy Roman Empire sent embassies and rulers, hereafter named, do publicly confess with this farewell that all and each of the above written points and articles have been made and decided with our good knowledge, will and counsel, also agreeing to the same all together and especially herewith and in force of this letter; We do hereunto agree and promise in right, good, and true faithfulness, which, so far as each of us pertains or may pertain to his dominion or friend by whom he is sent or held in trust, we will keep and perform truly, steadfastly, firmly, sincerely, and unbreakably, and to the best of our ability comply therewith and live, without any jeopardy.

6th And these are the following written, we, the princes, prelates, counts, lords, and of the holy empire free and imperial cities embassies and rulers. By the Grace of God, we Albrecht, Priest-Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Mainz, Archbishop of Magdeburg, Administrator of Halberstadt 2c., Hermann of Cologne, Archbishop, Duke of Engern and Westphalia, Archchancellor by Italy. Reichard of Trier, archbishop, through Gaul and the kingdom of Arelat of the Holy Roman Empire archchancellor. Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire; all four Electors. On account of Margrave Joachim, Archchancellor, Melchior Barfuß, Commenthur zu Schwarz, and Balthasar Bück. On behalf of the House of Austria, Georg Truchsess, Baron of Walpurg.

7. ecclesiastical princes who appeared in person: By the Grace of God, Matthew, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Salzburg, Legate of the See of Rome. Walther von Cronberg, Administrator of the High Master's Office in Prussia, Master of the German Order in German and French lands. Weigand, Bishop of Bamberg. Conrad, Bishop of Wuerzburg, Duke of Franconia. Henry, coadjutor of Worms, and Ulrich, count palatine. George, Bishop of Speier, Count Palatine.

graph 2c. William, Bishop of Strasbourg, Landgrave of Alsace. Paul, Bishop of Chur. Christoff, Bishop of Augsburg. Bernard, Bishop of Trent. John, Coadjutor of Fulda. Crafft, Abbot of Hirschfeld. Messages of the ecclesiastical princes: on behalf of the archbishoprics and monasteries: The Archbishop of Bremen, Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg. The Archbishop of Bisantz, Bertrandis de Brunis... The Archbishop of Riga, Doctor Matthias Unverfordt. Also on account of the bishops of Tarbat [Dorpat], Oesel, Curland and Reval. Of the bishops of Eistett, Wilhelm von Seckendorf, canon there. Constance, Johann Fabri, Doctor. Of the postulant at Hildesheim, Johann Fabri, Doctor. Freisingen, Matthäus Luchsen, Doctor, Chancellor. Osnabrück, Albrecht, Count and Lord of Mansfeld, and Ludwig Hirter, Doctor. Of the Elected and Confirmed of the Churches of Münster, Doctor Bernhard von Hagen. Doctor Johann Gropper, Bartholomäus von der Leyhen, Cologne Chancellor, Siegler and Hofmeister, and Substitute Hieronymus Angkorn, Doctor, Canon of Cologne. Of the Administrator at Regensburg, Count Palatine 2c, Doctor Augustin Ross, Chancellor. Of the Administrator of Passau, Doctor Stephan Rößlin, Canon there. Of the bishop of Basle, Cornelius von Lichtenfels, schoolmaster, Doctor Johann Fabri, Heinrich von Fleckenstein; all three canons there. Liège, Rupertus Banignister, D. Brixen, Johann Fabri, D. Ratzenburg, Clemens Groß, canon there.

8. secular princes who have appeared in person: By the Grace of God, we Frederick, Duke in Bavaria, Count Palatine on the Rhine, William and Ludwig, Counts Palatine on the Rhine, Dukes in Upper and Lower Bavaria. Otto Heinrich, Duke in Lower and Upper Bavaria, Count Palatine. Erich, Duke of Brunswick. Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick, Philips, Margrave of Baden, Count of Spanheim. George, Duke of Stettin, Pomerania, the Cassuben and Wenden, Prince of Rügen, and Count of Gutzgaw. Secular Princes' Messages: by reason of Johann, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, and Count of Spanheim, Albrecht Than, O. Ludwigen, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, and Count of Veldentz, Wilhelm Seßler, Doctor. Johansen, Dukes of Cleve, Jülich and Berg, Meirich von Thun, Count of Lümburg and Falckenstein, and Johann von Dockheim, called Frieß, Doctor. Albrechten, Duke of Mecklenburg, Friedrich Reifstock, Doctor. of the Duchy of Würtenberg, Doctor Batt Weidmann. Ernsten, Margraves of Baden and Hochberg, Landgraves of Susenberg 2c., Margrave Philip of Baden. Albrechten, Dukes of Mecklenburg, Princes of Wenden, Counts of Schwerin, Rostock and Stargard, Batto of Adeleuesen. Wilhelm, Counts and Lords of Hennenberg, Doctor Peters of Gondelsheim, Court Master. Hermann, Counts and Lords of Hennenberg, his son Bechthold, also Count and Lord of Hennenberg.

9. prelates who appeared in person are: Gerwig, Abbot of Weingarten. Rüdiger, Abbot of Weißenburg. The prelates' messages: Henry, Abbot of Sanct Cornelia Münster, Conrad Schwabach. The Abbot of Reichenau, Johann Fabri, and Petrus Speiser. Of the house of God Rotenmünster, Conrad Mock, Wilhelm von Manderschied. The Abbot of Brune and Stauel, Heinrich Lewensau and Jakob Krel. The Abbot of Rockenburg, Bernhard Besserer and Daniel Schleicher. The Abbot of Petershausen, Caspar Dornsperger. On account of the subsequently named abbots, namely Johann Sebastian of Kempten. Rudolfen of Fridingen, Conraden of Kreisheim, Amanden of Salmansweiler, Hieronymus of Elchingen, Andreas of Ochsenhausen, Peters of Ursin, Johannsen of Rod, Jakoben of Mindernau, Johannsen of Schussenried, Heinrich of Marckthal, Gerwig, Abbot of Weingarten, and Doctor Johann König of Tübingen. The Abbot of Sanct Heimeran at Regensburg, Augustin Roß and Conrad Schwabach. The abbot of the church of Sanct Lutgers at Werden, Meirich von Thun and Johann Gogreve. The Abbot of Murpach, Johann Fabri and Peter Speiser. Of the Abbot of Bechtolsgaden, Simon Reibeisen. Of the abbesses: the abbess of Essen, Caspar Westhausen and Bernhard Schol. Aebtissin zu Obern Münster zu Regensburg, Conrad Schwabach and Heinrich Lewensau. Aebtissin at Gernrod, Michel Hard. Aebtissin of Lower Minster at Regensburg, Augustin Roß and Conrad Schwabach. Abbess of Our Lady of Lindau, Peter Speiser. Aebtissin zu Buchau, Gangolf zu Geroldseck.

10. counts in person: Count Bernhard von Solms, Carl, Wolfgang and Ludwig, Counts of Oettingen. Dietrich, Count of Manderschied; Günther, Count of Schwarzburg; Albrecht, Georg, and Wolf, Counts of Hohenlohe. Hoyer, count of Mansfeld; Philipps, count of Hanau. Adam of Wolffstein. Gangolf zu Hohen Geroldseck. The Counts' Messages: Wilhelms, Counts of Nassau. Philipps, Counts of Hanau. Johann and Antoni of Eisenburg. Eberhard, Counts of Königstein. Philipsen, Counts of Solms. Batten, Counts of Stollberg. Kunen, Counts of Leiningen. Philipsen, Counts of Saarbrücken. Philipsen, Counts of Wiesbaden, has command of Count Bernhard of Solms. Johann, Counts of Wied, Count Dietrich of Manderschied, Johann, Count of

Sein, Dietrich von Stein. Jost, Counts of Holstein, Johann Machtzol; Reinharden, Counts of Bitsch, Jakob von Landsperg. Hansen and Heinrichen, Counts of Schwarzburg; Günther, Count of Schwarzburg; Martin, Counts of Oettingen; Count Carol, Wolfgang and Ludwig of Oettingen. Reinhard and Georgen, counts of Zweibrücken; Wolfgang zu Geroldseck, Ulrich and Julius, counts of Hardeck. N. Hereditary Archbishop in Austria. Georgen von Schauenberg, Count Hans von Schauenberg, his son. Ernsten, Counts of Mansfeld. Josten, Ulrichen and Bernharden, brothers, Counts of Rheinstein. Wilhelm, Counts of Eberstein. Christoffen and Felixen, Counts of Wartenburg. Ulrichen, Counts of Helfenstein; Friedrichen, Counts of Fürstenberg. Hansen den Aeltern, Wölfen, Hansen den Jüngern, and Hugen, Counts of Montfort. Georgen and Christoffen, Counts of Lüpfen. Johann, Gottfrieden and Wernern, Barons of Zimbern. Wilhelm and Georg, Barons of Walpurg, Schwickarden and Sindelfingen, Hans and Marquard of Rinseck, by reason of fine fathers Hansen, and his cousin Ninsis of Rinseck. Gangolf of Geroldseck. Johansen, counts of Oldenburg, Ewald Baumbach; Enno, counts of East Frisia, Johann Hormann. Albrechten, Hansen, Gottfrieden and Bernharden von Wolfstein, Adam von Wolfstein. All the Lords of Blawen, Heinrich Reuß of Blawen. Wilhelm von Rappelstein, Ulrich zu Rappelstein.

11. from the free and imperial cities: Cologne, Johann von Neid, Peter Bellingshausen, Arnold von Siegen. Augsburg, Matthew Langenmantel and Johann Hock. After, Leonhard von Edelband and Peter von Juden. Eßlingen, N. Holderman. Metz, Johann of Nibrücken and Gerhard Danner. Rothenburg on the Tauber, Bonifacius Wernitzer. Worms, Peter Krapff and Johann Glantz, town clerks. Swabian Hall, Antonius Hofmeister. Frankfurt, Philipps Fürstenberger. Ueberlingen, Caspar Dornsperger, Hagenau and Colmar, Bartholomäus Botzen and Hieronymus Boner. Also on account of the towns of the bailiwick, Schlettstatt, Kaisersberg, Münster, Obern Eheim, Weißenburg am Elsaß, Landau, Roßheim and Türckheim. Rotweil, Conrad Mock; Goslar, Christian Balder. Schwäbischen-Gemünd, Michel Rup. Nordhausen, Michel Meienburg. Ravensburg, Johann Krüglin. Wetzlar, Peter von Entzenberg, Thomas von Sandweil, and Stephan Weig. Dortmünd, Dietrich, Count of Manderschied. Offenburg, Johann Gustenhofer, town clerk. Regensburg. Ambrosius Aman and Johann Humel. Leutkirch, Johann Fabri. Friedberg in the Wetterau, Johann Dürplatz, Schweinfurt, Johann
Lortzen. Wimpfen, Peter Berlin. Älen, Hans Decker. Bopfingen, Johann Deubler and Egidius Brommeisen. Kaufbeuern, Hans Ruff. Wangen, Jakob Schnitzer.

In witness thereof we have Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz 2c. Ludwig, Count Palatine on the Rhine, both Electors, on account of our fellow Electors. We Matthew, Archbishop of Salzburg... Weigand, Bishop of Bamberg. Louis, Count Palatine of the Rhine. Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick, on account of us and the ecclesiastical princes. Gerwig, Abbot of Weingarten, for our sakes and those of the prelates. We Bernhard, Count of Solms, and Gangolf of Hohen Geroldseck, for our sake and for the sake of both of them. And we, mayor and council of the city of Speier, for our sake and for the sake of the free and imperial cities, this assembly, affix our seal to this farewell. Given and done in the holy imperial city of Speier, on the 22nd day of April, after the birth of Christ, in the year 1529.

819 Luther's and Melanchthon's concern about Speier's farewell, drawn up on the prince's orders.

From Müller's "History of the Protestant Estates Protestation 2c. Wider den Reichs-Abschied zu Speier", lib. I, cup. 4, s 15, r>. 47, printed in the Leipzig Collection, vol. XXII, p. 24.

(1) First of all, it must be stated how great abuses of the clergy have been, as the Imperial Majesty himself well knows, and against which the Estates of the Empire complained at Worms, and His Majesty promised to abolish them; as Pope Adrian VI himself announced through his "Orator" at Nuremberg that all this evil had come from the abuses of the clergy, and promised to help change them.

002 But since such abuses were so much and so great, and were not changed by those who ought to do them justly, they began to fall from themselves everywhere in German lands, and the clergy to be despised for it; but when the unskilful scribes wished to defend and maintain such abuses in addition, and yet could not raise anything righteous, they made it worse, that the clergy were everywhere thought to be unlearned, unprofitable, even harmful.

People held, and their thing and defence mocked.

3. Such a falling away and perishing of the abuses was already the several part in the pregnancy, before Luther's teaching came; For all the world was tired of the clergy's abuses, and it was to be feared that, if Luther's teaching had not come to teach the people the faith of Christ and the obedience of the authorities, a miserable ruin would have arisen in the German land, for people no longer wanted to suffer the abuses, and wanted a change immediately; so the clergy would not give way or let up, that there would have been no resistance. It would have been a disorderly, tempestuous, dangerous mutation or change (as Muenzer also began it), if a consistent doctrine had not intervened, and without doubt the whole religion would have fallen and the Christians would have become pure Epicureans.

(4) Because such a change came about by force, which no one could resist, and the clergy stubbornly insisted on it and did not want to let up, my most gracious lord nevertheless did so much in the process that he could not nor did he know how to preserve the abuses, and had to suffer, as well as the clergy themselves, that they were despised and fell to the point that his C. F. Grace did not allow any unchristian doctrine to be torn down. For this his C. F. Gn. with a good conscience and with truth, that the cause and guilt of the fallen abuses and despised ecclesiastics on earth is no one but the ecclesiastics themselves, who, although they well knew that the estates of the realm at Worms were complaining about it, and no longer wished to suffer, nevertheless they defended the same with outrage and violence, by much tyranny and clumsy scribes, so that they made the people's displeasure the greater, and sought their own misfortune; This is certainly true, and all Germany knows that it is so.

(5) In such a desolate, wild state and fall of abuses, my most gracious lord has let happen and fall what fell there, and let it be kept for future improvement in H. F. G.'s country, which he meanwhile loves for Christian, as much as he always could, and because H. F. G.'s conscience knows no other way than to be Christian. conscience knows no other than that it is Christian.

If they are divinely ordered, they cannot in any way in good conscience reprove and condemn such things.

6th But now the Speierische Abschied demands that the estates of the realm should leave this doctrine, which H. F. Gnad considers Christian and has also experienced as comforting in this time: so it will not be in good conscience of His F. Gnad that they should grant the "above-mentioned" Abschied: firstly for the reason that H. F. Gnad would thereby act against H. F. Gnad's conscience and condemn the doctrine, which she recognizes as Christian and wholesome before God. conscience, and condemn the doctrine which they know to be Christian and wholesome in the sight of God.

007 Secondly, H. F. Gn. would make himself liable to all those who, according to his example, also condemned such doctrine against their conscience, and thus, over their own sin, complain of innumerable, cruel, foreign sins 2c.

008 Thirdly, neither hath the Lord's grace power to compel any man to raise up the abuses which are fallen, or to receive them, as the Lord's grace hath not been the author or cause of their beginning to fall, 2c. but it is upon every man's own conscience.

(9) Fourthly, it is not possible for H.F. Grace to grant beforehand, or to urge, that the abuses should be restored, for with this H.F. Grace confirmed the unpleasant complaint of the clergy, which was reported and complained of at Worms by the estates of the empire, and thus such H.F. Grace would finally advise against such complaint of the empire at Worms, and to the strength of the complaints of the clergy, which were not in the hands of the emperor. The Emperor's Majesty himself at that time was the only one to have the power to decide against the complaint of the imperial estates at Worms and to strengthen the grievances of the clergy. Majesty himself promised at that time to abolish the same and not to believe that H. F. Gnad. His Grace's opinion, to reestablish or maintain them.

(10) Fifth, that His Grace has not done anything unchristian, His Imperial Majesty can sense from the fact that the Estates of the Realm have not condemned this doctrine, but have put it on the Council, which they would not do if they considered it unchristian. Majesty can sense from this that the estates of the realm have not condemned this doctrine, but have pushed it onto the Council, which they would not do if they held it to be unchristian.

11. so that H. F. Grace, Imperial Majesty please that H. Imperial Majesty does not want to be burdened with such heavy things. Majesty does not want to burden S. F. Grace's conscience with such grave matters. Conscience, unheard matter, which is, however, due to such interrogations and hearings of S. Imperial Majesty. Majesty's interrogations and examinations.

The other estates of the empire also know about this, and because all estates of the empire are waiting for a council, and His Imperial Majesty has also put them off the same. Majesty has also put them off the same: so His Imperial Majesty wants to advise and help that the Majesty would advise and help that Christian peace be promoted in a just and orderly manner, and that the matter be condemned to interrogation, and not so unrecognized, which would be a violent and forced peace, and not a cordial and willing peace.

Hase äs uim parto, seit, ätz eoustzusu.

12) As for the other part, that S. F. G. should be obedient to the imperial majesty's commandment against the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, this S. F. G. does willingly and justly, for S. F. G. neither has nor suffers any of the forbidden teachings in his F. G. lands, nor do they want to have or suffer them, and may S. F. G. well boast with God that such teachings are most powerfully resisted in S. F. G. lands, that, of course, nowhere else are they so strongly resisted. F. G. may well boast with God that such teachings are most powerfully resisted and increased in S. F. G.'s lands, that of course nowhere else is resisted so strongly, and perhaps no one could have resisted; as all the estates of the realm must well know and confess.

820 Jnstrumentum Appellatioms, objected by the protesting imperial estates at the Imperial Diet at Speier Anno 1529. April 25, 1529.

This document was printed soon after it was written. From a print in the Weimar archives reproduced in Müller's Historie, eup. 5, p. 52, and thereafter in Lünig's kpidl. ewlek., p. 777

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. And after the birth of our dear Lord and Saviour, a thousand five hundred, and in the ninth and twentieth year, in the other Roman number, called Jndiction, in the reign of the most noble, most powerful prince and lord, Mr. Caroli the V., elected Roman emperor, at all times ruler of the empire in Germania, Hispania, both Sicily, Jerusalem, Hungary. , elected Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire, in Germania, in Hispania, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. King; Archduke of Austria, and Duke of Burgundy 2c., of our most gracious Lord, and at the Imperial Diet, which was proclaimed in the name of their Imperial Majesty against Speier, on Sunday after Reminiscere, in the early part of the year, are the most illustrious, high-born Princes and Lords, Mr. Johannsen,

Dukes of Saxony and Electors 2c., Mr. Georgen, Margraves of Brandenburg 2c., Mr. Ernsten, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Mr. Philippsen, Landgraves of Hesse 2c., and Wolfgangen, Princes of Anhalt 2c., of our most gracious and gracious lords decreed councillors and commanders, on Sunday Cantate, which was the 25th day of the month Aprilis, in the worthy Mr. Petern Mutterstats, Caplans in the Sanct Johanniskirche there at Speier, dwelling, in now reported St. Johannesgasse, down in a small room, have been gathered together: who, in place of their electoral graces, have hereafter summoned both of us written notaries and witnesses before and to them, and with the presentation of a document, written on several sheets of paper, have told how many excellent and noticeable burdens their electoral and princely graces have suffered, also all of theirs, who now and in the future are related to the preaching of divine word and truth, and with the abolition of ungodly customs, and the re-establishment of Christian ceremonies, would have encountered at the indicated Imperial Diet. Therefore, and on account of such complaints and causes, which their electoral and princely graces have had brought in the touched document, which the aforementioned councils currently have in their hands, their electoral and princely graces are highly and unavoidably urged to appeal from the same actions and the supposed new departure (as noticeably aggrieved) to the highly thought of Roman imperial majesty and a free, Christian concilium 2c. to appeal, as they should and want to do herewith in the best, most constant and strongest way, form and shape, as their Electoral and Princely Graces should and want to do by right and equity, before us aforementioned Notaries and Witnesses (since their Electoral and Princely Graces before and in the presence of Royal Serenity, Imperial Majesty Orators and Commissaries, also of the other princes, princes and estates of the realm, for causes which should be deduced at the appropriate, convenient time, so much need, that the same at present could not nor would not do so), have also requested, requisitioned and desired such of their electoral and princely graces appeal, letter of apostle and farewell, together with lawful appendix and adherence. With reservation, condition and protestation to reduce and increase such their given appeal, also to do and undertake everything else that would be necessary for their electoral and F. G. necessity. And after such report and account, the above-mentioned counsels of their Elector and F. G. have decreed

the same appeal, drawn up on several sheets of paper (as touched upon above), delivered and served to us two Notaries, which, from word to word, follows hereafter:

Appellation.

Since in all the rights described above the means of appeal and remedy for the stay of those who have been complained of, or fear to be complained of in the future, is suspended, and is due to every one, it is also exempted to such an extent that it shall not be resisted by any authority, nor shall it be proceeded against, or acted contrary to, nor attested to.

Therefore in will and opinion, on account of some much high, brave and important complaints, which we, by the grace of God, Johannsen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, Pomerania, of the Cassuben and Wenden 2c. Dukes, Burgraves of Nuremberg, and Princes of Rügen on Oderburg 2c.. Ernsten and Franciscen, brothers, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg; Philippsen, Landgraves of Hesse, Counts of Katzenelnpogen, of Dietz, Ziegenhain and Nidde, and Wolfgangen, Princes of Anhalt, Counts of Ascanien, and Lords of Bernburg, in general and in particular, and our Christian subjects, also in general all those who now and in the future are related to the holy Word of God, at this Imperial Diet, which is taking place in the 29th year of the few number, at this time. The following is a list of those who have met and conceded at Speier in the 29th year of the present Reichstag, by and against the most illustrious, great, venerable, high-born, well-born, noble and worthy Lord Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, Governor of the Empire of the German Nation, Prince and Prince in Hispania, Archduke of Austria 2c.., our special dear lord, uncle and gracious lord, together with the most reverend Roman imperial majesty orators and decreed commissioners, also princes, princes and estates, who have been assembled at this imperial diet at Speier (of whom all dear ones and others' names we hereby wish to have expressed and named in advance) to appeal, provoke and summon, also to do everything and anything else that the rights in the case give us and permit:

We publicly protest and condition at the outset before God and men, to whom this appeal and calling is to be read or heard, that our will, mind, and opinion is not otherwise, nor is it, but only the honor of our people.

To seek the salvation of God Almighty, of His holy Word, and of our souls, even of men, and to do nothing else by it, except what conscience shows and teaches us, and that which we owe to do before God Almighty, but male disparagement, reproach, or contempt, and do justly,

For since the laws, from the fact that nature has wrought a more natural relationship between all men, permit that one should take care of the other, who is condemned to temporal death, even without authority, and should appeal to him on his behalf and do his best: How much more are we, as members of a spiritual body of the Son of God, our Saviour JEsu Christ, and spiritual children and siblings of one of our spiritual and heavenly Father, entitled, due, and fitting to do the same in such a highly important matter, for the prevention of our and our neighbor's eternal judgment, and for the enjoyment and use of this legal protection of ours 1) by our neighbors. And we say to the above-mentioned Royal Serene Highness and Imperial Majesty, Orator and Commissaries, also to the Princes, Princes and the others of the Estates, that they are aware of the noticeable and courageous complaints made by us and ours on our behalf, almost from the beginning of this present Speier Diet to the end, that it has been subjected to, as also (although with the deed alone) happened, the parting, which was decided unanimously at the previous Imperial Diet, for the preservation of peace and unity in the empire in the middle time of the future Concilii or National Assembly, out of many constant and high concerns all here at Speier in the next 26th year. The Council of Europe has unanimously decided, carried out and established, as far as the article of the pending discord in our holy religion is concerned, to change it, even to abolish it completely, and to conclude on several articles and points, so that, if we were in agreement, we would be against the Christian, divine and evangelical doctrine, divine and evangelical doctrine, which we preach and have preached in our principalities, lands, dominions and territories, according to the holy divine Scriptures, and which we recognize and undoubtedly also firmly believe to be God's word and truth, we would be acting, confessing and doing in principle ourselves; Which aforementioned complaints we have presented in writings, also publicly read out, and subsequently had answered to the imperial acts and deeds, and to the following content thereafter:

1) Walch: liberate.

Presented at Speier, publicly read and delivered before Princes, Princes and all Estates, Monday after Misericordias.

Domini [12 April 1529].

1st Most worthy, reverend, high-born, venerable, well-born and noble, dear lords, grandparents, cousins, friends and special ones! Your love and you bear in good remembrance, without doubt, how at the beginning of this Imperial Diet, as Roman. Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, 1) and a document in the form of her Imperial Majesty's Instruction, 2) presented and read to us and all the Estates, that for this reason it has been unanimously deemed necessary and good by your love, us and the said Estates, to decree and establish a committee for the furtherance of the affairs, which committee shall deal with the article touching the discord in our holy faith, 3) should first take it in hand, consider it, and talk about how peace and unity between the estates in the empire could be preserved in the meantime of a conciliation, but to the extent that the first one, namely the help of the Turks, is concerned, as your love, we and other estates, are all well aware of it.

2. So also your beloved, and you others, who besides some of us have been appointed to the committee, know that in the same committee it has been especially considered and held for this: If a measure is not made of the first article mentioned, concerning the discord, that without it peace and unity in the realm would hardly be preserved, that it would also be difficult for the estates of all parts to consent or agree to some help or other, which touches the other two articles written in the instruction, unless each one knew beforehand how he would sit with his neighbor, and how he would have peace with the same; And that therefore the common resolution was in the committee, while it was spoken, and the Instruction also made some report of it, as if the next agreement drawn up here at Speier had been led into a misunderstanding, that on account of such misunderstanding a mitigation and explanation should be made, and understood.

3rd Now we would have completely and undoubtedly provided, touched actions would therefore be to indicated goal (namely, to preserve

1) Document No. 815.
2) Document No. 816.
3) "the other," that is, as the second.

We have found that the articles of peace and unity, in the middle time of the Council, and on the other hand by way of mitigation or explanation, since misunderstanding would have occurred in the next parting, have been judged and promoted in committee, and subsequently by your love and the others, as the estates of the realm; But we have hereafter found that your love and some others of the estates, on such articles as have been brought into a term and now for the second time read to the estates, about all that has been indicated by some of us from the first in the committee and hereafter among the estates to noticeable and unpleasant complaint and inconvenience of this part, as far as the substance of the same is concerned, we think to persevere, notwithstanding that such articles, partly for the aforesaid reasons, are not useful for the preservation of the peace and unity in the realm, and partly also, where otherwise not all, are not a declaration of the next parting made here at Speier, but rather a complete annulment and abrogation of the same.

(4) And although we know that in all this, in order that we may keep ourselves out of due and obligatory obedience to the late, and present, Roman Imperial Majesty, or what we owe to her Imperial Majesty, we shall not be held responsible for the consequences of our actions. Majesty 2c. to keep, or what we have done to her kais. Majesty, as well as the honors, welfare and best of the realm, that we have always done so with completely faithful, willing and ready subservience, so that we know how to precede no one in the special things, even without male diminishment; as we then, to our end and pit, by the grace of God, in all things due and possible to the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, our most gracious lord, to our most gracious Lord, body and estate unsaved, obediently and willingly, and also towards your beloved, as our dear lords and friends, kindly, and graciously to the other estates, willingly and inclined, so these things, as your beloved and you others know, concern and affect God's honor and our souls' salvation and happiness, in which we, for the sake of our consciences, are obligated to regard God above all, that we are completely undoubted, Your beloved and you (as we have also kindly asked, and have graciously and favorably willed) will know ourselves to have apologized to you for not having agreed with your beloved and you, for the sake of the above-mentioned articles, nor for the sake of the majorities, as has several times been the case at this Imperial Diet, to the effect that we, for many brave and moving reasons, may not be guilty of the same.

(5) And that your beloved, and you others, may hear our complaints once more and actually, it is not to be denied that for the sake of doctrine there has been a discord in our Christian religion in many articles for some time; but whence the same arises, we wish to have placed before the judgment of God, to whom all things are knowable, at this time; for only that at the Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg, in the advertisements made at that time by the papal legate, there was a notice of this, which we leave at this time.

6. And although all kinds of ways have been considered and pondered, in the end it has been unanimously agreed that it would not be more convenient to find a measure for the matter on all sides than to make and write out a common, free, Christian council; and this we kindly and in good opinion now indicate, that your beloved and you others, also masculinely, are to take from it, and to remember yourselves, since a part's distance or condemnation of the doctrine, which he leads as Christian and lets lead in fine lands and territories, before such a concilio, might have been considered convenient, tolerable, useful or good, that by princes, lords and estates, together with imperial majesty, every time decreed by the emperor, a concilium should be held. Majesty's orators and commissioners, had not so often been spoken of and acted upon at the previous Imperial Diet.

(7) That on this part, according to the opinion and content of the points, so the discord and peace article half now put, such distance and condemnation meet us and want to be imposed silently, is to be heard from the following statement:

(8) For the entrance understands this opinion, as if princes, princes, and estates had resolved on such a parting, in which resolution we stand like your love and you, and must be meant, as namely, that those who remained with the imperial edict at Worms until now, should and would now also remain with the same until the future Concilio, and hold their subjects to it.

009 Now in the sight of God, for the sake of our consciences, it would be very grievous to us that any one, of high or low estate, should be separated by our joint resolution from the doctrine which we hold to be divine and Christian, and be arrested upon the edict which has been drawn up.

010 Though it be true that it is not ours to plead, neither are we at all inclined to do so, as, out of the said our concurrence, every one of you, according to your love and yourselves
the edict or otherwise, for themselves or with their own. For after the doctrine, wherefore now the disagreement is, in many things against each other, should we be of the opinion with conclusive, then it will be done, and to be laid to our charge, also against our own conscience, to be true, either that we now already judge the doctrine, which we regard as Christian, to be unjust, as then the same from the next following point in these words: 1) "and yet among the other estates, among whom the other doctrine has arisen, and in part cannot be averted without noticeable turmoil, complaint, and danger 2c." from the absurdity of such words; or else we must silently admit and confess that they are rightly founded on both sides, and therefore are not necessary articles or points in the faith, which we do not know how to do at this time (we shall be instructed otherwise in a future Concilio with Scripture).

(11) Thus it would have been such and much more grievous, for the sake of the point touching the mass, for we are in no doubt, your beloved, and you, have heard before this time to the necessity, in what manner our preachers have supremely challenged and laid down the masses, as they have been used and kept for some time, with divine holy scripture. Should we now fall into such a concept, as it is conceived in the case of the masses mentioned, 2) it might be understood differently, as if we were now again opposed to the doctrine mentioned, which we hold to be Christian and constant, and wanted to judge it to be unjust, which, after all, through the bestowal of God's grace, is not at all our mind, nor can it be done with conscience.

012 But that by your love, and you others, the masses mentioned, as they have been kept and used for some time, are meant, and that the term must be understood of them also, we have easily to infer from the fact that the term mentioned is directed to the oter, when the other doctrine (as it is called) arose.

13. And yet it is not unreasonably strange to us that your love, and you, have undertaken to put us and others to this doctrine in the measure of our subjects, which your love and you, in return, would not willingly (nor, we respect it, not at all) suffer for theirs, even if we had provided for it, we should not have been considered unfairly in this, nor should we be considered again, as perhaps your love, and you, in their sovereignties, among their subjects, only on account of the descendants of the people.

1) See Document No. 817, § 6.
2) "geyellen" - to consent. Walch: "gehelen".

To permit the use of both masses, namely the sacrificial and the Christian supper masses, makes it more difficult for us, for the sake of Christ our Saviour's revealed institution, to permit his mass and supper, something which is contrary to this divine institution and which may be based only on custom and the laws of men.

14. Since the doctrine in our part of the world is so founded on divine Scripture that it has been Christian for some time, and the Scriptures have been publicly opposed to such masses, and such articles and doctrines are, for the sake of the piece, not the least thing to be acted upon in a future Christian council: We would not have provided (in view of the fact that the invitation to this Imperial Diet was issued in the name of the Emperor's Majesty, and that the instruction read does not mention this or any other such article) that our previous notice should have been so insisted upon.

15. Although we may publicly preach and hold in our countries and principalities, on account of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour JEsu Christ, there is no need to make a wide announcement of this: Nevertheless, we know (as we have been told before) that for many reasons it is not convenient or tolerable that for the sake of doctrine (if such a decree, as the term implies, is now made at this Imperial Diet), and especially because His Imperial Majesty's decree does not require anything to be done about it. It is easy to consider that, for the sake of doctrine (if such a decree is now being made at this Imperial Diet, as is possible), and especially because His Majesty's decree does not report anything about it, nor have those who are concerned with this matter been required or questioned for this reason; it is easy to consider to what advantage this may be interpreted by all of us, because it has been made unheard and outside the future Council (we do not want to mention any other inaccuracies that may occur because of this).

16. But that also the much reported concept did not want to serve the preservation of peace and unity in the empire in the meantime of the Concilii, is to be taken from this clearly, because the touched concept is able in the first point, that those, who until then stayed with the edict of imperial majesty, now also want to stay with it and no difference would be made how far and whether such obligation should extend to the penalty of the drawn edict or not, should and want to remain so, and no difference would be made how far and whether such obligation shall extend to the penalty of the drawn edict or not, as it cannot be heard otherwise because of the common words, so that the article is written.

017 Forasmuch then as our several ecclesiastics of other sovereignties are ready to keep the said edict.
(after it would not be held by them as they suppose according to the edict) that they subjected themselves and about the next Speier farewell to let them restrain and withhold their pensions and interests: So it is to be considered what would be subjected to the same pretence, which would serve little or nothing for the preservation of peace and unity; which, however, is prevented by the next decree made here at Speier, so that no one is allowed to carry out such or the like oft-reported edicts, because the penalty of the same is "that every authority should live and govern with its subjects in the meantime of the Council, in matters concerning the edict, in such a way as it trusts to do so towards God and the Imperial Majesty. Majesty", has been suspended.

18. From this it is clear to hear that the next parting is more conducive to peace and unity (as it has also been considered to be, by virtue of the Instruction issued to the Roman Emperor's Majesty next to it, by Princes, Princes and Estates), for, as indicated above, this has not remained about the next parting, since it was not due at all, for the sake of our clergy: What do we want now, if the parting is to be judged on the opinion of the term, and we are to be obliged on this part, in the indicated matters, touching the edict, to keep it in such a way, as we do such against God the Most High and in his court, also here in time against Roman. Kais. Majesty, as our ordinary temporal sovereignty. Which also, as now indicated, are not such words as will be passed on in the next parting, thereby being permitted to everyone (as will be spoken by some, to whom the matter is higher, than indeed the necessity is always to the mind), in the meantime of a council to do and carry out everything according to his own discretion or liking, whoever therefore abuses and acts against the next Speier farewell with indicated withholding of the interest, we ourselves give to your love and you others to consider.

19) Item, it is also to be noted from this sufficiently, where the much touched words: "that there is every authority in the meantime of the Concilii, in matters concerning the Edict" 2c. should now be left out, and in the same place such words, as stand in the present term, namely: "And but with the other estates" 1) 2c., should be placed, that such

1) Document No. 817, 8 6. No. 818, 8 4.

The parting made would not be a declaration, but a complete annulment of the substance of the next parting, as far as the discord is concerned, in which we are to be granted, since the next parting by Imperial Majesty's governors and commissioners, by virtue of Imperial Majesty's power and authority, is also unanimous. Majesty's Governors and Commissioners, by virtue of Imperial Majesty's power and authority, and also the Princes, Princes and Estates unanimously, as the letter clearly states, with the obligation to keep the same firmly and unbreakably, and also not to do anything contrary thereto, or to carry it out, or to let it go out, granted, and fastened with signets, will not be unreasonably highly burdensome.

020 And moreover, that we are not afraid to give answer, where it shall be laid upon us, as if the next parting of us should have been drawn into a misconception, and thereby abused: yet we cannot judge, even in ourselves, that the necessity is, or requireth, for the sake of the attracted misconception, to do this now reported annulment of the next parting. For although we have no knowledge of what form such a farewell should have taken to a cover of new doctrines since then: so shall, in our discretion, the same have been mitigated for the time being by such a declaration as is in part set forth in and upon the opinion of our delivered article, which we now wish to have sent and delivered to your love, and to you others, once more to consider, 1) in that the authorities in their superintendencies, and that henceforth further innovations or sects of faith should, as much as humanly possible, be prevented, and that providence should be opposed to them, and that there should be no need whatsoever to rescind the next parting for this reason as touched.

(21) Since we are then also confident of the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, without doubt and in full, that Her Imperial Majesty is aware of the things as they are now partly told by us. Majesty of the things, as they have now been partly told by us and otherwise further reported, moreover that her Majesty's The Imperial Council, which is newer and more recent on the date, together with the imperial power. 2) which was presented at the beginning of this Imperial Diet by her Majesty's governors and commissioners, our special dear and gracious lords and friends, your dear ones, to us and to all the estates, as we do not know any other way, clearly bring that it should be talked about, acted upon and judged

1) Thus set by us according to § 3 of this number, Col. 291. In the old edition this passage reads: "so sollt doch... demselben ... has been mitigated".
2) Document No. 815.

how peace and unity may be preserved in the realm; whereupon also your love, we and the others of the estates, have taken all action, as far as the said peace is concerned; For if it had been the opinion that it might have been considered useful, good or more convenient to leave it at the read instruction of the article half, then such consultation and consideration would not have been necessary at all, the High Roman Imperial Majesty would not have been moved at all to what the read instruction of the article half is able to do.

22. And after all this, to your love, and to you others, as our dear lords, cousins, grandparents, friends, and special ones, is our friendly request and favorable and gracious intention, that the same, and you, take again the opportunity of the things to mind, and the same together with the above-mentioned and the like of our complaints, which we have in the aforementioned points and articles in the adopted agreement, and especially set ourselves on the way that it remains with the next agreement, as the same was unanimously approved, decided, accepted and executed at that time; or on opinion, as your love and you have understood before and have to hear further from this our writing, kindly and good-willingly dismiss, and settle with that, as if your love, and you others, should have the more 3) touched next allhie from imperial. Majesty, made for the sake of your love and all of us, as we do not know, nor in our opinion are we obligated, to grant this action, which affects the conscience and the salvation of souls, for the reasons indicated and others, and beforehand according to form and opportunity.

023 For as to the other articles which have been considered and understood concerning Anabaptists, preachers, and pressures, and the like, for the sake of peace, and also concerning the other two principal articles, we desire and hope to compare ourselves with your love, and with the rest of you, in such a manner, that in none of them, which shall be of benefit, welfare, and good, and especially of peace, to common Christendom and the kingdom of the German nation, shall we be found wanting in equity.

024 All which your love, and you, to our great need and equity, deign also kindly and good-willingly to observe therein.

3) "The more," that is, the majority.

We are inclined to earn your love with special, friendly diligence in all ways, and to recognize you in favor, graces, and all good. And we kindly request and favourably desire your love and your other's immediate, friendly and fruitful answer, and therefore, according to our need, let us further 1) be heard.

25. Although we would have provided ourselves to princes, princes, and estates in a most unwarranted manner, they would have taken our important and significant complaints into consideration, and that no one would have made an unobjectionable, reasonable, and Christian change in the matter, if it were against his conscience, and if it were to be imposed outside, even before a future common and free Christian concilio or national assembly: Their loved ones and they have insisted on their intention, only that the committee which their loved ones and they had appointed for this purpose has subsequently indicated to us how their loved ones and they consider that the articles of Royal Serene Highness, as Imperial Majesty's governor, and of the Holy Roman Emperor, are to be rescinded. Majesty's governor, and her Majesty's appointed orators and commissioners, should be presented, whether her Serene Highness and dear ones might find means for a convenient settlement; which we, and that royal Highness together with the orators and commissioners acted thereon for a convenient settlement, neither displeased nor resented, in friendly confidence that such action would be conducive and prompt and would have been taken.

(26) Nevertheless, and beyond the fact that it was not the opinion at the beginning of this Imperial Diet, the other articles, as expressed in the document which was read and presented in the form of an Imperial Instruction at the beginning of this Imperial Diet, have been proceeded with. Since, however, after several days nothing was announced to us by Royal Serenity and Imperial Majesty's Orators and Commissars as to whether and when we should wait for further action, as mentioned above, we have at the very least twice petitioned Royal Serenity through some of our own to have it proposed and reminded. But when we, by virtue of the aforementioned farewell, which we took with the appointed committee, princes, princes and estates, have provided ourselves with further negotiation and discussion, Royal Serene Highness, together with the orator and commissioners, have on Mondays

1) Here "have" is erased from us.

after Jubilate fifteenth of April, next variously, before princes, princes and all estates, outside and without all further negotiation, also without regard to all our above-mentioned highly urgent complaints, have their opinion publicly read out of a document, without doubt of the opinion, as if their royal Serene Highness and dear ones thereby wanted to have announced and given us a final decision, as hereafter follows:

The alleged decision which His Royal Serene Highness, Imperial Majesty's Orator and Commissaries, had publicly read in the Assembly of the Imperial Estates on April 19.

1. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, Governor, Orator and Commissaries, have sent to the Princes, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, and to the same, their Messages, which they have based on the three Articles of their Imperial Charter. Majest. The Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Emperor, and the Holy Roman Emperor. The document has been submitted to this Imperial Diet in accordance with the imperial decree.

(2) And although in such a document presented to the said princes and princes and the other estates the three articles, the said imperial governor, orator, and commissarii have been presented for the fulfillment of their duties. The three articles have been presented by the said Imperial Governor, Orator and Commissarii, for the fulfilment and satisfaction of the said Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, will and opinion, would be well-founded and sufficient plea: so consider the Imperial Governor, Orator and Commissarii. The Imperial Governors, Orators and Commissars, that Princes and Princes, also other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, and of the other absent 2) embassies, on such their presentation, the articles understood one after the other, according to the timely council held, on account of the occasion of the present lurking and time, according to their highest understanding, to praise and honor God Almighty, and to the said Imperial Majesty for the most submissive obedience, and first of all for the preservation of our Christian faith, also peace and unity in the Holy Empire, have Christianly, reasonably, wisely and well put and written, which also confidently, and especially to those who are without God and the Holy Spirit, have been the most important of all.

2) "Absent" put by us instead of: "Present".

have the imperial majesty before their eyes, understood for it, and would not act contrary to it.

(3) And accordingly the said Imperial Governors, Orator and Commissarii, accept the concept of the three articles of their part. 3. And the said Imperial Governors, Orator and Commissarii, accept by all means the notion of the three Articles of their part given to them by the same Princes and Princes, also the other Estates, accept also in the name of the said Imperial Majesty and for themselves the same Articles, want to have such, content of their power, in place of the said Imperial Majesty, also for themselves, that they are thus brought in the proper form of a farewell, hereby granted; and say from the said Imperial Majesty, also for their own sake, to the same Princes and Princes, and to the other Estates and Messages, their Christian, faithful, and loyal support. Majesty, also on her own account, to the same Princes and Princes, and to the other estates and embassies, for their Christian, faithful, and diligent actions, but, rather, diligent, friendly, and gracious thanks, and wish to praise all of this to Imperial Majesty, who is the only one who has the right to do so. Majesty, who would undoubtedly recognize this with grace towards all the estates, and they, the imperial governors, orator and commissary, would be pleased. They, the imperial governors, orators and commissaries, will also kindly and graciously owe this to themselves.

The same governors, orators, and commissioners have heard the writing that the Elector of Saxony 2c., Margrave George of Brandenburg 2c., Landgrave of Hesse 2c., Prince of Anhalt, and the Chancellor of Lüneburg have handed over to the common imperial assembly against the first article, concerning our Christian faith, and let this writing remain in its value. For since such a document was presented and read to the large committee, then to the Electors and Princes, and to the other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, and since the common assembly, according to the old and laudable custom and usage, and also according to their conscience and conscience, decided on it in the article concerning the faith, which rather was done with their votes, and since they, the imperial governors, orators, and commissars of the Holy Roman Empire, have not yet decided on the matter, they have not yet decided on the matter. The Imperial Governors, Orators, and Commissaries, on their authority, in the place of the most illustrious Imperial Majesty, have also accepted for themselves, as members of the Holy Roman Empire, such an article (as above). The said Elector of Saxony and the other princes and embassies, reported above, who have hitherto sought objection in the resolution of the article indicated, will, reported above, take leave of it, nor refuse that not only (as above) by much the more part of the princes and princes, also other estates of the realm, according to old laudable usage, have acted honestly, properly and as befits, at this imperial diet.
and proceeded; but that also the imperial governors, orators and commissarii have not brought forward and acted otherwise. But that also the imperial governors, orators and commissioners have not brought forward and acted anything else, nor do they continue to do, act, approve and decide, except that they, in virtue of their above-mentioned authority, have good reason, power and right, and know how to answer well and sufficiently against the said imperial majesty. Accordingly, the imperial governors, orators and commissioners, princes and princes, and the other estates of the empire have not wished to act in a friendly and gracious manner in response to this document.

5th And when we did not provide ourselves with the same, and therefore escaped to a short conversation with each other, and did not at all suppose that their Royal Highnesses and Commissaries would not have tarried a little while with the said Orator and Commissaries, so that we could have held a short conversation and again presented our need to their Royal Highnesses and Lords, also Princes, Princes and Estates: yet their Royal Highnesses and much-reported Orators and Commissaries are still not satisfied. However, their royal highnesses and much-reported orators and commissioners, our unexpected, have risen, and from the assembly of the kingdom's estates, have suddenly departed from the house. Although we have also asked their Royal Highnesses and Lords most kindly, through some of our counsellors whom we have sent to their Highnesses and Lords, to be unburdened, next to Princes, Princes and Estates, to hear again our need for the read lecture, their Highnesses and Lords did not want to give it to the Orator and Commissars, but the answer fell to ours that the articles had been decided 2c. Are therefore against the supposed decision, which was taken by the above-mentioned estates by virtue of a presumed and yet quite unofficial, insignificant and non-binding majority, and what with royal highness, also of the orator and commissioners, the above-mentioned read opinion and answer to it further took place, to publicly protest before princes, princes and estates, and to hand over the same in writs; which protestation of harmless content follows hereafter expressed:

Protestation before Electors, Princes, and Estates, publicly read and delivered to the species of the realm.

1. your dears, and you dear cousins, grandparents, friends and others, know what complaints we have made orally and in writing during the past days of this Imperial Diet against several points in the article on the preservation of peace and the protection of the people.

Conciliation, on account of the pending discord of religion in the realm, meanwhile of the Concilii, have had presented, and although we, considering that we have indicated NOTHING, but what our conscience for God's honor, praise and sanctification of his name, also of said peace and conciliation on account of the highest unavoidable need in the realm, the highest unavoidable necessity would have provided us, your love, and you others, would have made the ways, that we could have compared ourselves with your love and you others for explanation of the next Speierian farewell, where the same should have been abused by unequal understanding, with good conscience and without burden; so that the reported next farewell would otherwise remain in esse and its substance, as it had been decided unanimously before; As then also we Duke John, Elector of Saxony, at the proposal of the great committee, have conceived and thereupon again delivered to the reported committee a different opinion, concerning the claimed abuse and preservation of the reported peace, and let it be handed over to your love and you next elsewhere, in the confidence that the same concept would have been considered and accepted by your love and you for an equal and different explanation.

2. 1) But because we have found that your love and you seem to persist in their intention, and because of the brave causes and complaints which we have now and everywhere again raised and renewed, both of us want to do so because of our consciences, also that such of your love, and your, nobility, on account of the above-mentioned pending discord, for the preservation of peace and unity, in the meantime of the Concilii, does not in any way want to comply, nor to do, that we should heal or consent to it; To that, that we, after the form of the bargain, and before about the above touched next Speier farewell, the same are not obligated, especially without our consent, from reported next allhie at Speier made and sealed farewell, by reason of the hereafter described strong binding clauses and words, so at the end of the same farewell are written, namely: 2) "Thereupon we, Ferdinand, Prince and Jnfant in Hispania, do speak and promise" 2c., "And we Princes, Princes, Prelates, Counts.

1) This paragraph was included by Elector John and Landgrave Philip of Hesse in their letter, by which they made the protestation known in their lands. See Document No. 822, § 3.

2) Towards the end of the 818th Documents, U 4 and 5.

and gentlemen" 2c.: We therefore consider that, for the sake of the much-touched grievance, our high and unavoidable necessity requires us to publicly protest against your love and yours, as null and powerless on account of the reported next parting, and to publicly protest our, and also ours and our men's, unallied undertakings, as we also do herewith at present, and that, for the aforementioned reasons, we do not know, cannot nor may heal, but consider the report of your love and your intention to be null and unallied, and you, and nevertheless wish to keep, live and govern ourselves in the matters of religion, in the meantime in the aforementioned common and free Christian Concilii or National Assembly, by means of divine help, by virtue of and in accordance with the much touched next Speierian farewell, in our sovereignties, also with and with our subjects and relatives, in such a way as we have done in the face of God, the Almighty, and the Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Emperor. Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. What also concerns the ecclesiastical interest, rent, validity and tithe, and the peace, and is written and expressed in the much reported next Speierische Abschied, we also want to show and keep ourselves in all ways unobjectionable. Thus, as far as the following points are concerned, such as the reopening and the printing, as we are all understood at this Imperial Diet, we want to be in agreement with your love and you, and know how to keep to the contents of the same points in all respects.

3. And after all this, to your love and to you is our friendly request and gracious intention that you note this protest of ours for our unavoidable necessity, and that you remember it, and especially that you be mindful of where such an opinion, as your love and you have made, is to be placed at the end of this Imperial Diet, as we have not provided for it at all, so that the content of our protest as indicated may be included and placed next to you; and are caused to submit our present protestation, together with our complaints, which we have submitted in writings against such article, to the Imperial Majesty, and also to have it otherwise publicly issued, so that men may have and receive knowledge that we and why in such opinion have not been resolved, but have publicly protested against it before your love and you; we also reserve the right to further extend our complaints and protestations,

3) Walch: yours.

and to let us hear of the same against your love, and you others, also otherwise for our need.

004 All this your love and you others desire in the best, and as reported, to our great need, and not otherwise understood: we are kindly deserving of your love, and inclined to recognize towards you others with favorable and gracious will.

5. And that the Royal Serene Highness together with the Orator and Commissars, also Princes, Princes and Estates, may be reminded of our complaints once again and in abundance, whether their Royal Serene Highness and dear ones, also Princes, Princes and Estates of the Realm, would have wanted to be softened and moved once again to consider the matters further and to that end, so that we on all sides may come to a fair and unencumbered settlement of the conflict that has occurred: So we, the above-mentioned, have had our complaints, with further necessary extension and attached protestation, drawn up and put in writing, and have dispatched some of our counsellors to present them in writing to Royal Serene Highness, and to the much-affected Oratori and Commissars; as then happened. But the same our deputies have reported to us on their return, although Royal Serene Highness indicated that she had taken our necessity, written in writings, in the first instance into her Serene Highness's hands: so she would not have wanted to send it to them again, and to keep it for the indicated further approving movement with her Serene Highness and the Orator and Commissars. Also, since ours complained to take back the much reported document without and outside of our command, but deposited it in the king's chamber, it was nevertheless sent back to us by several royal sovereigns for previous complaints. What we have also reported and objected to in such writings is to be heard from the contents of the same writings subsequently recorded.

The complaint and protestation otherwise drawn together, and delivered to royal highness, the imperial orator and commissaries.

1. noble king, also most reverend, reverend, highborn, venerable, wellborn and noble, dear, gracious lords, grandfathers, cousins, brothers-in-law, friends, and special dear ones! After we have, at the request of the Roman Emperor's Majesty, our most gracious Lord,
and in addition to your Royal Serene Highness' friendly description, to her Majesty's submissive obedience, and to your Royal Serene Highness' friendly and official favour, also for the benefit of common Christendom and the Holy Empire, here to this Imperial Diet, and now, besides your beloved ones and you the others, hear the read Instruction together with the Letter of Authority in Imperial Majesty's name (placed on your Royal Serene Highness and other Commissaries ordered by Her Imperial Majesty), and in addition to this, we have diligently examined the Imperial Majesty's writ of summons of this Imperial Diet and have found that the matters have been directed by inconvenient practices to the effect that the article in the decree of the Imperial Diet held before us, concerning our holy Christian faith and its religion or ceremonies, should be set aside, and against it other, quite burdensome articles should be placed.

(2) However, since Your Royal Serene Highness, and others assigned to Your Royal Serene Highness, as Imperial Majesty's Governors and Commissars, also all Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Realm Serene Highness, as Imperial Majesty's Governors and Commissaries, also all Princes, Princes and Estates of the Realm, and of the said Article, at the Imperial Diet held here at Speier, for good Christian reasons, for the preservation of peace and unity in the Holy Realm, have unanimously agreed and united, the contents of which, as hereafter follows: That in the meantime of a General Council or National Assembly, every Prince, Elector, and estate of the Empire may live, govern, and hold with his subjects "in matters which the edict issued by the Imperial Majesty at the Imperial Diet of Worms may concern", as each one hopes to do against God and the Imperial Majesty. Majesty hopes and trusts to answer for. And now Your Royal Serene Highness, as at that time and now Imperial Majesty's Governor, together with other co-commissioners assigned to her aforementioned, in virtue of her then transferred (signed and sealed with Imperial Majesty's hands) power, have spoken and promised in the resolution of the above-mentioned farewell on account of Roman Imperial Majesty, to keep and perform all and every thing written in the said farewell and which may touch the Imperial Majesty, firmly, unbrokenly and sincerely, to comply with it and live it straightforwardly and without refusal, not to do anything contrary to it, to carry it out, and to act or let it go out, nor to allow anyone else to do anything on their account, except all danger. Likewise, your beloved, we, and other princes, sovereigns,

Prelates, Counts and Lords, also of the Electors and Princes, Prelates, Counts, and of the Holy Roman Empire free and imperial cities sent embassies and rulers, named in the parting, therein publicly confess that all and every written points and articles are made and decided with all our good knowledge, will and counsel, that also we all have agreed to the same together and especially in virtue of the letter, and in right, good, true faith have spoken and promised to keep and perform all the points and articles written in the parting, as much as to each his lordship or friend, by whom he is sent or trusted, concerns or may concern, true, steadfast, firm, sincere, and unbroken, and to comply and live to the utmost of our ability without danger. As then the several times reported agreement of the last held Imperial Diet is thus documented and sealed by Imperial Majesty's Governors, Princes, Princes and other Estates of the Realm, holds such with clear, expressed words in itself, wants and is able.

(3) Thus, in consideration of this previously established, obligated, documented, and sealed parting, we have, also for the following reasons (which are then indicated to your Royal Highnesses and to you in writing on the twelfth day of this month of April), declared that we are in agreement with you.Dear Sir, and to you the others, on the twelfth day of this month of April, partly also indicated in writings), we neither can nor may consent to the abrogation of the preceding article unanimously granted and obligated to be kept, nor to the mitigation thought to have been made therefor (and yet in itself none).

(4) Namely, first, for the well-founded reason that we undoubtedly believe that Your Imperial Majesty, as a noble, just and Christian Emperor, our most gracious Lord, also Your Royal Serene Highness and other of your fellow Commissioners. Majesty as a laudable, just and Christian Emperor, our most gracious Lord, also your Royal Serene Highness, and other of your fellow Commissioners, the same also the several part of your and the other dear ones, are nothing less than we, of the Imperial and Royal, Electoral, Princely and honorable, sincere, constant mind and will, and honorable, sincere, constant mind and will, what all of them (as above mentioned) have once and with us unanimously granted, obligated, committed and sealed, thus according to the letter, to keep steadfastly, firmly and unbreakably, to carry out, and therein not to brood at all, nor to be contrary to it with intent, nor to do it, in which we now not only agree with our, but first of all with Your Imperial Majesty, but also with Your Royal Majesty. Majesty, and also of your Royal Serene Highness, dearest and all our honour, praise, glory and favour.

005 Secondly, we also know such things, as is reported before and after, with good reason.
We do not know against God the Almighty, as the one and only Lord, Ruler and Sustainer of our holy, Christian, beatific faith, nor against Imperial Majesty as a Christian Emperor. Majesty, as a Christian Emperor, in no way.

6th For although we know that our forefathers, brothers, and we, in all that we owe and are bound to obey the late and present reigning Roman Imperial Majesty, or to obey her Imperial Majesty, we do not know that our forefathers, brothers, and we, in all that we owe and are bound to obey the late and present reigning Roman Imperial Majesty, or to obey her Imperial Majesty. Majesty, or to her Imperial Majesty and the honour of the Empire. Majesty and the Empire's honour, welfare and best, that our forefathers, brothers and we have done so with whole, faithful, willing and ready subservience, so that we know how to give preference to no one in nothing, even without male diminution, for our glory, as we do now to our end and pit, with the help of divine grace, we are willing and inclined to be obedient and willing in all things due and possible to the Roman Imperial Majesty, as our most gracious lord, of unsaved body and estate, also to your Royal Serenity and love, as our dear and gracious lords, grandparents, cousins, brothers-in-law, friends, and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, in a friendly, gracious, and unanimous manner: These are such things, as your Royal Serenity, beloved, and you, the others, know, which concern and pertain to the glory of God and the salvation and blessedness of every soul, in which we, by the command of God, for the sake of our consciences, declare the same our Lord and God to be the highest King and Lord of all lords, in baptism and otherwise by his holy divine word, we are obligated and indebted above all things, in the undoubted confidence that your royal majesty, beloved, and you, the others, will (as we have also kindly requested before) kindly graciously and benevolently that we do not agree with your Royal Serene Highness, dear ones, and you others, for the sake of the above-mentioned articles, nor do we want to obey the majority of them, as has been done several times at this Imperial Diet, in consideration and respect that we want to obey this, due to the previous Speierian imperial treaty, which especially in the mentioned article clearly shows that such article was decided by a unanimous union (and not only the several parts); Therefore, such a unanimous resolution shall not, can not, or may not be changed, otherwise than by unanimous consent, for reasons of honor, equity, and right,

Together with this, that even without this, in matters concerning God's honor and our souls' salvation and happiness, each one must stand before God for himself and give an account; so that no one can excuse himself from this place on the basis of another's doing or deciding, and are not obligated to do so for other honest, well-founded, good reasons.

7. And so that your Royal Serenity, dear ones, also you, the others, and other men, to whom this action may reach, may have our complaints, also reason and causes (why we cannot compare ourselves in touched matters with your Royal Serenity, dear ones, and you, the others, this time) again and actually heard: it is openly in the day, and not to be denied, that for the sake of doctrine in our Christian religion, on account of many pieces and articles, there has hitherto been discord, but whence such discord has been caused and flowed, that God knows first of all, of which court we also set all things at home, and has been partly done and handed over at the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg by the Papal Legate, according to his advertisement and instruction, 1) at that time, and also otherwise known by many Princes, Princes, and other estates of the Empire, which are also partly yours; as then at the reported Imperial Diet at Nuremberg the secular imperial estates recorded all our complaints in eighty articles, 2) and handed them over to the said papal legate, which also went out publicly in print before, as then the same complaints and abuses are not yet over, and many more are before us.

8. And although at the same time and afterwards, also now, all kinds of ways were thought of here, it was nevertheless always considered at all imperial congresses that no more convenient means and measure could be found for the matters on all sides than that a free, common, Christian concilium, or at least a national assembly, would be made and announced as soon as possible; and this we now point out to no other than faithful, Christian, friendly, official good opinion, and therefore that your Royal Serene Highness, dear ones, and you the others, also manly, may take from it and remind yourself, when it is proper or due, to lead a part distance or condemnation of the doctrine (belonging to God's glory and the souls' salvation and blessedness), which he considers to be Christian, and in his lands and countries to be a part of it.

1) The 718th document in the 15th volume of our edition.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XV, no. 722.

3) before a free Christian general concilio, that by imperial majesty decreed governors, commissaries, oratores, also princes, princes and other estates of the empire would not have been and still would not have been so often and stately set and acted by reported concilio to interrogate and act the ambiguous (as doubtful doctrines and things), of which they themselves are not certain.

(9) That we have now encountered such a thing in our part, according to the content and opinion of some points and articles (which are set up for the sake of this discord in faith and peace), and that it was not only silent but also evident that it should be laid down, is enough to be noted and understood from the following statement:

10. For so some in the committee, in their first proposed, and on the tenth day of this month of April, again overlooked, and also in some other pieces changed, have set that princes, princes, and other estates (among which we are understood and meant to be the same as your beloved ones, and you the others) have now decided with each other that those who have remained with the (preordained) imperial edict until now, now for the sake of this also remain with the same edict until the tenth day of this month of April, have now decided here with each other that those who have remained with the (preordained) imperial edict until now, should and want to remain with the same edict until the future concilio, and keep their subjects to it 2c., that we, as those who cannot keep or execute such edict in all things with a good conscience, as was considered at previous imperial congresses, not only with us, but also with more other imperial estates, would be extremely burdensome and could not be justified before God, to separate anyone of high or low rank, by our joint decision, from the doctrine which we, from a thorough report of God's eternal Word, undoubtedly consider to be divine and Christian, and against our own conscience, as if it were obvious, to penetrate under the edict which has been drawn up.

(11) But we are not at all disposed to dispute how your Royal Highness, or any of your loved ones, may hold it. 11. But we do not at all submit to dispute how your Royal Serenity, or any one of your loved ones, and you the others, will hold it, outside of our settlement or resolution, according to the edict or otherwise, for themselves and with theirs; only that we daily and cordially pray God that his divine grace may enlighten us all to his and our own right, true knowledge, and give his Holy Spirit to guide us into all truth, so that we may come to the unanimity of a right, true, loving, beatific, Christian faith.

3) in the old edition of Walch: "gladly", which will be read from "geen" (to go). In the parallel passage Col. 292, § 6: "lead".

Faith come through Christ, our one and only mercy seat, mediator, advocate, and Saviour, amen.

(12) For after the disagreement has been made public, and, as stated above, has been made known in part by the opposing party, that it has arisen from their cause, that it has also been admitted and not denied by the reported opposing party that the doctrine is just among us in many respects (which the imperial edict also touches upon), and only in some points and articles is in conflict with one another, it is easy for the manly and honorable mind and spirit to judge that if we should decide upon your royal sovereignty, your love, and your opinion of the others, with your royal sovereignty, your love, and you the others, that this should be the result and that we should decide upon it with your royal sovereignty, your love, and you the others. If we, your royal majesty, your love, and the opinion of the others, should decide with your royal majesty, your love, and you, the others, that it would result and be imposed upon us that we, against our own conscience, now judge the doctrine, which we have hitherto undoubtedly considered Christian, and still consider to be so, to be unjust, because we have decided that the imperial edict shall stand against it.

(13) Which is still more clear from the appended point of contradiction, which thus reads: 1) "And among the other estates, among which the other doctrine has arisen, and in part cannot be averted without noticeable uproar, complaint, and danger, yet for this all innovation shall be prevented, as much as possible and humanly possible, until the future Council, How then it may be argued and said that we have confessed by such a parting, that our Christian doctrine, opinion, and attitude are so wrong and so formed, if they want to be stopped without noticeable turmoil, trouble, and danger, that it should be done justly, or at least we must tacitly admit and confess that we do not have rightly founded or thus necessary points and articles in the faith: which, however, (for we shall be directed otherwise by holy, pure, divine, biblical Scripture at a future Council,) we neither know how to confess nor to do at this time.

014 What else could this be, but to deny, not only implicitly, but publicly, our Lord and Saviour Christ, and his holy word, which we have without doubt pure, clean, pure, and right, and to give the Lord Christ cause to deny us also before his heavenly Father, and not to confess that he hath delivered us from sins, death, the devil, and hell; as then he hath delivered us from all them that believe him and his holy word?

1) Document No. 818, s 4.

not freely and openly confess before men, the gospel dreadfully threatens; so the right confession is not only in mere words, but in deed, as may be further explained for the sake of necessity.

15. To what noticeable and condemnable annoyance and apostasy such a thing would be, not only among our Christian, but also among our good-hearted subjects, if they heard that we had decided with your Royal Serenity, dear ones, and you, the others, that you should persevere with the edict, and that your subjects should also keep to it; Thus, although God Almighty enlightens someone to the knowledge of his holy and only saving word, that he or they should not or may not accept the same, it is not difficult for every Christian man of good character to consider and recognize this; as some of the authorities of your part would also like to presume against their subjects that we have decided on such a thing with your royal majesty, dear ones, and you, the others, therefore they must keep and do it.

16. Where we also decide with your Royal Serene Highness and you, the others, that those who have so far remained with the Edict should also remain with it until a future Council, we confess, as reported before, not only that your part's opinion is just, but also that the Edict would and should still be in force, which has been suspended and repealed by the previous Speierian Imperial Decree, as is evident from all actions; so that in such matters, touching the edict, each imperial state may hold, live and govern for itself and its own, as it hopes to answer first to God and Imperial Majesty. Majesty; therefore, we can no longer be burdened with such a yoke of the edict that is not our fault. We are also in no doubt that it is Imperial Maj. Maj.'s will, mind, or opinion, as we then have to do, live, govern, do, and leave our teachings, life, and actions, in such a way against God Almighty and Her Imperial Majesty as a Christian Emperor. Maj. as a Christian Emperor, on a true and thorough report of the matter.

(17) Thus, for the sake of the article concerning the Mass, it has such and much more difficulty, for we have no doubt that Your Royal Serenity, beloved, and you, the others, have heard and heard before this time, to the necessity of it, in what way our preachers and teachers have used and said the Pontifical Masses, as they have been used and said for some time, with holiness,

The Lord has also set up the noble and delicious supper of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is called the evangelical mass, according to the institution and example of Christ, our only Master, and also according to the use of his holy apostles. If we should now approve or consent to such a concept or resolution, as the one in the committee, for the sake of the Mass, again no other thing would be understood, than that we would be contrary to our preachers' teachings, which we nevertheless consider to be Christian and constant, in the piece as well as in previous ones, and would help to judge them as unjust, which, after all, by the bestowal of God's graces, is not at all our mind, nor can it be done with a good conscience. Your Royal. Your Serene Highnesses, dear ones, and you, the others, yes, men, may well think if we were to have two mutually repugnant masses celebrated in our cities, towns, and territories, although the papal mass would not be against God and His holy word, which may never be preserved, that nevertheless, among the common man, especially among those who have a right zeal for God's honor and name, "nothing less than repugnant preaching," repugnance, rebellion, indignation, and all unhappiness would follow, and would serve neither peace nor unity.

(18) But that your Royal Serene Highnesses, dear ones, and you, the others, mean the touched Papal Masses, as they have been held and used for some time, and that the term must be understood of the same, we have to assume easily from the fact that the reported term is directed only to the places where the other doctrine (as it is called) originated, and not at all to your Royal Highnesses, dear ones, and your, the others, authorities and territories; and therefore we are not unreasonably disconcerted that your Royal Highnesses, dear ones, and you, the others, do not understand the term. Serene Majesty, beloved, and your, the other, authorities and territories; and therefore we are not unreasonably disconcerted that your Royal Serene Majesty, beloved, is the one who is responsible for it. Serene Highnesses, dear ones, and you, the others, are noble to set us and others, who adhere to this doctrine (that is, the pure, unadulterated Word of God), in the one measure, for the sake of our subjects, and to make order and regiment in our cities, towns and territories, which your Royal Highnesses, dear ones, have done. Your Serene Highnesses, dear ones, and you, the others, would not like to suffer in the opposite case, even if we respect it, so you should consider the equality and be much less against it, that we join with ours in our towns, villages, authorities and territories of the supper of Christ, as the evangelical and only in divine Scripture.
The Holy Mass, according to the revealed and irrefutable institution of our Saviour Jesus Christ, shall be unanimously used by you. For you would not like or tolerate that your loved ones, and you, the others, in their cities and towns, should be prevented from celebrating the papal masses, or anything else of the kind, which is contrary to the divine institution, as well as to the use of all his holy apostles, and which is based solely on human poetry and invention, or that you should prevent it in any way.

19 Because of this, and because the doctrine on our part in our lands and authorities is founded on divine, unconquered Scripture, against the papal masses, as mentioned above, and because such an article is not the least that is necessary to be acted upon in a Christian council, we would not have allowed ourselves (in addition to the fact that the invitation to this Imperial Diet was issued in the name of the Emperor and went out, which is also more recent in date than the forewarned Letter of Authority and the Instruction, nor do the Instructions read to us report anything about these or other such articles). Maj.'s name, which is also more recent in date than the aforementioned Letter of Authority and the Instruction, nor the Instruction read out in the same way, report anything about these or other similar articles), we would not have provided at all that our notifications and Christian reminders made many times before should be adhered to in such a way.

20. Although it is publicly evident what we preach and have preached in our countries and authorities on account of the holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour JEsu Christ, that for this reason it is necessary to make a wide announcement: Nevertheless, we know once again, as we have had it said before, from many misgivings and good Christian causes, that it is not convenient or tolerable that for the sake of doctrine (so contrary to it) such a decree should now be made at this Diet, and especially because the Emperor's decree does not allow anything to be done about it. Maj.'s letter does not report anything about it, that even those who touch the same matter have not been required nor heard; and it is truly to be moved and considered, if such grave and important articles were to be made outside of the future Concilii, or were to be subjected to a finding or order therein without a necessary and due hearing of all those who touch the matter, to what harm and injustice such a decree would cause Imperial Maj. Majesty, Your Royal Serene Highness, Dearest, and to us and other estates of the realm.

Item 21, as further set forth in the committee's term, 2) that the preachers should preach the holy gospel.

1) In Walch's old edition: "unseemly".

2) Document No. 817, § 8.

If we were to agree in all parts as to what the true holy Christian church is, we should preach and teach the gospel according to the interpretation of the Scriptures, approved and accepted by the holy Christian church. For this reason, however, there is not the slightest dispute, and no certain sermon or doctrine, except to remain solely in the Word of God, as also, according to the command of God, nothing else is to be preached, and since one text of holy divine Scripture is to be explained and interpreted with the other, as also this same holy divine Scripture is found in all things necessary for the Christian people to know, in itself clear and loud, to enlighten all darkness: We intend, then, with the grace and help of God, finally to abide by this, that only God's Word and the holy Gospel of the Old and New Testaments, written in the biblical books, be preached purely and unadulterated, and nothing contrary to it; For in this, as in the uniform truth and the right guide of all Christian doctrine and life, no one can err or be lacking, and he who builds on it and remains there will stand against all the gates of hell, even though all human additions and trinkets must fall and cannot stand before God.

22. But that the aforementioned concept is neither conducive nor conducive to the preservation of peace and unity in the empire, in the middle of the time of the Council, but rather strictly contrary to it, is also clear from the fact that, as reported above, in the first point it is stated that those who until now have remained with the imperial edict are now to remain with it, that those who until now remained with the imperial edict shall and want to remain with it, and no distinction is made therein as to whether and to what extent such obligation shall extend to the penance of the cited edict, as, according to the common words, it cannot be understood otherwise.

(23) When some of our clergymen were already encountered by other authorities, under the pretense of the edict mentioned, because they, for the sake of their conscience, based on the Word of God, did not comply with the edict, they were permitted to take and hold against them, by force and against the law, their tithe, rent, interest, debt, inheritance, and other things, located in other jurisdictions and territories, belonging to our subjects, over the previous Speierian imperial treaty. And it is to be well observed what further such things, under the same assumed pretence, might be done, and give cause for counteraction; that ever little or nothing might prosper for the preservation of peace and unity, to say nothing of it, if anyone of your part would dare, in the pretence of the edict and supposed

We are not to be careful and disregardful, as a punishment for acting violently against ourselves or against others of our part, and for supposedly doing what is against God, His holy Word, our souls, and our good conscience. But everyone can well consider what is due to a Christian authority in such a case, for the preservation of God's word, honor and name, as well as for the pacification, protection and protection of themselves and their subjects' souls, bodies, lives and goods, for which reason it is only right in such cases to remain with the article written in the previous Speierian imperial treaty, which suspends and revokes the edict for the sake of peace and unity, as well as for other good Christian reasons.

(24) And from all this, it is now noted and publicly proven that the previous Speierian imperial treaty is more conducive and conducive to peace and unity than the concept of the aforementioned article; as such a treaty, by virtue of the Instruction then issued to the Imperial Majesty, has been considered by the Princes and all other estates of the realm to be a treaty of peace and unity. Majesty, by Princes, Reigning Princes, and all other estates of the realm: And if, in spite of such a previous legal agreement, in which the imperial edict, as mentioned above, was suspended, it did not remain, or was omitted, in the supposed appearance of the same, to take and hold back ours by force, or without counsel, in other territories of authority; What would now happen to our repugnants, who, in part, without this, seek displeasure, quarrels, strife, and no peace, if the door of the edict were opened to them again, as the term set forth would have it, and the former peaceful Speierian farewell were taken.

(25) Nor can Your Royal Serene Highness and you, the others, be sustained if the words, understood in the previous Speierian imperial decree, that each imperial estate may live, govern and hold with its subjects, in the meantime of the Council, in matters concerning the edict, as it hopes and trusts to do against God (the Most High and in His court), also here in time against Imperial Majesty (as our ordinary temporal sovereignty), are not now set forth. Majesty (as our ordinary secular sovereignty), but that the points or articles notified above be set so that the previous imperial decree is not thereby abrogated, but declared alone; for it would be publicly a complete abrogation of the previous article, and all Christian imperial estates would no longer be permitted to keep themselves in all things according to God's word and their right good conscience, as they may well answer for such against God and Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and may not be justified by any reason.

that they are such words as should allow each one, in the meantime of a council, to do everything according to his own discretion and pleasure, as some (who no doubt do not think or know much of God's courts and strict judgment, to which such responsibility belongs in the first place) speak of it.

(26) So is it touched whoever has abused or acted contrary to the Speierian Treaty. We may also suffer justice and all fairness against anyone who thinks that we have abused the often reported imperial treaty, at all ends to which we properly belong. Nor is it contrary to us if one should ever be concerned that the article touched by more than one person should be drawn into a cover of new un-Christian doctrine, that the same, inasmuch as we have, at your love and the others' allowance, ingenuously made a Christian declaration and given it in large committee, be declared, and not, as your concept is capable of, have its right substance so completely removed, but remain according to the letter with dignities and powers.

(27) And because we are confident of the Roman Imperial Majesty as a Christian Emperor and our most gracious Lord. Majesty, as a Christian Emperor and our most gracious Lord, are of the most undoubted and consoling confidence, where her Imperial Majesty has reported the things now partly told by us, and otherwise with just cause. Majesty of the things, as partly now told by us, and otherwise further with right reason would have been reported, her Imperial Majesty would have been in favour of that which has been said by us. Majesty would not have been moved to do so, as the read Instruction, for the sake of the article touched upon, is able to do, as then from Her Imperial Majesty's letter and authority, the Constitution of the Holy Roman Empire is to be found. Majesty's decree and authority, as we do not know otherwise, that it should be spoken of, acted upon, and counseled in all ways, so that peace and unity may be preserved in the realm, upon which we, in addition to Your Royal Highness, Your Serene Highness, have the right to demand that this be done. In all our actions we have sought nothing but the glory of God above all things, the salvation of all our souls, Christian peace and unity, and still desire nothing else; this we can and will testify with God, the almighty and unanimous Searcher and Knower of all hearts. Therefore, and if it had been the opinion that, because of the much reported article, it should have remained in the read instruction in a proper and convenient manner, it would not have been necessary for this case of the committee, nor for such a deliberation, movement and action, so that you could also have taken your part of the presented or read instruction, as well as of the other Imperial Majesty's notices, and also of the other instructions. Majesty's instructions.

(28) After all this, we wish to present ourselves to your Royal Highness, dearest. Serene Majesty, dear ones, and to you, the others, as our dear and gracious lords, grandparents, cousins, brothers-in-law, friends, and special loved ones, as we again kindly ask and kindly request that you will and will again take the opportunity to consider the matter and diligently consider our complaint, also its cause and reasons, and diligently consider the grounds and causes thereof, and not allow yourselves to be moved or to act contrary to the unanimously agreed upon, obligated, securitized, and sealed parting, as no one has the power, authority, or right to do so for the reasons suggested or otherwise justified, which we refrain from reporting this time for the sake of the best.

029 And where ever this third report of our noticeable grievances, with your Royal Serene Highness and you the others, would neither take place nor be accepted. Serene Majesty, dear ones, and you, the others, would neither find nor have any place: we hereby publicly protest and testify before God, our united Creator, Sustainer, Redeemer and Beatificator (who, as foretold, alone searches and knows the hearts of all of us, and will judge accordingly), and also before all men and creatures, that for ourselves, ours, and for the sake of all men, in all actions and supposed departures, as aforesaid, in the aforesaid or other matters against God, his holy word, the salvation of all our souls and our good conscience, and also against the aforesaid Speierian imperial treaty, we do not agree nor consent, but consider it null and void and unbinding for reasons of intent and other honest justified reasons; that we also let our necessity go out publicly against it, and to the Roman imperial majesty, our all-night majesty. Majesty, our most gracious lord, a thorough and truthful report in this matter, as we had it publicly heard yesterday after the alleged parting of the ways, immediately by our protestation made in haste, which we also hereby renew, and have offered to do so, that we nevertheless, in the meantime, with the help of divine assistance, by virtue of and with the content of the much-touched previous Speierian imperial treaty, keep, live and govern ourselves in our sovereignties, also with and with our subjects and relatives, in such a way as we have done in the face of the Almighty God, and Roman Imperial Majesty, our all-important God. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, as a Christian Emperor, as we hope and trust to answer for; which also concerns the ecclesiastical rent, interest, validity, tithes, and peace,

as it is written and expressed in the previous Speierian Imperial Decree, that we also adhere to and show ourselves to be faithful to it. And in the same way we also want to agree with Your Royal Serene Highness and you, the others, on the following points, as touching rebaptism and printing, as we have always understood at this Imperial Diet, and also know how to keep the contents of the same points in all due respects. We also reserve the right to further extend our complaints and protests, and whatever else our further need may require in all this, and will doubtlessly take care of all this and be comforted that the Roman Imperial Majesty will not take any action against us. Majesty, as a Christian, God-loving (above all things) Emperor, and our most gracious Lord, will graciously keep and show himself in regard to our Christian, honorable, honest and unwavering mind and owed obedience. In which we would like to do and prove to Your Royal Serene Highness, dear ones, and to you, the others, as our dear and gracious lords, grandparents, cousins, brothers-in-law, friends and special dear ones, otherwise friendly and good-willed service, favourable and gracious will, which we are willing and inclined to do out of friendship, also good-willed obedience, graciousness and Christian love and duty.

(30) And when we now had to provide ourselves with no more change or relief of our complaints, it is not without reason that nevertheless the Royal Serene Highness, together with the orators and commissioners, also princes, princes and estates, made some of their counsels to us on the Thursday after Jubilate, the 22nd day of April, with verbal advertisement, which we have understood to be harmless in the following opinion:

Request of Royal Serene Highness, Imperial Majesty Orator and Commissaries. Majesty Orators and Commissaries, also Princes, Princes, Estates and Skilled Persons re.

(1) On Monday next [April 19] our most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony, Brandenburg, Lüneburg, Hesse, and Anhalt have kindly requested the Royal Serene Highness, Imperial Majesty, Orators, and Commissaries, with notice that their Electoral and Princely Graces desire the Royal Serene Highness and the Commissaries to be admitted to the Senate. Majesty, orators and commissioners, with notice, as if their electoral and princely graces desired to be with their electoral and princely graces, thereupon an hour was appointed for the following day at six o'clock, and their electoral and princely graces had disposed themselves together with the orators and commissioners, trusting that their electoral and princely graces would come to their electoral and princely graces and the others.

but their graces would have apologized to their Royal Serene Highnesses at the same hour, requesting that another hour be set, which the Royal Highnesses did in the confidence that their Electoral and Princely Graces would come themselves. and princely graces would come themselves: but since it was not convenient for their electoral and princely graces to come themselves, they did so. Since it was not convenient for their electoral and princely graces to come themselves, they have ordered theirs with a document to royal highness, the orator and commissioners. However, since the royal dukes considered that nothing fruitful could be done by writing, the royal dukes and commissioners have notified our most gracious and gracious lords that they want to be at hand in the house today between eight and nine o'clock, and have asked that the many noble princes and princes also want to dispose of them there, so that on account of the disagreement that has occurred, 1) and otherwise, action should be taken to reach a decision, so that the royal dukes and princes as well as the imperial dukes and princes can decide on the matter. Serene Highness, as Imperial Majesty's Governor, together with the Commissars, Princes, Princes and Estates, should be compared with each other on all sides, and not thus divided.

(2) However, their Electoral and Princely Graces had been excused, and had ordered theirs to hear the same from the Royal Highnesses; but after the Royal Highnesses had considered that it would be unfruitful to deal with the envoys, therefore their Royal Highnesses, together with the orators, commissioners, also Electors, Princes and Estates, had sent them off to their Electoral and Princely Graces, and ordered their Electoral and Princely Highnesses to hear the same from their Royal Highnesses. and ordered to report the following opinion to their electoral and princely graces. Their Electoral and Princely Graces the following opinion:

(3) After this Diet had been somewhat protracted, and much dispute had arisen on account of the faith, but had been decided by the majority on one opinion, the royal sovereigns and commissaries, on account of the imperial majesty, also the electors, princes, and estates, wanted to take care of each other. Majesty, as well as Princes, Princes and Estates, will, in the movement of all kinds of action, and as it is customary that the lesser part always follows the greater, also show themselves in such a way, and accept that which the greater part has decided, so that no discord appears.

(4) Nevertheless, their Electoral and Princely Graces had also made a protestation, in which they had complained most strongly about the parting, and had requested that such a protestation be included in the parting of this Diet; for if that were not done, their

1) "half" put by us instead of: have.

But their electoral and princely graces knew that until now no such thing had been done, although one part had protested that such a protestation had been put into the decree, and if it should now be made, it would give birth to an entrance that would cause much trouble. Therefore His Royal Serene Highness, by reason of His Roman Imperial Majesty, will by no means provide for it. Majesty, did not want to provide for it at all, but rather that the Electors and Princes would again accept the parting, as it was decided by the several parts; If, however, the said Electors and Princes should be obliged to do the same, it would still not be possible, as requested, to insert the protestation into the treaty, since it is not customary to do so, but rather to refrain from inserting their Electoral and Princely Graces into the said treaty, and not to insert their Graces into it: If now their electoral and princely graces would further extend and write out their given intention about it, then it would be the wish of the Imperial Majesty, our Allies, to have this done. Majesty, our most gracious lord, to a noticeable burden and to the detriment of her Majesty's Highness, and in addition to this to a noticeable disadvantage for royal sovereigns and commissaries, also for princes, princes and estates; but so that no unfriendliness should result from this, royal sovereignty and the commissaries would have to be informed of this. Serene Highness and the Commissaries, also Princes and Estates, and the other official requests, that the Princes and Estates of the said extension, and that the protestation should go out publicly, wanted to abstain, so that Serene Highness, together with the Commissaries and Estates, would not also be caused to go out for this reason, which would give unfriendliness.

(5) And so that their electoral and princely graces would not think as if this act were directed to something more severe, or would carry an unfriendly opinion, their royal highnesses, together with the commissioners, have also given orders to continue this, as follows, and to inform their highnesses, as well as those in authority, whether their electoral and princely graces want to keep peace with their royal highnesses, the commissioners, and all the estates for the sake of faith and all temporal acts. If their Serene Highnesses, the Commissioners, and all the Estates wish to keep peace for the sake of faith and all temporal acts, then their Serene Highnesses, the Commissioners, and the Estates would also keep it that way, and would not make any discord because of it; for their Serene Highnesses would be of the final mind, and the Commissioners, and the Estates of the Church, would be of the same mind.
princes, princes and the estates to stand in peace and unity with many touched princes and princes until a concilium, in the confidence that thereafter it should turn out for the better and good, and peace should be made with all elders, with final request that they, the princes and princes, royal highness, and the others, with friendly, and for their sake, the skilled ones, with gracious answer want to be heard.

From this, however, it is easy to hear how we have been further and more adversely affected, and especially in that our protestation has been refused to be brought to and lodged at the supposed session of this Diet, and, on the other hand, that we have wanted to be held in contempt, if we were to let our protest go out in public, when our high and unavoidable necessity requires it, and rightly, 1) also otherwise justifiably, unreprimandable, especially for reasons which, together with what we have further and more on the above-mentioned royal, imperial, and imperial sovereignty, are not to be found. Serene Highness, Imperial. Majesty, orators and commissaries, also princes, princes and the others, sent by estates, advertisement and request to answer, and what has been indicated by us on both sides furthermore against each other in writings, which everything is found afterwards also recorded, is to be heard actually and after the length.

Answer of the Protestant Princes to the Remonstrances of the Royal Dukes of Hungary and Bohemia, as Imperial Majesty's Governor, Orators and Commissars. Majesty's governors, orators and commissioners, as well as princes, princes and estates, made to them yesterday.

(1) We remember that on Monday next we sent some of our own to the royal sovereign, and asked them to appoint an hour on Tuesday next, so that we might inform their sovereign and imperial majesty's orator and commissaries of some of our complaints and needs. Majesty's Orator and Commissars some of our complaints and needs; but that we could not send our counsellors to the Royal Sovereign and her dears early on the aforementioned Tuesday to request the need in question, was due to an impediment that had occurred, as ours, which we had ordered at the same hour in the Royal Sovereign's Court, could not do. You, Mr. Jörgen Truchsess, have reported this to us, and you have also brought it to the Royal Sovereigns, and it may not be without reason that you, Mr. Jörg, have brought it back to us for an answer, three Royal Sovereigns together with Imperial Majesty Orator and Commander. Majesty's orators and commissaries would be excused.

1) In Walch's old edition: "rightly".

We are satisfied with the agreement, but Their Serene Highnesses and Sweethearts would suffer well if it were convenient for us to appear at two o'clock in the afternoon with our own persons at Their Serene Highnesses and Sweethearts; but after the matters were concerned, on account of which Their Royal Highnesses and Sweethearts, together with the Imperial Majesty's Orator and Commissars, had set a date for a certain Monday (about which we would have had no other means, for Their Royal Highnesses and Sweethearts would have been in disagreement). Majesty's Orator and Commissars on a certain Monday (about which we would have had no other means, for their Royal Highnesses and Sweethearts would have resorted to a convenient and inexpensive settlement on account of the discord that has arisen between Princes and Princes, as well as others of the Estates and ourselves, just as the trade with their Royal Highnesses and Sweethearts is not different from that with their Royal Highnesses and Sweethearts). and dear ones) have their opinion from a writing, almost in the form of a presumed instruction, publicly read out before the said princes and princes, also the estates, and thereafter have it answered to the affairs of the realm, and since their royal princes and dear ones, when we responded to this, had their opinion read out in public, they had their opinion answered to the affairs of the realm, and since their royal princes and dear ones, when we responded to this, had their opinion read out in public. and dear ones, when we then declined to hold a short conversation with each other, unexpectedly withdrew our request, even over our friendly entreaty, which we had some of ours make to their Serene Highnesses and dear ones on that account, and, as if such a deal had been decided, did not want to hear us: It is therefore not without reason that we deem it useful and convenient to have her Serene Highness and dearest answer our protestations, complaints, and necessities in writing in the same manner as was previously done with the Electors, Princes, and Estates; At the appointed hour our councillors to the Royal Serene Highnesses Orators and Commissars have also dispatched them with this, but with regard to previous complaints, which we have encountered in these actions in more than one way, Their Serene Highnesses and Loved Ones have not accepted our written protest and necessity, but have wanted to send it to our councillors again, and after they have refused to accept such a document for lack of their command, and have asked for it, it was brought back to us by her Serene Highness and dearest envoys, and nevertheless, what we have indicated with constant reason, also out of unavoidable necessity, therein, we do not want to be considered or regarded at all, that we, and that in the place of the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, should have encountered such a thing, less than not at all, know also with special glory that we did not give cause for this, and do not doubt that the Roman Imperial Majesty, the most gracious Lord, would not have given us a reason for this, and that we do not want to be considered or regarded at all, that we, and that in the place of the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, should have encountered such a thing, we do not want to be considered or regarded at all. Imperial Majesty, as a most gracious, noble Emperor, had been present at this Imperial Diet himself, we would have graciously tolerated it or the like.

2. It is also not without reason that Royal Serene Highness sent to us, the Elector of Saxony, on the next Wednesday evening and let it be known that Her Serene Highness would be willing, together with Imperial Majesty's Commissaries and Orators, to be at the house of the Electors on the following Thursday between eight and nine o'clock, with request of imperial majesty that we and the rest of our friends then also appear, then your majesty together with the orators and commissioners would be inclined to act for the sake of the protestation made and for the resolution of this imperial diet; Thereupon we gave the same sent ones among other things the answer, and especially because we heard that they had no order to request the others, our friends, so we wanted to talk with their loved ones about it afterwards, and Royal Serene Highness, for this reason, before the decision of this Imperial Diet. Serene Highness a reply before the time. Thereupon we have sent all our councillors to your Serene Highness, and have had your Royal Highness reminded, among other things, that in response to the letter sent to us in the name of the Roman Imperial Majesty, we have sent a letter to your Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, our most gracious Lord, to obediently attend this Imperial Diet in our own person, in the opinion that, along with other Princes, Princes and Estates, we would help to act and conclude in such a way as to promote the glory of God, and also to bring peace, welfare and all good to the Empire. But how the matters concerning the discord of faith, peace and unity in the realm in the middle time of the Concilii have occurred here, have been dealt with until the sixth week, and what we have encountered of manifold complaints would not be concealed from His Royal Serene Highness himself. However, since we have encountered such complaints about all of our established submissions, and that we now know how to provide ourselves with little more beneficial action, and our uncle and cousin, Duke Henry of Brunswick, and Margrave Philip of Baden, have suggested negotiating with us on account of the aforementioned discord, we have reported our feelings to their loved ones as much as we could have done in conscience; ...and since their loved ones would deal with princes, sovereigns, and estates..: We would await their reply, with this appendix, if their loved ones were to take action with the aforementioned princes, princes and estates, that we would leave the matter, by virtue of our next protest, with the agreement made at the previous Imperial Diet here at Speier, but if it were other matters, of which the royal decree would have been the most important, then we would have the right to take no action at all. By-

If we were to talk to us, or if we were to talk to us, we would be untroubled by their illustriousness.

(3) In addition, we, the Elector of Saxony, because His Royal Serene Highness has informed the Councillors in deviation that His Royal Serene Highness would have to speak to us about matters, and especially concerning this Imperial Diet, in which there is noticeable and much interest 2c., some of our counsellors, to his royal Serene Highness at the above-mentioned hour, with orders to apologize kindly to His Serene Highness that we do not wish to come up ourselves, and also to indicate where His Serene Highness wishes to report matters to them, that they should report the same to us; But how fruitful and useful it would have been if we had gone up again in our own person, about which we had previously taken our leave with the Electors, Princes and Estates after making our protest, and also how further action might have been taken, because beforehand, for a convenient settlement, so that we on all sides do not depart from this Imperial Diet in such a divided manner, we do not now wish to dispute any further, but let the decision and the answer of the same be pointed out and said, which the above-mentioned our uncle and cousin of Brunswick and Baden yesterday afternoon, for the sake of their action, let us know what they might have obtained from the Royal Serene Highness, the Orators and Commissars, also the Princes and other Estates, on their proposals, which we had made for the prevention of an ambiguous parting.

(4) There is also no small confirmation of our present statement, as you have also advertised, among other things, that because the majority decided on account of the discord: if Royal Serene Highness, together with the Commissaries, also Princes, Princes and Estates wanted to provide themselves, we would also accept the same 2c., if their Serene Highnesses, dear Sirs, and the others of the Estates have often heard at this Imperial Diet, for what high, brave, and well-founded reasons we do not know, nor would we be obliged (for which we again respect it without any doubt), to grant it, as if a greater one should, beforehand, in such matters, and on the ways, and on the ways in which the inferior part will face the eternal wrath and destruction of God and of many of God's chosen souls, to decide against the inferior, and to bind and ensnare the latter to God's disobedience to man's obedience, if in man's actions and things the multiple does not want to prevail against the inferior, since the matter is not in the hands of God.

But that these are things which are of special concern to each one, no one will doubtless contradict, for the divine Scripture says that each one will bear his own burden.

5. And we hold that, even if we had consented to such acts, or had consented to them, we should nevertheless, in the sight of God and the world, not do otherwise than to refrain from them in furtherance of our obligation and without delay, and to abide by his divine word; These are matters in which there are not the least points of disagreement, which are now before us, but which are to be dealt with in a future, common, free, Christian concilio, and if such a presumptuous pressing forward of the majority of our discretion were to be the case, there would be nothing else, of our discretion, would be nothing else than if princes, rulers and estates, outside of the aforementioned council and the opinion, therefore to carry out the same considered necessary, should have to judge contrary to the aforementioned articles and especially as the one and counterpart.

(6) It would be contrary not only to law, but also to all natural equity, if two parties to a transaction were in dispute, that one party should be the judge and arbiter of the other, and should prevail over the other with the greater or otherwise, and there would be no doubt, if the matter were to be thoroughly considered, that the minds and opinions of their loved ones and of the estates would not be so.

7. We also want to think that, if at this Diet the consolation had not been so complete, our divine, constant, and well-founded statement, which we have made many times on account of the burdensome articles, would have been better received, and would have caused less such discord on the other side; To which part also, if a quarrel should arise in the realm, it would be most reasonable to interpret that it was the cause of it, we want to have placed, after all, as indicated, in our own conscience and that of every one of us; Nor would we have provided that the royal highness, together with the commissioners and the estates, should have refused to grant our protestation, if we had done so out of great and pressing necessity; For although we are not to be placed in the treaty, as you have indicated, since it is thought to be possible to adhere again to the several, by virtue of your advertising, and then such more can easily be noted from the names of the estates which have been signed and which have consented to it: ...so have you, and first of all your Royal Serenity..,

together with the Commissars, also Princes, Princes and those of the Estates, to consider easily for ourselves how we would be provided for our need thereby.

(8) Item, it might also be said and reproached by our unfavorable ones, who do not have knowledge of the form and occasion of the matters, that we have refused to consent to the much touched burdensome articles unfairly and without due and constant causes, from which then noticeable annoyance, unhappiness and imposition would follow us, which it is our duty to prevent as much as possible.

9. So also our mind, will nor opinion is not to give anyone cause for unfriendship with it or to diminish it, and before that to act contrary to the Roman imperial majesty, our most gracious lord, highness, but only to seek the glory of God, his holy word, and the salvation of all our souls, also not to do anything else with it than what our conscience knows; and since we would have been discharged of the burdensome cause, there should have been no lack of us to refrain from the same or the like.

(10) The Royal Highness and Orator, together with the Commissars, also the Princes and Estates, know the nature and character of the protest. Serene Highness and Orator, together with the Commissars, also Princes, Princes and Estates, what the nature and quality of the protestation is, also why the same has been invented and in Imperial Majesty's rights has been providentially done, that we hope we are not to be blamed for it, it is also unreprovable to us by Imperial Majesty and masculinely to all equity, whether we will let our protestation, and with narration of necessary and knowable occasion of the trade that has taken place, go out in such a way.

11. But when finally and lastly you advertised, lest we should think that the advertisement made was a little sharp, and carried an unfriendly opinion: so royal Serene Highness, together with the commissaries, also princes, princes, and the other estates, would have given you orders to speak further, and to inform you as skilful ones: If we keep peace with their Serene Highnesses, beloved ones and estates on all sides of faith and all temporal actions, then Royal Highness and the Commissaries, also the other Princes, Princes and estates, will also keep peace with us and will neither undertake nor act anything offensive against us until the future Concilium, in the hope that then God would give better peace and unity than has been the case up to now. To this we give you this answer: that we are as high as anyone in peace and harmony.

We are inclined to unity, and in all our actions here we seek nothing more than the glory of God and the salvation of all people, peace and unity; and because we now note from the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, the invitation to this Imperial Diet and elsewhere, that Her Imperial Majesty would like to see and know peace and unity maintained in the Empire, and Royal Serene Highness and the other Imperial Majesties, Commissaries and rulers, as well as all other Princes, Princes and Estates, have promised us through you peace with us for the sake of faith and all temporal matters. Majesty's Commissars and Rulers, as well as all other Princes, Princes and Estates, have promised us through you to keep peace and unity with us for the sake of faith and all temporal matters: For this reason, and since we, together with ourselves and all the men who are related to this part and to the Gospel, and who have authority and government, have and obtain peace on account of the faith and also on account of those things which are included in the articles which are to be dealt with in the future council, and which are dependent on and related to the same, or which flow and result from them, and also on account of all other temporal things; We herewith wish to have promised and consented to the peace of the Royal Serene Highness, the Imperial Majesty, the Commissioners decreed, and also the Princes, Princes and all the Estates, and to keep ourselves peaceful and moderate, as we all do in such a case before God, also the Roman Imperial Majesty, our Allies, and the Holy Roman Emperor. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, we owe and are obligated to do so, for we are willing and completely inclined to show friendly and benevolent service, favor, grace, and goodwill to the High Imperial Majesty, and to the Royal Serenity, Commanderies, and all Princes, Princes, and Estates of the Realm, and hereupon request a written answer.

Final Conclusion of Imperial Maj. Governors, Orators and Commissaries, Princes and Estates.

Kaiserl. Majesty Governor, Royal Durchl. of Hungary and Bohemia 2c., and her Majesty's Orator and Commissaries, Princes, Prelates, Counts, Free and Imperial Cities, are finally resolved and of mind that they keep to the Holy Empire's orders and to the Peace of the Land established at Worms, as well as to the Imperial Treaty now made here, and against the Elector of Saxony, the Duke of Lüneburg, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Princes of Anhalt, for the sake of the faith, they will not take any action against the future Council,

The above-mentioned princes and princes will in turn show themselves obedient, peaceful and friendly towards Imperial Majesty, princes, princes and the common estates of the empire for the sake of peace and faith. Maj., Princes, Princes and common estates of the Empire obediently, peacefully, friendly and neighborly, and not to do anything unpleasant with the deed, and also to refrain from further tendering or spreading of their protestation, which could then lead to further disputes, and to be content to keep the reported protestation with the imperial action now practiced, and to send it to Imperial Maj. Maj. may be content and let it remain.

The Electors and Princes, Saxony, Brandenburg, Lüneburg, Hesse, and Anhalt, final answer to the writing of the Royal Serene Highness, Imperial Majesty, orators and commissioners, also Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, handed over today at one hour.

(1) To issue a protestation, on opinion, as heard from the above-mentioned Electors and Princes yesterday's writing, they cannot refrain, also want to know to hold themselves harmless of the charge with it, and to provide that the Royal Highnesses together with the Imperial Majesty will be able to take care of the protestation. Maj. Orator and Commissaries, as well as Princes, Princes and Estates against them and theirs, also masculine, related to their part and to the Gospel, and having authority and government, for the sake of faith, also for the sake of those things which are included in the Articles to be dealt with in the future Council, and which are pending and related to the same or flow and result from them, will keep unhindered, also for the sake of all other temporal things, peaceful, neighborly and friendly; and the above-mentioned Electors and Princes, Saxony, Brandenburg, Lüneburg, Hesse and Anhalt, Imperial Maj. Maj., for the sake of their most gracious lord, to all dutiful obedience submissively, against royal highness, kais. Orator, Commissaries, and all other Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, by virtue of Imperial Majesty's Land Peace, and in particular of the previous and next Speier Farewell, as also touched upon in their protestation, to again show themselves peaceful, neighborly, and friendly, and also not to do anything in bad faith or in fact.
(2) Although now also (to be understood as such from the above-mentioned writings) the Royal Serene Highness, Imperial Majesty and Commissaries, also Electors, Princes and Estates, and we with and against each other, agree and commit ourselves in the meantime to a future Council of Faith. Maj. Orator and Commissaries, also Electors, Princes and Estates, and we with and against each other consented and committed ourselves, in the meantime of a future Concilii, for the sake of faith in evil and with that
not to do anything on any part, but to keep us on all sides neighborly, peaceful, and friendly toward each other, to which end we are most inclined, and provide ourselves again without doubt. Since, however, it is in accordance with justice and all equity that the main matter (as faith is in this case) is set in peace and decency, everything that is dependent on the main matter, or arises from it, should also rest, and the main matter's advantages and freedom should also be shared; If, however, (as the above-mentioned writings indicate) we have not received a definite answer on account of such accessions, we shall be caused, wherefore, whether in or out of law, anything shall be done between us and the above-mentioned Council, to take such for our sake, and for the sake of all our present and future adherents, now as then, and then as now, for a valiant grievance which we thereby encounter, as we also hereby do, and from such grievance we hereby also wish to protest.

3. After all this, we, the above-mentioned Electors and Princes, protest, recuse, provoke, appeal, supplicate, and call for ourselves, our subjects and relatives, also present and future supporters and adherents, in and with this present writing, in the best form and measure as we should and may, from all the above-mentioned complaints, which we have met with from the beginning of this Imperial Diet to the end and with the supposed parting, also of all actions and all other grievances, as may arise therefrom, or be drawn or followed hereunder, be they named herein or not, reserving their unsuitability and nullity in all ways, to and before the Roman Imperial and Christian Maj. ...and Christian Majesty.., our most gracious Lord, and to that end, at and for the next future free, Christian, common Concilium and Assembly of Holy Christendom, before our National Assembly, and to that end, a convenient, impartial and Christian judge of each of these matters; and submit ourselves, our principality, dominions, lands and people, body and goods, also all present and future adherents to this our appeal, to the Imperial Majesty and a Christian Concilium. Majesty and of a Christian Council. We hereupon request and ask from the Royal Serene Highness, the Imperial Majesty, the Princes, the Princes, and the rest of you of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as from both of you notaries public, or whoever has the power to do so, for the first, second, and third time, diligently, more diligently, and most diligently, to give us testimony of such our appeal, recusation, provocation, and supplication,

We also reserve the right to increase, improve, diminish, or change such appeals, provocations, and supplications, and to file them anew, as soon as the usual form has brought and permitted them.

4. Since the embassies sent by the honorable and free imperial cities named below, as Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Costnitz, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbrunn, Reutlingen, Ißni, Sanct Gallen, Weißenburg, and Windsheim, as the above-mentioned Electors and Princes Appeal, The same embassies have, at the time of the above-mentioned appeal by princes and rulers, adhered, indicated and stipulated that they and their lords and rulers adhere to the same appeal, nor do they wish to adhere to or be associated with or oppose any authority (so that and by this means they do not want to be attested to and innovation made against the appealing princes and princes or against their appeal), and as councillors soon appointed by the aforementioned princes and princes, in place of their princes and princes they do not wish to be associated with or oppose any authority, in place of their electoral and princely graces, the above-mentioned free and imperial cities' appeal, which they have done or will do in the future for the sake of more affected matters and grievances, again also adhered to, and conditioned to adhere to the same, and to act nothing against it, without all danger.

5. And from both of us after written notaries, together with the witnesses of such made appeal, also attachment of the same, condition, protestation and reservation, letters of attestation or testimony, also one or more instruments, as much as would be necessary to their electoral and princely graces for that reason, we have not to refuse their electoral and princely graces, out of requirement of our notarial office, letters of attestation and these our open notices to know.

6th Done at Speier, in the year, jndiction, day, time, hour and dwelling, as everything is further indicated above.

(7) Thereby were chosen and demanded to witness, the honorable and respectable, Alexius Frauentraut, highly-named of our gracious lord, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg 2c., Secretarius; Eucharius Ulrich, of an honorable council of Nuremberg
War scribe and citizen there; Veit Kemerer, and others more enough credible.

8th And after I have Leonhard Stettner, Freisinger Bisthums Lai, from kais. Maj. power and authority, Notary and Tabellio, and now highly exalted of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., Clerk of the Chancery; besides the honorable Pancratien Saltzmann, highly exalted of my gracious lord, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg 2c., Secretaries, as my co-notary, and the above-mentioned witnesses required for this purpose, with indicated narration of the complaints, provocation, appeal, supplication, and appeal, also petition and request of the apostles, letters of farewell, and letters of clientele, together with the above-mentioned honorable and free imperial cities' messages, Adherence, attachment and condition, also surrender of the writing, in which such complaints, appeals, and other things are incorporated, and other presentations, as expressed above, have been personally present, which I have thus heard and seen: I have, in addition to my fellow notaries, accepted the same document handed over, out of the requirement of my notarial office, and have placed it in this open instrument and form, and by another (after I myself, for the sake of daily business in the most reverend of my most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., Chancery, prevented from doing so) on twelve sheets of parchment, read over and executed the same with diligence, also signed and drawn my baptismal and surname, and usually notarial sign with this my own handwriting on this thirteenth and last sheet of parchment, for testimony and belief of all the above-mentioned things, especially appointed, required and requisitioned for this.

9th And because I Pancratius Saltzmann, Bishopric Lai of Bamberg, by Imperial power and authority disclosed Notarius and Tabellio of my gracious Lord Georgen of Brandenburg 2c. Maj. power and authority, notary and tabler, above-mentioned of my gracious lord, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg 2c., Kammersecretarius, besides Leonharden Stettner, highly thought of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, chancery clerk, as my co-notary, also with indicated narration of such complaints krovoeatiou, ^. ppsliatiou, supplication, appeal, request of the apostles and testimonial letters, together with the mentioned respectable free and imperial cities ^.äUasr6N2, condition, and fönst of all action, as above, besides above-mentioned my co-notaries, and witnesses required for this, personally present been, such all, as therein found and indicated, seen and heard: therefore, I have such complaint, all herein passed,

by preventing other of my business, have another written on twelve sheets of parchment, and for this purpose have myself signed and designated on the last and thirteenth sheet, with my baptismal and surname and usual notarial signet, and this my own handwriting, and for the credibility of all such things have been specially appointed and required for this purpose.

821 Some new articles of composition not found in the Instrumentum Appellationis and drafted by Duke Henry of Brunswick and Margrave Philip of Baden.

From Müller's History 2c., p. 42.

And as the same article 1) has since been misunderstood by many and has been used as an excuse for all kinds of new doctrines and sects: so that such things may be cut off, and strife, discord and discomfort prevented, and peace, unity and obedience of the subjects may be maintained between all the estates in the meantime of the above-mentioned Council: So Princes, Princes and other Estates have resolved that the above Article in the Speier Agreement shall be amended 2) with the following moderation and declaration, namely, that the aforementioned Princes, Princes and Estates, who have hitherto kept and adhered to the traditional customs, ceremonies and other practices of the common church, may now also remain and remain in the same until the future Council, without male hindrance, violation and entry; Likewise, the other princes, rulers, and estates, among whom the other doctrine has arisen, and thus the above-mentioned traditional customs have come to an end, are also to be left without the other part's and beneficial prevention, violation, or entry, until the Concilio in question, but for now all further innovation or sectarianism in the Christian faith is to be prevented as much as possible and humanly possible until the future Concilio, and is not to be permitted by the authorities of any place. Otherwise, the keeping and hearing of the masses held by princes, princes, and estates in the traditional manner, as well as the masses held by princes, princes, and others, where the other doctrine is in use, may be prohibited.

1) See Document No. 817, K 5 and No. 818, K 4.

2) Instead of: "improve" should probably be read: "be improved".

The two churches shall, by common peace, tolerate the change to a different measure until the future Council (but without prejudice to any abuse), so that no prince, sovereign or other estate, outside of their temporal authorities, shall in any way violate, add to or subtract from the other's old or new practice or observance of the Masses 3); And especially some doctrines and sects, as much as they belong to the venerable sacrament of the true Corpus Christi and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall not be accepted by the estates of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, nor shall they be allowed or permitted to be preached in public, and none of the princes, rulers, or estates shall force or hinder the other in any way on account of the faith, nor shall they deprive him of his rent, interest, tithes, and goods; Neither shall any of the other's subjects and relatives, on account of faith and other causes, take the other's secular authority into their protection and shield against their authority; all this under penalty and punishment of the imperial land peace established at Worms. at Worms, which all its contents shall remain in dignity, be firmly held and enforced.

822. letter 4) of the Elector John of Saxony, by which he announces the protestation in his lands and indicates its true causes. Dated. Weimar, the

May 9, 1529.

This document appeared in 1529 both in quarto and octavo under the title: "Des Churfürsten zu Sachsen Johannis Abschied auf jetzt gehaltenem Reichstag zu Speyer 1529." Reprinted in Hortleder, "Von den Ursachen des deutschen Kriegs", vol. I., enp. 4th, p. 43, and in Müller's Historie von der evangelischen Stände Protestation rc., lib. I, enp. 6, K 2, p. 126. in the Collections: in the Eisleben one, vol. II, p. 14; in the Altenburg one, vol. IV, p. 799; and in the Leipzig one, vol. XXII, p. 27.

By the Grace of God, we John, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen 2c., declare and declare all men to know: After and as the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious

3) Maybe: penetrate?

4) The letter of Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, according to words and things, completely agrees with this.

Lord, a short time ago a common Imperial Diet was announced, and Princes, Princes and Estates are required to meet at Speier on Sunday Reminiscere [21 Feb.We then, in obedience to their Imperial Majesty, have ordered ourselves in our own persons, in the opinion of other Princes, Princes and Estates, to act in the matters expressed in the above-mentioned Imperial proclamation, to consider the same, and to help to deliberate. And by some of the aforementioned princes, princes and estates, for the sake of the article, how on account of the pending discord in our holy Christian faith, to maintain peace and unity in the meantime of a common, free and Christian concilii or national assembly, to act on the ways. Also subsequently, with the assistance of Imperial. Majesty's Governor, our special dear lord and uncle, Royal Serene Highness of Hungary, Bohemia, and the orator and commissioners decreed by their Imperial Majesty, by which the agreement, which was unanimously established and decided upon at the previous and next Imperial Diet held there at Speier, in respect of the article in question, has been more changed than declared. In addition, for many brave and important reasons, which concern our conscience and duty, so that we may be devoted to God our Creator, and that we, at the Imperial Diet now held, in addition to other friends of ours, namely, the Highborn Princes, Mr. Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., Mr. Ernsten and Mr. Franciscen, brothers, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Mr. Philippsen, Landgrave of Hesse 2c, and Prince Wolfgangen zu Anhalt, our dear grandparents, cousins, cousins-in-law, have been presented, in the above-mentioned now taken leave have not been able to approve or grant, and especially, because by the same leave other states were obliged to join, not to accept the doctrine, which we know and believe Christian, right and necessary, also in our lands and territories hold and preach.

(2) That we have therefore publicly protested, together with our friends, against such a supposed change made to the previous Speier agreement and the other burdensome articles appended to it; to which protest several embassies sent by the honourable and free imperial cities have also adhered, and the words of our protest, which we have also sent in writing to the imperial cities, are the same as those of the other imperial cities.
have had laid, among others, these which follow, namely: 1)

(3) But because we have found that your beloved and you persist in your intention of trust, and because of the brave causes and complaints which we have now raised and renewed, both for conscience' sake, and also that such your beloved and your nobles, on account of the above-mentioned pending discord, do not in any way comply with or wish to do anything for the preservation of peace and unity in the meantime of the Council, we have decided that we will not do anything for the preservation of peace and unity. We are also aware that, because of the above-mentioned pending discord, it will not be conducive to the preservation of peace and unity in the meantime of the Council, nor will it be possible for us to agree or consent to it. In addition, according to the terms of the treaty, and before the above-mentioned next Speier treaty, we are not obliged, especially without our consent, to leave the next reported treaty made here at Speier: We therefore consider that, because of the many difficulties involved, our great and unavoidable necessity requires us to publicly protest against your dear ones, and yours, as being void and powerless on account of the aforementioned next farewell, and ours, as well as ours and our male representatives, as being united. As we do herewith; and that we do not know, nor can, nor may, for reasons aforesaid, heal, but have reported your loved ones, and your intentions, to be null and void. We have hereby protested against your beloved and you. And we nevertheless want to keep, live and govern ourselves in the matters of religion in our authorities, also with and with our subjects and relatives, by means of divine help, by virtue and content of the mentioned next Speierian decree, also in and with our subjects and relatives, as we trust to answer for it to God Almighty and Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. What also concerns the ecclesiastical interest, rent, validity and tithes, also the peace, and is written and expressed in the much reported next Speierische Abschied, we want to show and keep ourselves in all ways also unobjectionable.

4th Because we now reserve the right, in addition to our protest, to take the same, together with our complaints, which we have presented in writings, to the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, and also to have it publicly issued, so that men may know and receive that we have neither agreed nor consented to the above actions:

1) The following is § 2 of the Protestation in No. 820.

We therefore wish to have made our announcement in this open document, so that all men and everyone may be aware of it, and that we remained at the end of the previous Speier Diet, held in the twenty-sixth year, as we also do herewith. And with the help of the Almighty, in matters concerning our faith, for ourselves and with our subjects and relatives, we wish to live, govern, and hold ourselves accountable to God Almighty and to the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, in the meanwhile of the common, free, and Christian Concilii or National Assembly. In witness whereof, with our decree hereunto printed, sealed and given at Weimar, on the Thursday after Exaudi [May 9] Anno 1529.

823 Emperor Carl the Fifth's Letter of Warning to the Estates of the Empire, which refused to accept the Imperial Treaty. Given at Barcelona, July 12, 1529.

In Müller's Historie 2c. p. 208 and in LUnigs ReichsArchiv, xurt. A6N. oont. Walch lets this be addressed in his superscription "to all imperial estates".

We Carl the Fifth, by the Grace of God chosen Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire 2c. Dear Faithful! We are saddened by the farewell which was given at the next Imperial Diet at Speier by our decreed Imperial Majesty, Governor, Orator and Commissar. We are reminded by the agreement made at the next Imperial Diet at Speier by our decreed Imperial Majesty's Governor, Orator and Commissars with the Holy Empire's princes and chieftains and other estates of the Holy Empire.
that you have not granted the leave made in such articles concerning our holy Christian faith, which we dislike not a little from you: Considered that by the much greater part of all estates unanimously decided in such articles on means and measure, in which you should have sought no refusal; And because it is an old custom what is decided in a common imperial assembly with the majority, the lesser part should not resist, but, because it is placed to maintain peace and unity in the holy empire, obediently live up to it, so that neither you nor yours do or act anything against it, as you are obliged to do out of your duty, so that you are related to us and the holy empire: We will not refuse to do this to you, for if you continue to be disobedient to our gracious warning, we do not wish to avoid it, but would and must, in order to preserve your obedience to the holy kingdom, inflict serious punishment on you; 1) that it would be good for no one but yourselves, if you were to be obedient as mentioned above, if we did not want you to behave, and you do so in our sincere opinion. Given in our city of Barcelona, the 12th day of July, Anno 2c. 29, of our Roman Empire in the 12th year, and of all others in the 14th year.

Carl.

Nunaeutum 0u68ur6N6 Eatdol. Nassstutis propriuin.

Alexander Schweiß.

1) The following is put by us instead of the senseless sentence: "that no one but you yourselves, if you conduct yourselves according to the above, may be good for you, wanted" 2c.

The twelfth chapter.

Of some covenants of papal princes made against the confessors of the Protestant doctrine, as well as of the conventions of the Protestant princes and estates at Torgau, Rodach, Schleiz, Schwabach, Schmalkalden and Nuremberg.

First paragraph.
Of the Mainzian Council and the so-called Pack Alliance.

824 Aurifaber's report of the Mainzian council against the followers of the Lutheran doctrine. Anno 1526.

In the Eisleben Collection, Vol. I, p. 273; in the Altenburg, Vol. III, p. 520 and in the Leipzig, Vol. XIX, p. 555. Aurifaber here mixes both, the Mainz Rathschlag and the later, so-called Packsche Bündniß into one another.

In this 1526th year, a secret meeting is said to have been held in Mainz, where it was discussed how the Elector of Saxony, Duke Johannsen, and Landgrave Philip of Hesse could be attacked by war and how the Lutheran doctrine could be eradicated. But who was in this alliance and unity relatives, is reported later in the short report, what happened with Doctor Martin Luther and fine doctrine Anno six and twenty.

(2) But when by one of the nobility, called Pack, this practice and proposal 1) was first revealed to the Landgrave of Hesse, who then attributed it to the Elector: then both Electors and Princes in the following 1527th year entered into a stately armament, which, however, by negotiation has again been settled peacefully.

3. there Doctor Martinus Luther has been in the intention to write a serious, sharp booklet 2) in the'

1) Still in 1527 Pack informed the Landgrave of Hesse that on May 13, 1527, an alliance had been concluded by the Catholic princes at Breslau. It was not until March 1528 that the Landgrave made a counter-alliance with the Elector. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Ein!., p. I7sf.

2s This again goes to the Mainz Rathschlag. The first "printed sheet" is included in No.826, perhaps even the whole "booklet".

The booklet was printed against this Mainzian alliance, and one sheet of it had already been printed; but due to the abolition of the Elector of Saxony, the booklet was withheld and the single printed sheet was taken away from the printing press, so that it was not published. However, N. Georg Spalatinus has marked with his own hand a short extract or excerpt from the same printed sheet, which was found in his Liberei, and has therefore been printed in this work, so that the Christian reader may learn of the Mainzian Covenant, which is very often found in D. Luther's books and writings. Luther's books and writings, could have a brief instruction and teaching.

(4) In such matters, too, some of Martin Luther's objections, subsequently printed, will be set down, from which the laudable Elector of Saxony's godliness will be felt that he did nothing in high secular matters, for he had also consulted Os Domini beforehand.

825 Luther's account of this in a letter to Spalatin, at the same time reporting that he already has a writing against the Mainz Rathschlag under the press.

See Vol. XV, Appendix, No. 128.

6 Luther's intended rebuttal to the Mainz Rathschlag. March 1526.

This writing, published only recently by Seidemann in Niedners Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie, Jahrgang 1847, p. 663 ff. from a manuscript, has been published in older editions under the title: "Titel des Büchleins, so Lutherus wider das Mainzische Bündniß aus-

to let go, together with Georgii Spalatini Extract from the first printed sheet of this booklet." First in the Eisleben Collection, vol. I, p. 274; then in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 520; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 536, and in Walch. The so-called "Extract" is limited to individual sentences taken out of context and individual expletives, which, however, we believe, are not, as Aurifaber states, limited to the first sheet, but encompass our entire writing, for the last sentence of the extract is also the last sentence of the writing as we communicate it here according to the Erlangen edition, vol. 65, p. 22 to 46. However, it seems to us that this is not only the first sheet, but almost the complete booklet, which contains the entire Rathschlag together with Luther's preface and epilogue. The latter will have been somewhat lacking in print, since Luther writes (after March 27, 1526, De Wette, Vol. III, p. 99) to the Elector: "Where it pleases E. C. F. G. to abstain altogether and not to express it fully, I would be well pleased with half of it." But Luther says in the same letter, not of the first sheet, but of the "nearest printed quatern," which is also still contained in our writing.

Against the Right Seditious, Treacherous and Murderous Counsel of the Whole Mainzian Popery Instruction and Warning

M. L. 1526.

To my dear lords and friends, all pious Germans, I wish, M. Luther, much grace and peace from GOD our Father and HERN JEsu Christo, our Saviour.

Satan has not had enough of the fact that he has caused such great misery in German lands this past year through the peasants' rebellion, and still daily attacks the holy divine word (which God, out of unspeakable grace, has let shine again for us after the horrible, miserable darkness under the troublesome papacy) both with the sword of worldly supremacy and with the sects of many wild enthusiasts, blasphemes and defiles, but has it in mind to attack the same with all his might, as he would gladly thrust it to the ground in a moment. For this he needs his servants, namely the idolaters of the whole Mainzian mob and priesthood, who have made a council out of his suggestion, in which they have also undertaken the two knavery, first, to blaspheme the gospel as a seditious doctrine, and second, to incite the princes of German lands into one another, and to drown all Germany in blood, only to preserve their belly and blasphemous evil life and unchristian splendor. For this

This treacherous advice gives everyone enough to understand that they do not care, even though no prince would still be lord in German lands, and everything would flow in blood, if they would only lead their tyranny, godless, shameful lives. Notice and take hold of the fact that in the whole council they do not think with a single letter how they can improve their lives and beings, as if nothing but vain holiness were with them, or how they could do away with the burden and displeasure that was done against them at Worms, but they call the food bad and insolent, and everything is to do with the belly.

However, for my own part, I would like to watch and be quiet, as such advice, even if it were to take place, since God is for it, cannot harm him, because it would all happen without my knowledge and will, and would even go against me; for which reason my conscience would be innocent before God of all that follows from it, moreover, that he could do no more to me, if he committed the highest thing against me, than to take away my life, which is the least harm from God's grace, which by God's grace is the least harm that can be done to me, and indeed the greatest service, because I am such a person who until now has always been doomed to death and who is miraculously preserved in life solely by God's power, in defiance of all the wrath of both the devil and his saints; For here is my defiance, when the prophet saith, Ps. 2, that the nations rage in vain, kings revolt, and princes counsel with one another in vain, and all this against God and his anointed, for the Lord laughs at them, and he that dwelleth in heaven mocks at them; at last he speaks to them in wrath, and terrifies them with his fury. These and such words are my rock, because I know that they are true, that I give not much heed to a little lord; yea, I esteem the wrath of all devils, bishops, and princes, as the foot of a dove.

This, I say, would be enough for my person, and let the devil rage with his own as he would, it must be dead; then it is a matter of a moment that those who are now lords and bishops would like to be our servants, if it could come to that for them; but while I am alive, God has decreed me,

To be everyone's servant as much as I can, to teach, instruct, warn and admonish what is useful and blessed, so that if I wanted to boast, I would still boast about the apostles and evangelists in German lands, even if the devil and all his bishops and tyrants were sorry; For I know that I have learned the faith and the truth, and still teach by the grace of God, which name the devil shall not destroy nor take from me for ever. Of this I am sure, that he may blaspheme, cry, and reproach me with his mouths and feathers, however high and lofty he may be, it will not avail him. For this reason and for the sake of others, especially to answer for my teaching, I should not and cannot stand by quietly, but must expose the devil's behind once again, so that everyone can see how ugly, black and horrible he is, so that he may become even more angry with me. So I will bring to light and expose the counsel of Mainz, which has come to me in a strange way, and have kept it secretly and behind the backs of those whom they mean by it, as traitors and murderers are wont to do without public warning, admonition or complaint, as not only Christian, but also pagan and natural laws teach. I thought the happy episcopal day would add something to the fire, so let the porridge boil, God will tell who is to prepare it and who must burn his mouth on it.

Because they blaspheme my life so shamefully, and I have to be unchaste, stingy, hopeful, or else, I am glad with all my heart, and it is just that the mouths of such great masters, who desecrate God's word, have to feed in my dung heap; For what is such a man different, who so gladly seeks to shake other people's sin, and does this not at all for the purpose of punishing it and making it better, that is, of sweeping it out and cleansing it or covering it up, but only so that it may stink, and [he] may laugh at the stink and be in good spirits, than a foul-mouthed sow's nose, which, if it finds its jelly under a fence, mows in it with all the pleasure it can get and makes a living out of it 2c.? Just for such service I need the devil and his servants, when they are most wrathful and blaspheme my life to the utmost, and so sweetly
laugh at this, I speak no more than: Eat, dear sow, it is cooked for you, as the guest is, so is the cake; although I also do not want to leave the defiance in them, because I still did not want to change my life with the most holy Papist. Praise God, no one can blame me for having violated someone's wife or child, or for having been too close to their honors with words or deeds, so I have also taken from no one what is his, except that I was a monk in error, and fed on alms with the damned spiritual life and masses, so I have also killed no one, nor beaten no one, nor helped or advised to kill. But this is my sin, that I eat flesh on the fast days of the fathers, and see no evil, but am merry, that is to say, I feast, and am merry.

But no one can be a pope, he must at least be a murderer, robber, persecutor, for he must consent to do right to him whom the pope and his mob burn, drive out, take away his own, and persecute in all ways, without which they themselves still need all their foundation in the ungodly being unjustly. If then the tree is to be known by its fruit, it is, I think, sufficiently evident where the true Christians are; we neither kill nor drive out nor persecute anyone who teaches differently from us, or causes sectarianism, but only fight against them with the word of God; if they do not want to, we let them go and let them stay in whatever faith they want, but still do them the best we can, let them live and work and live among us; to whom does the pope's mob do this? Yes, they fight with the sword alone, like the Turk, and not with the word of God, and can defend their faith in no other way than by killing, burning, chasing, and persecuting, and yet they want to be called Christians. If then the fruits of their faith are Murdering, burning, chasing away, persecuting, and every one must approve of this who wants to be a papal Christian, it is, I think, clear enough that they are the devil's Christians, and, as I have said, that I did not want to interpret 1)

1) interpret - exchange.

with the most holy Papist, if he would perform miraculous signs; for they are the ones on whom all innocent blood will come, as Christ says, which has been shed since the time of Habel.

I do not say this to justify myself, even if I were still holier, for Christ shall remain my righteousness, but that I do not want to let the papists everywhere be justified in their defiance, neither before God nor before the world, and that, just as our heretical doctrine is in one piece better than all their best doctrine, so also our life, since it stinks most sinfully, is better than all their holiness, since it is like a pure balm. But enough of that this time. Let us hear her praiseworthy counsel, and tell it word for word, as it is delivered to me, and then go on with it.

If the council of the Mainz priesthood follows the articles by a high dignified chapter at Mainz, the twelve Mainz provinces cathedral chapter and common clergy, the decreed and skilful, are to be held, the following measure is to be advised by a common assembly.

First of all, since without the grace of the Almighty God nothing good can be attained, it is the good concern of all of them that through the ordinary offices of the Masses or otherwise, as may be the occasion of the Chapter of the Cathedral, the Almighty should be most humbly invoked and asked to acquire and attain divine grace and this complaint 1) desired and useful endowment.

Item, the following, that each cathedral chapter, for measurable, courageous reasons, of which the authorities here in Mainz have received sufficient report, shall work with archbishops or bishops, princes or rulers, with serious diligence, to withdraw from them those whom they find adherent to the Lutheran doctrine and sect, of ecclesiastical or secular status, in their courts or otherwise in offices, and instruct them to abstain from it; If, however, they do not do so, they shall then suspend them, remove them, and no longer keep them in their halls; they shall also order the same to be done with their subjects.

1) In the original: "weighted down, coveted".

Item, every cathedral chapter, also other chapters, if some person among them would be dependent on or suspected of this seditious sect, shall turn them away from it and avert them; but if they would not leave it or would not purgirate themselves of the suspicion, then they shall no longer tolerate or suffer the same with them.

Item, it is considered necessary and almost conducive to the cause that each cathedral chapter apply to its archbishop or bishop with special diligence, and also decree for itself, as far as it is concerned, without any omission, that the rebellious Lutheran preachers be expelled, driven out, and no longer permitted to preach anywhere in their bishopric, principality, district, territories, and churches, even if a secular authority has ordered these preachers to be expelled in their districts of their bishopric or district, contrary to the Emperor's mandates, edicts, and decrees. Maj.'s mandates, edicts and orders, 2) that the same superiors be described and admonished not to tolerate or hold such preachers any longer, but to take them into custody by Kais. Maj.'s command to take them into custody and to keep them.

Item, for the sake of the grievance and repugnance which the common clergy and ecclesiastical state of the Mainz diocese and province has evidently encountered from ecclesiastical and secular authorities, and which has also been more than deceptively oppressed 3), the Assembly has, for the purpose of averting the same, generally considered with temporal counsel that each cathedral chapter should call upon its archbishop or bishop, admonish and request with the utmost diligence that their Elector and F.G., as it is their duty and obligation to do so, will show and communicate gracious help, advice and support, and as they consider it should be done accordingly:

First, that Archduke Ferdinandus as Governor of the Holy Roman Empire should by no means be circumvented, but should be petitioned with intercessors of reported archbishops and bishops for 4) intercession and promotion to Kais. Maj., because his F. G. has little consequence or obedience with the secular sovereigns.

2) advance - advance.
3) "oppressed" put by us instead of: afflicted. It would also like to be read "oppressed".
4) "in order to" put by us instead of: and.

Item, that thereafter two embassies would be ordered and chosen in the most beneficial way, which with the advice and help of the archbishops and bishops from the common of the ordinaries and capitulars together with the common clergy of the Mainz monastery and provinces would be sent to present, bag and board the improvement to a papal holiness, to which the common clergy of the German nation and especially the Mainz monastery and provinces are entitled, and to ask for gracious paternal guidance, counsel, and consolation, and because at this time and in the course of the see of Rome the jurisdiction, supremacy, and authority of the German nation is unfortunately held in low esteem, humbly request that His Holiness write to our most gracious Lord, the Roman Emperor, and paternally admonish him as Supreme Bailiff and Protector of the Roman Church, and enable him to appear with gracious assistance to the common clergy and the German nation, and especially to the province of Mainz, and to decree by serious mandate that the complaints, harassment and oppression inflicted on the clergy of the German nation by secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and which they were obliged to inflict daily, be completely averted, refrained from and abolished.

That also another embassy be ordered and sent to Kais. Maj. in Hispania be ordered and sent, with sufficient instruction, to attract in the most submissive and movable manner the trouble, affliction and repugnance so common clerics encounter and are daily inflicted by the sovereignty of the temporal and ecclesiastical state, and for this reason to request assistance and counsel and gracious provision in the most submissive manner; and for improvement and temporal counsel the deputies of the committee observe that the instruction is to be put in this form, as follows:

Instruction, what the deputies of the cathedral chapters and common clergy of the archdiocese and other monastery churches and bishops of the provinces of Mainz should request from Kais. Maj., our most gracious Lord, what they are to request, solicit, and most humbly request:

First of all, they shall announce to Kais. Maj., our most gracious Lord, our subservient, guilty and entirely willing services in all obedience, with the wish that the Almighty God may grant His Kais. Maj. blissful government,

and against their enemies and the enemies of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as the enemies of the Christian name, with joy and gladness, and with the offering of our humble prayer to God.

After that they shall tell Kais. Majesty and most humbly state that we have no doubt that His Imperial Majesty has knowledge of what one, called M. Luther, of the Augustinian Order, has been doing for some years now. Maj. has knowledge of what one, called M. Luther, of the Augustinian order, has now for some years been stirring up in Christian doctrine and writings against the holy Christian orders and faith, previously condemned and rejected by common conciliation, thereby seducing many pious and also great violent hearts and making them adherent to his heretical, stirring doctrine, for which reason H. K. M., at the Imperial Diet held at Worms, issued public mandates and edicts against Martin Luther, his doctrine and followers at high penalties. Luther, his doctrine and followers public mandates and edicts have been issued at high penalties. But, these mandates and edicts notwithstanding, the common clergy in the archdiocese of Mainz and its provinces were viciously harassed by the secular authorities out of Lutheran doctrine and teachings with unmistakable difficulties, led to ruin, and were obliged to be completely driven out and exterminated. For this reason we, the clergy, declare to S. Kais. Maj., as the supreme protector and protector of the Holy Christian Church, of the common clergy and of all Christendom, to appeal for help and to ask most humbly and diligently for rejection of the inflicted grievances, "most humbly" trusting, S. Kais. Maj, ...out of innate Christian virtue, which His Majesty... of the most noble, most powerful Roman Emperors, of the House of Austria and Burgundy, also Christian Kings of Hispania, Jerusalem and Sicily, out of paternal and maternal nature, will graciously move and take to heart such unchristian behaviour, burdening and oppression, and will so see to it and earnestly procure that we common clergy will be relieved of it and, contrary to equity 1) and Christian order, will no longer be burdened or oppressed. So that also Kais. Maj.

1) In our prelims: "Willfulness".

If we are to have a clear knowledge and understanding of the harassment and rape, as well as the repulsions, which we of the common clergy encounter every day, H. K. M. the competent persons shall report such harassment and oppression 1) from article to article, as follows:

First, that the secular authorities, adhering to the Lutheran doctrine, contain preachers who preach against all Christian order, that priests take wives, and that monks and nuns are eavesdropped from the monasteries; 2) that baptism and mass are not to be held according to the Christian order, as before, but in German, 2) that they communicate each person under both forms of the sacrament without prior confession, that one should not grasp, not confess, not pray, nor keep vows and oaths made and taken, nor call upon nor honor the Mother of God and other saints, that churches, cloisters and monasteries should be demolished and completely destroyed, and that other heresies should be imagined among the people; If such a thing were to happen and not occur, there would be great concern that rioting, rebellion, and the complete destruction and annihilation of the clergy would ensue, as some secular authorities tore down such monasteries, took out the monks, and drove them away, giving them Victualia for the rest of their lives, and otherwise appropriating to them all rents and estates.

Item, that some secular sovereigns of the ecclesiastical goods, tithe, interest, fee, and other charges are loaded and occupied with secular burdens, unlawful impositions, and encumbrances, which they force and compel the ecclesiastical persons to pay and give by their own force.

Item, that in some places they appropriate and take the tithes and other goods of the ecclesiastics for themselves, and will not give or let them be given to those to whom it is rightly due.

Item, that some secular authorities forbid the giving of small tithes to their subjects, and also burden the large tithes and other estates with secular burdens and impositions to such an extent that it is quite impossible for the ecclesiastics to give them.

1) In our submission: Amount nut.
2) "run" put by us; in our template: "buy".

is infallible; all contrary to common law, custom, and spiritual liberty.

Item, some secular authorities take the tithes of the new or novelties violently to them and in their use, keeping them for the pastors and those to whom it is rightfully due, own authority.

Item, some secular authorities take to them and to their power monasteries, convents and all incomes and pensions of the same, some inventory and describe all interest, pensions and fees, also jewels of the sanctuary, chalices and other things, in charge of the monasteries, convents and churches, which they decide at their pleasure and partly take away, all for the destruction of spiritual life and reduction of worship.

Item, *ut supra*, deprive and expel the right pastors and parish rulers and put others there by their own power, dependent on Lutheran doctrine and sect, since it cannot be known whether they have ever been ordained or ordained to pastoral dignities and office, who set, undertake and carry out their sermons and other works to nothing but riots, repulsions and revolts.

Item, the ecclesiastical ordinaries are prevented from keeping the holy broadcast, in which the vices and transgressions are to be punished, as by ancient custom, by some secular authorities, who do not want to permit such a broadcast to be kept in their territories.

Item, some secular authorities impose personal and civil burdens on all ecclesiastical persons in their territories, as with guards, gatekeepers, servants, and all other complaints, which they also impose by force and require against ecclesiastical freedom and custom.

Item, some secular rulers put down and do away with all services and offices, wanting that in a city, even where there is a large population, no more than one mass should be held during the day, which is nevertheless difficult to maintain over time.

Item, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and restraint are completely suppressed and abolished by secular authorities in that they do not want to suffer, tolerate or permit such jurisdiction in their jurisdictions and territories,

3) "to nothing" put by us instead of: so not.

urge the ecclesiastical persons, without distinction, to seek, give and receive justice in all matters before their secular courts or tribunals, since the ecclesiastics are helped slowly and no beneficial rights.

Although it is also well provided by common imperial law and the order is that to the right 1) sufficiently prescribed possessions, as law is presented and produced, are considered and held for true title, as if letters and seals were indicated over it, nevertheless such prescriptions are considered and held for void by some secular authorities, who want to have presented and produced letters and seals all the way, and do not judge on the prescriptions founded in imperial law.

Item, some secular sovereigns forbid that their subjects are not allowed to cut or lay anything in the churches, their building and otherwise for the preservation of good works, that also the church courts are not held for this purpose.

Because now everything and anything is done for the suppression and extermination of Christian faith and common spiritual status, and the spiritual persons, where they are deprived of temporal nourishment, would be completely suppressed, and could also no longer abstain, which nevertheless Kais. Maj. and other Roman Emperors, his Maj. ancestors, of high noble memory, have in all respects rendered submissive obedience, and have also been warranted with mature services and other presentations before others, as a common clergy of the German nation is once again obliged and willing to do, and then Kais. Maj. if the clergy of the German nation were thus to be exterminated, not a small part of the obedience would be withdrawn, we also, the clergy, in these remote great adversities and distresses, would have no one else but S. Kais. Maj. as our most gracious Lord, supreme bailiff and protector of the Church and the Christian faith, in whom we place all our comfort, hope and welfare. Maj. our most gracious Lord, most humbly and diligently request-

1) In our original: "to the right", and immediately following: "right". For understanding, compare in the 15th volume of our edition the 722nd document, the 61st complaint.

2) Maybe: prepare?

that his Kais. Maj. the common clergy of the German nation, and especially here with gracious assistance, graciously wished to abolish and prevent such harassment, oppression, and rapacious oppression, and for this reason he has seriously issued mandates, orders, and letters of command against some secular authorities, who were to be denounced by the deputies, especially under high penalties, namely with the forfeiture of all their regalia, privileges, dignities, fiefs and rights, also with eight and eight with deputation of some executors, In which the same rulers are commanded with great seriousness to put an end to the complaints, harassment, rape and oppression against the ecclesiastics and theirs, and to decree immediately that they also deprive the ecclesiastics, monasteries, convents and churches of interest, annuities, income, tithes and dues, or otherwise inflict damage, to restore them to their hands and to restore them to their former status and to let them remain there, and also otherwise, as Kais. Maj. out of high intellect and princely mind, and graciously help and see to it that we remain with our spiritual liberties and food and henceforth are no longer harassed or violated by the secular sovereigns. Such for the sake of the Emperor. Maj. we, the common clergy, in all submissiveness and obedience, to the best of our ability, also with humble prayer to God and His Maj. with blessed government and long-lasting health, with desired victories and overcoming of their adversaries and enemies, and otherwise to earn in the most submissive manner, always eagerly, willingly and undauntedly.

Item, it has been discussed by common assembly and deemed good that the skilful embassies name the following 3) Electors and Princes as executors and ask them to give their consent to this matter before Kais. Maj., 4) namely the three Electors on the Rhine, Cologne, Trier and Palatinate, also Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, Electors, also Archduke Ferdinan-

3) In our template: "after-named".

4) So put by us instead of: "and ask these things before Kais. Maj. to admit".

dus, Duke Wilhelm and Ludwig of Bavaria, Duke Jörgen of Saxony and the Dukes of Eleve.

Because also this rebellious, heretical doctrine originated and began mostly from the four mendicant orders' exuberant 1) freedom, so that they are granted by the See of Rome, called maro maZnum, in which they are exiled and withdrawn from all ordinary jurisdiction, for which reason they are completely subject to no one, have free life, and want to preach, perform and act everything according to their will and pleasure, caused and grown up, as it is obvious and undeniable, even future time, when it would remain so and with timely advice would not degenerate, still greater harm is to be feared: ...let the skillful of Caesar's... Maj. most earnestly request and ask that His Majesty most earnestly and diligently request and exhort Papal Holiness to pass and revoke such privileges of the four mendicant orders, called maZaum nmro, and to completely abolish them, and to make the said four orders subject to diocesaries and ordinaries.

Item, in addition to the given instruction, the skilful shall also work with Kais. Maj. with great diligence that the complaint of a venerable cathedral chapter at Hildesheim by Kais. Maj. will be graciously heeded, and they will be relieved of the burden of Kais. Maj.'s fatigue be graciously shown and communicated, namely that Kais. Maj. has appointed two commissioners or interrogators to hear the matters between the bishop and the monastery of Hildesheim and to hear the cases of the opposing parties, and also to help them to the right with the suspension of the guardianship and defences against the bishop and the monastery of Hildesheim, all according to the content of the information, by means of a venerable chapter of the cathedral of Hildesheim.

Item, for the sake of the prebend recently incorporated by papal sanctity into the University of Ingolstadt in the cathedral chapter of Augsburg; because the seditious heretical doctrine and sects, which in many parts come from the universities, are planted and practiced therein.

1) "exuberant" put by us instead of: "more effusive".

let the competent persons report to the Emperor. Maj. and most humbly request that His Maj. through their Oratores make and act upon an appeal to Papal Holiness to revoke and approve such incorporation, and not to further burden the Emperor's Cathedral Chapter 2) of Augsburg with it, and also to further act upon the information of a venerable Cathedral Chapter of Augsburg.

Item, it is decided by common collection that to this sending and other emergency needs a common stop of the archbishopric Mainz and provinces is to be put.

So also both monasteries Bamberg and Basel, although they are partly exempt and do not belong to the province of Mainz, have been dependent on the province in common ecclesiastical complaints and have contributed, it is considered good that both above-mentioned cathedral monasteries be described and be requested by message to hear from them what they want to do about it.

It is also considered necessary that the Instruction to Kais. Maj. in Latin and that the two, namely one in Latin and one in German, be sealed with the insignia of three bishops.

Item, common assembly have also decided and decreed unanimously, in view of the fact that some cathedral churches of this province of Mainz are far from Mainz, that every skilful person shall bring this action and advice to his cathedral chapter, the answer and what they will obtain from their bishops and princes, together with the money which they would be obliged to give, between here and the new year's day shall be sent and delivered to a venerable cathedral chapter at Mainz without delay or hindrance, namely Mainz three hundred florins, Würzburg one and a half hundred florins, Constance one and a half hundred florins, Eystett one hundred florins, Worms one hundred florins, Halberstadt one hundred florins, Verden one hundred florins, Augsburg one hundred florins, Hildesheim one hundred florins, Chur 4) fifty florins, Summarum 1500 and 7 florins.

2) It will be read either: "the emperor's" or: "the imperial cathedral chapter".

3) In the original: "butt nut".

4) In the manuscript: "Caur".

Well, that is a wise counsel. If the bishop of Strasbourg had been there, who would have thought that the devil could make such wise men? But methinks there is one thing forgotten, which is of some consequence, and if I had been in the council, it should have been there too; But it does no harm, if I report it afterwards, and it is just this, because the spiritual state is everywhere so utterly despised because of its shameful life and seductive doctrine, that even the children in the street make a carnival play out of it, and everyone now understands that they are a useless people, who only feed their bellies and serve no one, and that they are an unmistakable burden and burden to country and people, so that the saying Psalm 105 [Ps. 107, 40.] goes mightily over them: "God pours contempt on princes," would have been considered good, or still almost good, but that two embassies were erected, one to Kais. Maj. complaining how the common priesthood is so miserably despised in all hearts and is taken for nothing but idols, so that even the princes and lords who are on their side do not think anything of him unless they have a good greave on their cabbage [to make it fat], for God's sake they let [them] have everything that the soldiers use to pray. Therefore Kais. Maj. graciously helped that all the world should think no less of them than of St. Peter 2) and St. Paul, regardless of the fact that they are public desperate knaves and murderers, and that the apostles were holy men.

The other one would have to be sent to God in heaven and let him say that he wanted to revoke his word in the above-mentioned psalm, and not pour contempt but honor upon them. To such a message St. Christoffel and the great Carolus would be good, especially if St. Christoffel came with a great, great sack full of masses and rosaries, and Carolus with his great sword, perhaps God would be afraid of such giants and turn back his word and not let it go so brutally over the poor clergy. These two embassies would be more necessary, and all costs and efforts would be to

1) Set by us instead of: "Kol...."
2) "Peter" is missing from the manuscript.

turn. For what good would it be, if the priests had all the good in the world, if they were despised by everyone and kept like dung on the gaff? Let a man rather be a scoundrel than a great rich priest, who must be every man's idol and proverb.

Such would have been my counsel; but they would have thought that I mocked them, and would have burned me as a Lutheran, and cast me angrily into hell, for indeed it is not good to jest with such wise gentlemen. But what shall I do? I would not look upon the priests all in one heap with all their angry patrons, that I should write a word for their sakes, for I despise them ever so highly, as high as they are to me. But because I see that Satan, through them, as through his larvae, so shamefully lies, blasphemes, and is angry, and also likes to cause great misery, I will again mock him and expose him with fine lies behind and in front, so that everyone may beware, and see what kind of boys my ungracious lords are in the skin.

First, this is not to be concealed from me, 3) that they call my doctrine heretical and seditious. For Christ also would not be silent, because the Jews give John 8 his doctrine to the devil, but excuses it. So I also say here that my lords lie, nor is there any honest man who can accuse me of this, 4)that I have preached heretically and seditiously. Nor can anyone teach me that I am justly defiant; God grant that, be it emperor, king, pope, prince, or bishop, it is a lie when they say it. So it is known not only in German lands, but also in foreign kingdoms, that I was freely condemned at the Diet of Worms, even though I appeared there and offered myself for interrogation and justice, but there the power of the priests was exercised and no justice. You have, dear lords, done a piece with me that is written in Adamant and will never be erased, nor will you be silent until you all become dust that the wind scatters. Imperial escort ye left me not altogether, and sat there like the larvae and

3) Erlanger: "secretive".
4) In our template: "nor say".

Idols around the youngest man Emperor Charles, who did not understand such a thing, had to do what you liked, and condemned me without all right, as your consciences are my witnesses, unheard, unrecognized. So many idols had not so much sense all together, that they could have answered or let hear, [let alone 1] report or overcome a single poor beggar, whom they had nevertheless in their hands. Pooh to the eternal shame of all priests and pontiffs!

It is well known that not all the estates of the empire agreed to my doctrine of condemnation, but the best heads, especially of the secular estates, did not sign; But you, the larvae, have joined heads with some lords, like a mob, and have driven the emperor to such a sacrilegious judgment that the noble Duke Friederich of Saxony, Elector, of blessed memory, has said in one place that he had never seen a more childish thing in his life than in such a transaction at Worms, and could now well see how one acts in the churches, namely, that the priests rule. For this reason, although he kept silent, he no longer thought much of the churches. There were also many other great lords who were sorry for such dealings, and yet they could not oppose them, as I have heard myself, so that I may say with joy: I am not condemned at Worms by the Reich's judgment as a heretic; for it was not a common unanimous judgment. It was not a common, unanimous sentence passed and signed by all the estates, as it should have been, because the estates did not agree on which of them was most important in the whole empire, but there was a council of princes and bishops, who needed the emperor for their will. For this reason, the same commandment was not strong, for the consciences were captivated when they knew that it was unlawful and a purely priestly act, so that it was almost alleviated and tempered by another commandment at Nuremberg, for the consciences could not stand such a thing. This also proves the fruit and experience; for soon after this false judgment of the priests, my teaching began to be right,

1) Erlanger: "silence".
2) Perhaps: vain?

and went on, and became brighter than it had ever been, until monasteries and masses were overthrown, and the piety became such a despised thing, as before the eyes, that one may grasp how God has made my cause righteous, which is condemned by the devil and his idols. This is what I want to say about the lies that they call my doctrine heretical, for they cannot prove that it is condemned by the judgment of human authority (I will keep silent about the divine judgment) as by the unanimous judgment of the kingdom. But that some princes of the Romans and bishops of the Reds have condemned me, I wipe my shoes.

But the fact that they seditiously blaspheme my doctrine is also their pure courageous will to adorn themselves and to receive discredit against me, because they know nothing else to bring up, for they will never be able to prove it, and so they themselves know differently. And indeed, if it were only up to me, I would keep quiet about it, and rejoice in their wanton lies, and be satisfied with their own conscience, which knows otherwise. For the gospel must have the name in the world, that it is called rebellious and blasphemed, although everyone knows that it is not so, so that they may flittingly and confidently sin in the Holy Spirit and be hardened, lest they should repent and be utterly destroyed. So Christ himself also had to be accused of sedition and brought before Pilate, although Pilate knew and found in the interrogation that it was not true; but it did not help, he had to die as a seditionist and be counted among the murderers, so that a seditious title was also written over him. So surely and firmly did they wish to make it known to the people that he was a rebel. But what did it profit the Jews? Elias the prophet also had to be called rebellious, because he preached against King Ahab. St. Paul and his followers were also called rebellious, as Lucas writes in actis. Since our Head Jesus Christ, with his prophets and apostles, had to endure rebellion himself, we should not be dismayed that we are also rebelliously reproached, but be glad that we suffer the same from our Satan that Christ suffered with his apostles, because not only ours, but also the apostles, are rebellious.

even the conscience of the enemy knows well that
we're innocent.

But for the sake of others, and to harden the idols the more, I will answer for such blasphemy. For the more the vipers hear the truth, the more blind they become. And this little piece should also calm a blinded and obdurate heart sufficiently, so that they must confess, see and grasp that here in Wittenberg and where I preach, there has been no rebellion, and still by the grace of God it is as quiet as in no other place in the world. Where I now teach, there should be most of all turmoil and unrest, since my teaching goes on most strongly every day, and I myself am present. But that does not help, such public truth and proof is too strong against their lies and makes them ashamed, therefore it does not have to apply, their lies should and must be right. Now now, what such blasphemy will help them, shall come to light in time, as it is written to the Jews. So three years ago I wrote the booklet on worldly authority, long before the uprising came, in which I established and confirmed worldly authority and obedience from the Scriptures in such a way that it alone is strong enough testimony for me against such blasphemy. For I respect that no teacher before me ever wrote so powerfully of worldly authority that even my enemies must have thanked me for it. And if some of the authorities had not been strengthened by this when the riots were raging, they should also have become despondent and continued to concede to the peasants. There are many more books and writings, also with names against the rebellion. So there is still the book to the German nobility, in which I admonish the nobility, and that through prayer to God, for the reformation of the German country. With all this, the mouths of the blasphemers 1) are shut enough and I am amply pardoned.

And who stood stronger against the peasants with writings and preaching than I? I have been in the midst of them, and have passed through them with my life and limb. They never let me tell them that they had it from me. So also in Frankenhaufen and Mühl-

1) In the manuscript: "blasphemy".

Hausen, that the mintman had not to do with me. Yes, he was more violent and bitter toward me than toward any other man. What the devil did through him was also most true of my 2) head. But I put a block in front of him by the grace of God, even before worldly authority came. And if it should be a boast, I would not yet know who had beaten the peasants first and more. Now they take the glory that have done the least; and they that have done the best must now have the reward that they have rebellious doctrine. But it is right. Go, go, you are on the right track, you must run if you want to break your neck.

So it is also publicly true that the coiner, although he began in Alstädt in our prince's land, God drove him away so that he had to leave, and came into Duke Jörgen's land to Mühlhausen and caused such misery in his principality. Where were there angry princes and lords who defended him? So it is true that the rebellion did not arise in our principality nor in Hesse, but came from Franconia over the forest and from Mühlhausen and the line here to Duke Jörgen's land, and thus also threw down and set fire to our prince's land as the border. Yes, that is why the rebellion has come to us, since the gospel has been rejected to the highest degree. I must tell the truth, and if 5) Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, who at that time was the first to put on the armor, had not done so, 6) it would have been the Duke of Mansfeld.

2) In our prelims: "my".

3) This is the passage that Luther remembers in the above-mentioned letter to the Elector: "I had resolved not to think of Duke George any further, for his thought is in the closest printed copies of the "Rathschlag". Duke George had known how to procure a copy of the "Rathschlag", and this caused a longer correspondence between him and the Elector.

4) Manuscript: "ober".

5) It is highly probable that instead of "hätt", which the Erlanger offers here, "thät" (thet or thett) will be found in the original; this means: "if Count Albrecht were not there". We have refrained from a change, because the reading we have assumed is incomprehensible today not only to laymen, but also to highly learned people. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. V, 668, K 34, note and idiae, Col. 1191, 8 28. Of course, with the reading "thäte" the addition made would be omitted.

6) "not done" is missing in the original. (Erlang. Ausg.)

In eight days Jörge had so little power up to Bohemia, as none of the other lords, who were overwhelmed; so horribly dwindling ran the tiresome fire. But then it gained a push and resistance, because the praiseworthy count took hold of it; now in time one should also give him his reward and thanks, as the wolf gave to the crane, and as the world is wont to reward all honest pious people who do the best by it, according to the saying: He who helps the thief from the gallows, the thief gladly brought him up. He must also become rebellious and keep rebellious doctrine, regardless of the fact that he has done the first and best against rebellion and punishes its blasphemous mouth with undeniable work. 2)

But if we want to hear the truth, I would like to say who is the cause of this uproar and lamentation. The first is that God was enraged at the 3) priests at Worms, since they also condemned me 4) outrageously, contrary to natural law, and blasphemed and desecrated God's Word, after which they drove out and persecuted the evangelical preachers. Because they did not want to suffer God's word and right preachers, God did as was just and right and sent rebellious preachers who, under the appearance of the gospel, caused such misery as the false apostles did, to bring punishment on the clergy and clergymen, even though many innocent people 5) had to pay for it, because they were followers of the wicked and kept silent about such clerical outrages and did not support the truth. For the rebellion of the peasants was only a beginning of punishment and God's wrath, and also a warning that they should desist from their raving and blasphemy and let God's word go, or else he would seek them out with a sharp rod. I am not saying that they should believe me, but only that they should be more hardened 6) and not believe until they know. For God is just, and cannot do wrong.

1) Manuscript: "ledige"; analogous is: wegern instead of: weigern.
2) So put by us instead of: "incredulous" and "punish".
3) Jn our template: "des".
4) Original: not.
5) Here we have deleted a superfluous "beside". 6) In our original: "vorstecken" instead of: verstocken.

And as he hath been able to bring punishment upon the peasants in a flash, so he may yet come upon them unawares, that they shall perish before they know it, as it is written in Job.

In addition to this, the evil that the life of the priests was evil, diabolical, tyrannical, was unmistakable to all the world, so that even the secular nobility of Worms acted before the emperor himself; there was no thought of improving or abating anything, but was always pressed, beaten, scraped, so that no one was safe from his wife, child, property, body, and the secular lords were not much more pious. Because they themselves did not want to give up their shameful, abominable, tyrannical nature, and did not allow others to hear the gospel and teach them to live well, but oppressed both body and soul of their subjects with all injustice, outrage, and violence, they pressed and forced the rebellion out by force, and went, as Solomon says, Proverb 31 [30, 33]: "He who blows too hard forces blood out." For then the mob became unwilling, and could not bear the tyrants' courage.

But no one can deny that such things were the cause of the uprising, for the peasants publicly mention them in their note, so everyone knows that it is true how innumerable the tyranny of the priests and their followers has been. Now the kittens adorn themselves finely, would gladly conceal such pieces, do not intend to desist even today, now blame the Gospel for what they have aroused by their infallible nature. God must bear it and be in the wrong, so that their evil may remain right. Well, in time he will put it away, and will excuse himself in such a way that neither the priests nor the servants of the priests will remain. This is my prophecy.

And behold their subtle wisdom, 7) they have led it out! They have therefore forbidden my teaching, because they feared sedition, and would sit fast, and keep the mob in check. That was the goodly counsel-

7) So put by us, instead of, "And yet they of their no prudence."

punch. Have they not met with it? Yea, even as Solomon saith, What the wicked feareth shall come upon him; even as it came upon the Jews, when 1) they followed the wise counsel of Caiaphas; lest the Romans came and took away their land and people, they had to kill Christ. And so it is.

(So far the handwriting.)

827 Luther's concerns about what the Elector of Saxony should do to the Catholic bishops. 1526 or later.

This concern is found in the Eisleben edition, Vol. I, p. 276; in the Altenburger, Vol. III, p. 520; in the Leipziger, Vol. XIX, p. 556; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 315 and in the Erlanger, Vol. 53, p. 449. The Eisleben edition places it above the Mainzer Rathschlag (1526), De Wette and the Erlanger above the Packsche Bündniß (1528). We find in the same neither for the one nor the other a clue.

(1) Whether it should not be good that my most gracious lord should take such an action against the bishops who are encroaching on the lands of his electoral grace, and should petition them in writing and have them denounced, since they have done nothing in the evangelical cause up to now, and have omitted to supply his electoral grace with the word of God. His Electoral Grace was forced to forestall riots, discord and all kinds of trouble (arising from unequal doctrine), even to do the best they could in the greatest need.

002 But that they might yet see for abundance that his electoral grace sought nothing but that in the lands of his electoral grace, for the salvation of the poor souls, the same gospel was held. But that they might still see for abundance that his electoral grace sought nothing but that in his electoral grace's lands, for the salvation of the poor souls, the gospel and the same doctrine might be held, and lived peaceably, in harmony: then his electoral grace would still be inclined or desirous that they themselves, the bishops, should take care of their office, 1 Timothy 1:1, and promote and help such gospel in his electoral grace's lands, and teach and help such gospel in his electoral grace's lands. 1, and in the lands of his princely grace promote and help to teach such a gospel and to keep peace, as they owe before God and the world, because they want to be bishops and shepherds.

003 But where they would not that they should then mean, that it might be his churfürst-

1) "there" put by us instead of: the.

The bishops, as a secular prince, suffer as little in his princely lands discord and unequal teaching contrary to the Gospel, as little as they themselves can suffer in their dioceses 2c., and they, the bishops, thus urge H. C. F. Gn. with the utmost necessity to see to it themselves, lest H. C. F. Gn. also be found guilty before God of such neglect on the part of the bishops of his electoral subjects.

(4) Such things, I think, should not be useless for more glorification before the world and for more consolation of the conscience: so that one could boast that all ways have been tried to please the bishops, as much as God's word suffers it.

828. of King Ferdinand in Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke of Austria 2c., Mandate against the Lutherans 2c. Ofen, 20 Aug. 1527.

This mandate first appeared separately in 1527, and was subsequently included in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 394; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 757; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 594.

1. we Ferdinandus, by the grace of God, of Hungary and Bohemia 2c. King, Infant in Hispania, Archduke in Austria, Duke in Burgundy, Styria, Carinthia, Craine, and Würtenberg^) 2c., Count of Tyrol 2c.: Offer to the venerable, our dear devout, noble, honorable, clergy, and our dear faithful, N., all and every one of our prelates, counts, barons, knights, land marshals, governors, stewards, bailiffs, governors, mayors, judges, councillors, municipalities, and otherwise in general to all our and our principality's and lands' subjects our grace and all our goods.

(2) We have no doubt that all of you are still aware and have fresh memories of the fact that the most noble, most powerful prince and lord, Lord Carolus, elected Roman Emperor, our dear brother and gracious lord (as was due to his Imperial Majesty as the Christian head and protector of our Christian faith in the footsteps of his Majesty's forefathers, the Roman Christian Emperor), is still in power. Majesty, as the Christian head and protector of our Christian faith, subsequently and permanently in the footsteps of his Majesty's ancestors, Roman Christian Emperor), to all Christian believing souls danger, there-

2) In the old edition: "Wittenberg".

that those who have not been led astray from the right path of salvation by some seductive heretical sects and doctrines, which at that time had their beginning, and which some had undertaken to spread, and who, under a semblance of good instruction, had been directed to eternal damnation by a mixture of poisons, be graciously heeded, and such seductive doctrine be prevented and stopped from taking root more deeply:

3. The 1) Origin and beginning, of which the first flowed most and highest, Martin Luther, out of imperial clemency before his imperial majesty, other princes, princes and estates of the holy empire, to Worms to the imperial diet, in escort and most gracious good security (although his imperial majesty, over previous amicable and gracious admonition, by papal holiness to the same Martin Luther, was not guilty of this) to the responsibility graciously let come; there, after recounting some of his "most false and seductive" articles in imperial majesty's [name], 2) and subsequently by a prince and other honorable learned persons, graciously and brotherly instructed, to refrain from such his unrighteous behaviour, to consider himself, and to revoke his outgoing unchristian books and writings, which, from the praiseworthy examples of the holy fathers, would certainly follow him for the preservation of his soul, honour and body,

(4) All this, however, has been disregarded and unseen by him, and has been heard about with unseemly words. Therefore, the Imperial Majesty, together with all the Princes, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Empire, as mentioned above, have been caused, with timely counsel and good forethought, to separate Martin Luther from the community of the Christian faithful, to reject him, to confiscate him, and to put him under guard, on account of his booklets and unchristian teachings; Also to forbid his and his followers' and successors' books, along with other unseemly paintings and letters, to be printed, traded, bought, sold, read, and kept, with severe penalties,

(5) How all this and more has been indicated and explained at length and with more expression in the same Edicts of His Imperial Majesty in a necessary and thorough manner. We hereby draw ourselves into this, and wish to have the same edicts renewed again, which we are also commanded to keep by our subsidiary mandates; in this connection the following,

1) In the old edition: "Dem".

2) Added by us.

together with other princes and some embassies at Regensburg, to comply with the same edicts and to live in all other of our lands, and therefore to issue orders, comparing and resolving the contents of our mandates and the union incorporated therein; as has been done by us, and such mandates have been published several times.

(6) According to the same, we have provided ourselves entirely to all and every one of you, as our obedient and obligated subjects, and have placed yourselves in no doubt that you will, therefore, as is well befitting and granted to you, show yourselves obediently therein, and also keep such Imperial Majesty's mandates in accordance with ours. Maj. also according to our mandates. We are told, and it is almost a fact, that in some and many places the seductive, foreign doctrines that have been touched before have not only not been stopped, but have grown in constant increase and uptake.

7. And especially new, frightful, outrageous doctrines, which are not to be revealed nor reported to us on account of the impudent blasphemy, and which we have heard with quite a heavy mind, arise, among which are the regeneration of baptism and abuse of the reverend sacrament of the tender Corpus Christi:And, what is still more grievous, by some who follow Carolostadio, Zwinglio, and Oecolampadio, and their followers, they even reject, deny, and speak of it in a vicious and contemptuous manner, that neither the holy body of Christ, nor his blood, is in the sacrament of the altar under the form of bread and wine.

8. But now that it is evident and in the light of day that baptism in the fellowship of the holy Christian church from the time of the apostles, as it is still held in custom by all Christendom, is not contrary to but in harmony with the gospel, and that two hundred years ago rebaptism was not only condemned by the holy fathers, who proved their faith with their honorable good Christian life and bloodshed, but also by the emperor's right hand (as their writing shows) as heretical, who have proved their faith with their honorable, good, Christian life and bloodshed, but also by the imperial laws (as their writing indicates) condemned it as heretical, but on the other hand allowed and approved infant baptism, such as comes to us from distant parents and forefathers, as Christian. Thus also the holy and worthy sacrament of the altar is instituted by Christ, true God and man, our Redeemer, at his last supper, to be enjoyed by us in remembrance of his suffering and the forgiveness of our sins, and last of all, his body and blood are confessed. This also the four Gospels, together with St. Paul, in many places clearly and undoubtedly express, and our parents, when long Christianity stood.

With all devotion they have used, believed, given and received. Even out of contempt for him, many long and short years ago, considerable signs have followed and come to pass.

9. Where then such things are to be despised, scorned, abused, or not kept by you as believers in Christ, you must consider that such things, together with the highest blasphemy, would certainly be sufficient to endanger your souls, honor, and bodies, and also all your lives, that you (as unfortunately appears in many places) would fall into much more and graver error, seduction, and blasphemy against our holy faith, and, as to be feared, would finally, without all knowledge of God, our Savior, live like cattle on the earth, and consume your time. Because, as mentioned above, such articles were considered heretical and condemned many hundreds of years ago, and were prevented and forbidden not only by spiritual, but also by imperial laws, at grave and highest penalties to honor, life, limb, and property.

010 Namely, that ye may receive remembrance and knowledge of them in part, as is reported. Whoever freely and persistently holds and believes against the twelve articles of our holy Christian faith, 1) also against the seven sacraments of the common, holy Christian church, is thereby duly recognized as a heretic. That he may be punished in body and life according to the occasion and magnitude of his sacrilege, hardening, blasphemy, and heresy; item, who in the above 2) opinion is found to be a heretic, as is proper, and is recognized that his goods are forfeited and confiscated according to the order and difference of rights; item, that every heretic, as recognized above, is put to death; item, that he loses all liberties given to Christians; item, that he is dishonorable, and therefore not fit for any honest office, nor may he be used; item, that no one is obliged to hold or execute any bonds or other bonds; item, that he has no power to buy, sell, or carry on any trade or business; item, that he has no testament, 3) or business, or last will and testament, nor to make any other 4) testament, or last will and testament, which may be of use to him; item, that he has no right to make any other will and testament, nor to make any other will and testament, nor to make any other will and testament, nor to make any other will and testament, nor to make any other will and testament, nor to make any other will and testament, nor to make any other will and testament.

1) That is, the apostolic creed. Compare Table Talks, Cap. 54, § 13. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 1358.
2) In the old edition: "transcribed".
3) According to § 16 this is to be understood by "bearing witness".
4) In the old edition: "other".

The same shall not be able to do so; item, that a father who believes in Christ may legally disinherit his son who is a heretic of all his father's property, and contrary to this, a son may disinherit his father in the same case.

(11) Now that such penalties and punishments have been set and decreed only for the chief heretics, and other new unchristian articles have arisen and are being used against our holy faith and holy Christian order, and because of the punishments imposed in such cases there is no doubt, lack of understanding or doubt on the part of the authorities, we have graciously considered and decreed the punishments due to some of the transgressions. We earnestly admonish and wish to punish with fire, without any mercy, those who, with impudent speeches, sermons, and writings, attack or despise the divinity or humanity of Christ, or the birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and similar articles of the same. Those who despise, defile, or revile the eternal, pure, and chosen Queen Virgin Mary by saying, preaching, writing, or preaching that she was a woman like any other woman now on earth, that she was a mortal sinner, that she did not remain an eternal virgin after her birth, that she did not give birth to God, and that she did not go to heaven, shall be punished for these and similar heresies and errors in body, life, or property, according to the occasion and magnitude of the offense.

(12) Those who despise, reject, and speak shamefully of the Mother of God, Mary, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and other dear saints of God, as well as their merit, intercession, and proven miraculous signs, shall be punished with imprisonment, banishment from the country, and other punishments, according to the occasion of the crime. If any one shall change or alter the form or order of baptism, mass, or holy chrismation, other than that which has been instituted of old in the Christian church, he shall be punished, according to the form of the act of alteration, with imprisonment, banishment from the country, or other punishment. Item, who, according to heretical opinion, commit the Lord's supper (as they call it), so that they give and take bread and wine to one another, they shall be punished as heretics in body, life, and goods, and the houses in which such things are committed shall be confiscated, or, according to our pleasure, torn down to eternal remembrance.

013 Item, in which places the baptismal fonts, sacramental houses, and altars are pulled down, they shall be restored, with the forfeiture of all liberty, in months of the year.

The time limit is to be set. All those who have not been ordained priests according to the order of the Christian church, and who nevertheless consider that they have the power to consecrate the reverend sacrament, as has unfortunately happened in many places in an unlawful and intentional manner, shall be punished by fire, sword, or water, according to the judgment of the judges. If anyone despises priestly confession and does not do so at least once a year according to the order of the church, or if anyone goes to the sacrament without priestly confession, he shall be punished with imprisonment, banishment from the place of his residence, or other penalties to the estate. If any monk or priest shall have thrown away his habit or priestly habit, or shall have let it become overgrown, or shall have taken wives, and shall not be found to be a priest, they shall be accepted, and shall be kept in prison with water and bread for one month, after which the priests shall be deprived of their benefices (whether or not they have them); and the monks who have entered the country in which they have fallen out of their orders shall be sent back thither to their authorities for further punishment, according to their orders and rules. But those who had fallen out of the country, and the priests mentioned above, according to the recent order of Regensburg, would be eternally expelled from the country. The same shall be done with their wives. Unless they fall into other heresies, they shall be punished like other heretics, according to their crime.

014 If any man shall take a husband more than a wife, or again a wife more than a husband, they shall be punished according to the custom and usage of the country. Neither shall anyone who, contrary to the order of the Christian church, dwells with one another in forbidden degrees of friendship, kinship, or affinity, be punished, but shall be expelled from the country. If anyone destroys, burns, or otherwise changes the image of our Lord Jesus Christ on the altar, or the like of our Lady and other saints, he shall be punished according to his crime against his body or goods. Those who, during the forty days of the holy fast, on Fridays or Saturdays, or on other forbidden fast days, eat meat unlawfully to the annoyance of their neighbors, shall be punished in prison with water and bread for as many days as they have done so.

015 He that preacheth and holdeth that no Christian should go and fight against the Turks, or against other infidels, shall be punished with the law.

and otherwise be punished. Anyone who has acted unjustly and defended that nothing good should happen to the poor souls, nor bring them any merit or benefit, should be chased out of the country and driven away. And when in various times great revolts and terrible bloodshed arose from the fact that Christian liberty was spread among the common people with false doctrine, as if all things were common and no authority should be, which doctrine is then again in many places imagined in the corners of the poor unintelligent: therefore we set and will whoever holds or teaches such, and is convicted of it, that he shall be judged with the sword, as the imperial laws otherwise express and are able to do.

(16) We will also remind you of the penalties and punishments imposed by secular law on those who contain, house, defend, protect, and guard such heretics. Namely, and first of all, that they are under ban, where they despise amicable admonition, do not accept it, and after such admonition remain for more than a year, ipso cuoto, and are in footsteps, inknmsZ, and deprived of all honors, are not admitted to honest public offices, nor to council, are not admitted to any testimony, may not make any transaction nor last will, which is decided for them, nor be capable of any other inheritance. No one is obligated to answer them in court for any matter whatsoever, but only the law is open against them, that such a person is neither an advocate nor an orator, and does no assistance before the court; item, not to be a notary public, and the same instruments are not valid.

17. According to such known and still much higher penalties and punishments, which are contained in written, 1) especially in ecclesiastical laws, and which we have now and then refrained from reporting, and which we only intend to comply with the imperial ones, we might well have proceeded against those who knowingly transgressed this and made themselves liable to punishment, and also as a praiseworthy Christian prince and king not only ought to do, but also ought not to change, 2) we have nevertheless given the poor unintelligent and simple, ignorant Christian people, who alone are seduced by some wicked, unchristian persons, and are thus falsely and fraudulently instructed under the appearance of the Gospel, the right to be punished.

1) In the old edition: "Penalties, nor those written in" 2c.

2) So put by us instead of: "not only not well befitting, but also not due to others" 2c.

who, graciously bearing mercy and compassion, have the gracious confidence which our open prohibition reminds them to stand by, and to avoid such erroneous, seductive articles.

18. Therefore, out of innate weariness and mercy, we are graciously minded to once again send out the most gracious warning to all of you that such seductive teachings and heretical sects, which mostly occur in the corners and secret schools and assemblies of some wicked, wanton, reckless persons, do not satisfy us; and who are not satisfied with the great, miserable bloodshed, which occurs from it every year, but still new mutinies and practices, for the awakening of all disobedience and sedition, from which nothing good ever comes, but all evil, as fire, murder, robbery, and extortion, The authorities are not obliged to tolerate it, nor to let it go on without punishment, but to have the necessary understanding, and are obligated to do so.

(19) Accordingly, we wish to remind all of you, and each of you, especially herewith of your Imperial Majesty, our dear brothers and most gracious Lord, Edict. Majesty, our dear brothers and most gracious Lord, Edict, also reminded you of our mandate, and thereupon graciously admonished you to live, comply with, and carry out the same in all its contents and understandings, and especially the rebaptism (after the holy baptism has been unitedly instituted by God Almighty, and thus, as it stands before, has been held for many hundred years from the time of the holy apostles), also of blasphemy, contempt and abuse of the reverend Sacrament of the Altar, other than that which is accepted and used by the holy Christian Church; In addition to the contemptible speeches that have been made because of it, and other heretical articles that have resulted from it and have been spread at this time, and some of which have been reported above, we have not left it unreported for admonition and warning in the most gracious opinion.

020 For whosoever among you, of high or low estate, shall not obediently keep to such our gracious warning, but shall yield to the seductive sects and doctrines still aforesaid, or shall raise up anew other unheard-of, damned ones, or shall keep, defend, and protect those that have been raised up, and shall thus show themselves repugnant to our holy faith, as that of Christian church fellowship has hitherto been in use, and also repugnant to these our mandates, and shall not turn away or turn back from it, against him or her we will, by ourselves and by our mandates according to the law of the church, give up our holy faith.

appointed attorneys and officials, according to written, especially imperial and secular rights, also announced imperial edicts and superior to our declared prelates, hold justice,

(21) But against the disobedient, our subjects, who witness and permit such, let them proceed with punishment according to the following measure. Thus, if such a person is one of our officers, councillors, servants, stewards, or bailiffs, and such a thing is committed, he shall be deprived from that time on of his service, office, stewardship, or any other provision he may have from us. If it were another of our landmen or subjects, who had to administer the court or the authorities, we reserve our punishment against him, and at any time determine and require the same crime and infraction in our chamber. If they are mayors or judges of cities or towns, they shall be deprived of their offices and henceforth not be allowed to come and serve. If, however, the cities or town councils in which the mayors and judges are present, and would not admonish and hold them to the execution of our mandates, deprive these cities of all their privileges, and revoke them, and otherwise generally against all authorities subject to us, including heresies knowingly harbored and detained (if they would not repent of the same after this our gracious admonition in due time), reserve our punishment.

22. In order that such errors and heresies may be prevented from causing the most irritation and cause, and that men may be all the more careful to guard against them and to take precautions against them, we herewith earnestly desire and command that no one in the hereditary and other lands of ours shall print, write, sell, buy, read, or keep books, writings, paintings, or other unseemly interpretations of Lutheran, Zwinglian, Oecolampadian, or any other of their followers and successors; And who, excluding no one, shall have in their power the same books, writings, paintings, or such meanings as they may be called, that they shall certainly deliver and deliver them all from the date of these mandates to the public within two months next coming, each to the authorities and court under which he is dedicated, seated, and belonging. But whoever does not do so, and we are reminded of it, we will proceed and act against him with due punishment.

023 And for a good and thorough inquiry and experience of such merchants as are concerned, we have granted, as we do herewith, that whosoever shall have

1) whoever uses the above-mentioned or other Lutheran, heretical and seductive articles, and does not want to be reprimanded from them, so that he would fall under our punishment and be recognized for this reason, notifies the authorities that we want the third part to follow and be given to the person reporting such punishments, which or as much as is due to him on the property. We hereby give notice to all our governors, governments, land marshals, governors, administrators, caretakers, bailiffs, mayors, judges, and all others who have jurisdiction, court, and authority, and we sincerely wish that all and any of them who, in one or more of the above-mentioned unchristian, heretical articles, have acted contrary to the outgoing imperial edict and this our mandate, may be punished. Edict and this our mandate, as aforesaid, and be referred to the same, as is due, and brought to them, that you then act and proceed against the same from this time forth, and without any further cognizance, according to the expulsion of the penalties and punishments explained above.

24. And in good knowledge, inquire everywhere in your courts and territories with all diligence, make inquiries about them, order the same also through others, where someone would enter such as is indicated, have him or them taken into custody from the beginning, order the same to be done with others, keep them well, and act with them according to our opinion as described above, and in other ways live and comply with these mandates of ours, only if some grave matter, which is not reported, should occur to you, then report it to us or to our governors and government of our lands, where such a matter occurs, so that we, or they on our account, may continue to give order and command for punishment.

025 We also will that ye be ten years, the next after the opening of this mandate of ours, with all the pastors in our provinces, and decree that they shall read and publicly proclaim the yearly twelvemonths, namely, at the high feasts, Easter and Christmas, in the pulpit of every one of his parish. To this do ye all and every one especially our opinion. Given in our city of Ofen on the twentieth day of August in the fifteen hundred and seven and twentieth year of our reign.

Nanäolnlu Domini RsZis proprium.

1) "Who someone" put by us instead of: "Would someone".

829 The formula of the alleged alliance communicated by Otto von Pack to Landgrave Philip of Hesse, dated Breslau, May 15, 1527.

In Spalatin's Annals, p. 102. also in Hortleder, "von den Ursachen des deutschen Krieges," vol. I, Ub. II, eap. I, p. 579. On Pack's Handel see St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, Einleituug, p. 17 ff. There, in the note, "IndUats is to be read twice" instead of Invocavit. The date given is correct, by the way.

By the Grace of God, we Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, Roman Imperial Majesty in the Holy Empire, Governor, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy and Würtemberg, Count of Tyrol 2c.

And we Albrecht, of the Holy Roman Church of the title Laneti Dstri ock Vineula Priest-Cardinal, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire, in Germania Churfürst and Primas, Administrator of the Abbey of Halberstadt.

And we Joachim, Arch Chamberlain and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, both Margraves of Brandenburg, of Stettin, of Pomerania, Dukes of the Cassubians and of the Wends, Burgraves of Nuremberg and Princes of Rügen.

And we Matthew, of the Holy Roman Church lituli Kanoti ^QAsli Priest-Cardinal, Archbishop of Salzburg, Papal Holiness and of the See of Rome DsKotus nntu8 sta.

We Wigand, bishop of Bamberg, and we Conrad, bishop of Würzburg, and duke of Franconia.

And by the same graces we George, Duke of Saxony, and Landgrave in Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen.

We William and Ludwig, brothers, Dukes of Upper and Lower Bavaria, Palatine Counts of the Rhine, do hereby publicly confess and declare for ourselves by virtue of this letter:

1. Since, in these weak, disgusting runs, which the Almighty God imposes on the human race on account of sin and iniquity, much blasphemy and dishonor, as well as annoyance of the neighbor, has arisen, so that God not only in His sacraments, which He instituted on earth for the correction and strengthening of our weak consciences, but also in His own omnipotence and divinity, is reviled and destroyed, churches and monasteries spoliated and destroyed, persons given to God chased out of His service, in unhonorable ways, but also in his own omnipotence and divinity, to the extent that churches and cloisters have been spoliated and destroyed, persons given to God have been expelled from his service, cast out to dishonest authorities, their rent and interest have been violently taken, and they have been deprived of them,' and, most dreadful of all, the office of the holy mass has been taken away.

is not only repudiated, but also considered idolatrous and sinful: We, as Christian King, Electors, Archbishops, Bishops, and Princes, on account of the vows and pledges which we have made to God our Creator, to whom we, as the creature to its Creator, are to submit ourselves by all means, and to place ourselves under His holy feet; Likewise, on account of the oath and duty which we have taken, in part, to Papal Holiness and all Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, to which we, as our authorities, should and must render submissive obedience, nothing else is due, except to counter such blasphemy as described above, as much as we, as men, are able to do by means of divine assistance, to avert it, and to amend it; Likewise, the good, blessed church ordinances and ceremonies, which the holy church, being a bride of Christ, invented and ordained for our betterment and blessedness, and which have now for a time been cast out and suppressed, are to be renewed again and restored to their former status, so that the will of God (who undoubtedly desires to preserve his bride) may be lived, and the mandate of the Emperor's Majesty, our most gracious Lord, may be protected and administered. In order that we may or may be able to do this the more effectively and the more nobly (but not otherwise than by the help of God), we the above-named, King, Electors, Archbishops, Bishops and Princes, have agreed, united, sworn and promised to give birth in the manner and measure that follows.

For the first, it is considered that after the death of the Highborn Prince, Lord Louis, formerly King of Hungary and Bohemia, our friendly dear brother-in-law, lord, friend and gracious lord, the Kingdom of Hungary belongs to no one cheaper than to us, Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, Archduke of Austria 2c., on account of our friendly dear husband, by God, nature, and all rights, is considered good, and is also advised and promised that the next-described Electors, Archbishops, Bishops, and Princes shall and will do us a goodly assistance, with men or money, the contents of the articles which have therefore been put forward, granted, pledged, sealed, and accepted; so that we may conquer the above-mentioned kingdom the better and more effectively, and force the alleged Count John of Rutzfin, who maliciously betrayed our ancestor King Ludwigen, aroused the Turks against him and the Christian blood, out of it with power, and calmly sit down in it, and if we [such]
If, after the will of God has come to an end, our power and reception is thus increased by the Kingdom of Hungary, we shall then be well advised to seek out the heretics and blasphemers in their abstinence among the princes, lords and communes, where they are housed, etched and harbored.

(3) And then, upon the solemn command which His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious brother and gracious lord, will send us from Hispania, we will command the Elector of Saxony to hand over to us Martin Luther, the arch-heretic, together with all heretical preachers, priests, monks, nuns, and other clergy who have changed their habit, religion, and spiritual nature. In addition, he is to restore the office of holy mass, all ceremonies, vigils, and masses of the soul, as they may be called and have been called from time immemorial, as well as churches, monasteries, and cloisters. And if he should be in want thereof, and would not render obedience to Imperial Majesty in this, then we Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, Archduke of Austria 2c., we Albrecht, Cardinal, Archbishop, Prince 2c, the said Electors of Saxony, with our highest and strongest power, according to the terms and contents of the following articles, in his Saxon, Meissen, and Thuringian lands; and we Wigand, and Conrad, Bishops, the said Electors in his Frankish lands, also with our strongest and highest power, to seize his castles, cities, towns, and villages, to drive him out of the same, and never again to suffer him or his children to enter therein, henceforth for ever. And when we have finished this, after those of Magdeburg have become apostate and disloyal to the Holy Roman Church, to the Imperial Majesty and to the Magdeburg Chapter, we also want to bring them over to the obedience of the Church and to submission.

4th And that we George, Duke of Saxony, 2c., do not note to act against the heredity (therein papal holiness and imperial majesty with clear words excepted), or against the Elector of Saxony, although we are caused to do so by the said Elector, of which we also have good reason and right. But after the country of Moravia, Silesia and in Lusatia the six cities, 1) together with many princes and others, lend therein, which without any means are attached to the crown of Bohemia, have been conceded by the government to the crown of Saxony.

1) The six cities in Upper Lusatia are Bautzen, Zittau, Camenz, Löbau, Görlitz and Lauban. They were so named because they had made a covenant against the robber barons of that area in 1346.

If the people of Bohemia have fallen away from the obedience of the Christian Church, have sunk into the heresy of Martin, and have thereby deprived the clergy of all their rent and interest, and also deprived them of the holy masses, monasteries and ceremonies, then we want to overtake them with our supreme power and, as much as possible, bring them to the obedience of the Christian Church and to the submission of the Royal Serenity of Bohemia 1).

5th And what we Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, Archduke of Austria 2c., we Albrecht, Cardinal, Archbishop 2c., and we Joachim, both Margraves of Brandenburg and Electors 2c., in the lands of Saxony, Meissen, and Thuringia, towns, castles, villages, uses, and revenues, which are in the jurisdiction of the Elector of Saxony, we will give all and every one of them to our friendly dear prince, uncle, brother-in-law, and sister-in-law, Duke Georgen of Saxony, together with all regalia, dignities, and dignities, 2) which Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, Elector, has given us in our principalities and which are in fief from the Crown of Bohemia, and which shall remain to us and our heirs, for our cost and presentation. But the city of Magdeburg, after having belonged to the monastery of Magdeburg without any means, shall be delivered to the same again with all courts, rights, usufruct and justice, only reserved to the imperial majesty and the holy empire for its justice in fief, tax and consequence. What we George, Duke of Saxony, will conquer and gain in the principalities, castles, towns, villages, annuities, interests and usufruct in Moravia, Silesia and in Lusatia, in the jurisdiction of the Crown of Hungary or Bohemia, we want to hand over and deliver all of it, with nothing left out, to our kind and gracious Lord, the Royal Serene Highness of Bohemia.

6 But what we Wigand and Conrad, bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, 2c., shall gain in the land of Franconia in castles, towns and villages and all uses, in the jurisdiction of the Elector of Saxony, that we shall keep. If, however, our friend, Duke George of Saxony, should impose and pay the costs against us or ours, and on the other hand want to take the castles and towns won in Franconia, that shall be reserved for his love, and we shall be indebted,

1) Here we have erased "to".
2) Storkow and Beeskow, two dominions located respectively 7 and 10 miles southeast of Berlin.
to cede and concede to his sweetheart on the case.

(7) If, according to the will of God, the above-mentioned Elector of Saxony is punished for his disobedience, then the Landgrave of Hesse, having allowed himself to be seduced by manifold faithful admonitions, and having presumed the same heresy, and having offended papal holiness, first of all imperial majesty, with many invectives, shall also be requested and admonished in the same manner to desist from his error. If, however, he persists in his presumption, and again does not want to compare himself with the obedience of the Christian Church, he shall be punished in the same measure as has been indicated above by the Elector. But his wife, our friendly dear wife, mother, daughter and friend, of her beloved estate and legacy without harm, and with the appendix, as often as he, the Landgrave, will turn from his error and again submit to the obedience of the Christian church, that then, in view of his youth, and that he is inflamed by others, his land and people should again be delivered to him, without payment, so that our undertaking will not be considered as if we had begun it more for the sake of temporal goods or honor than for the salvation of souls.

008 If, however, the said Landgrave should persist in his intention and not return, and should depart in death for his disobedience, then his principality, land, and people, shall be due and delivered to Duke George of Saxony; but that his love shall reimburse the two bishops, Bamberg and Wuerzburg, for the expenses incurred by them on that account.

009 And the appointed king, princes, archbishops, bishops, and princes, all of them shall at one day, as the same shall be notified by us Ferdinand king of Bohemia three months before, attack each at the same time, and one shall not depart without the knowledge and consent of the other.

010 And with such a train let them spare men only, without appointed princes and rulers, and their assistants, that nothing but what is honest and Christian may be felt in us.

(11) Furthermore, it is considered good and advisable that the other princes, counts and lords, who have not been brought into this treaty, be petitioned by negotiation, and as much as possible persuaded and collected, that they give us help and tax for this honest Christian undertaking, or else stand still at the least and give the Elector of Saxony or the Elector of the Holy Roman Empire a chance.

Landgraves of Hesse neither help nor support; and the above-mentioned bishops of Franconia shall be able to help the Margrave there, upon the writing and the presentation of both Electors of Mainz and Brandenburg, likewise Count Wilhelm of Henneberg, or else induce him to stand still.

(12) Duke George of Saxony shall act in the same manner with both Dukes of Brunswick and Duke Henry of Mecklenburg; but all in secret, unnoticed, so that this deal, before it matures, does not become noisy. The Elector of Mainz shall also deliver his valiant message to the Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, act with his love on the instruction given, and diligently persevere, confident that because this our beginning and undertaking has first of all begun in praise of God, and for the benefit of the spiritual state, his love, as the Christian Prelate and Elector, will show itself willingly in all due measure. For this reason, his love should also make an effort with the Dutch Counts, the Count of Nassau and others, and what his love obtains in response, it should most beneficially indicate to us Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, Archduke of Austria.

(13) But so that this action of ours may not be regarded by many, who are not aware of our mind and opinion, as seditious or contrary to the imperial peace, we shall soon at the outset send out a common proclamation throughout the Roman Empire, together with a copy of the imperial mandate. So that this undertaking of ours may not be regarded by many who are not aware of our mind and opinion as seditious or contrary to the imperial peace, we will soon in the beginning, when we are all about to go into the field, send out and publicly post a common notice throughout the whole Roman Empire, together with a copy of the imperial mandate, so that everyone may learn the reason for our beginning, and that we may obtain from the spiritual and Christian, pious, faithful hearts, which God still maintains in the gathering of His holy Church, so much more favor and applause, and from God, our Redeemer, victory and triumph against His enemies in His name.

14. For the purpose of a constant, firm, unbroken hold, we the above-named, King, Electors, Archbishops, Bishops, and Princes, have each, as far as he personally exists, taken a physical oath to keep the above-named points, here and in the Letter of Articles, steadily, firmly, and unbrokenly; But those who are not personally present, the same authorized and skilful embassies have sworn an oath into the souls of their masters, namely, and thus, upon their expressed command, which they have presented and delivered to us:

We Ferdinandus, King of Bohemia, Roman Imperial Governor, Archbishop of the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty in the Holy Roman Empire, Archbishop of Bohemia.

Duke of Austria 2c. We Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, Elector 2c. We George, Duke of Saxony 2c., have sworn a bodily oath and have affixed our seal to this letter. And the rest of us, our most gracious and gracious lords of Mainz, Salzburg, Bamberg, Wuerzburg and Bavaria, sent and decreed councillors, have, upon our mandate and command, which we have from our most gracious and gracious lords, hereby delivered to the Royal Serenity of Bohemia, the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke George of Saxony, our most gracious and gracious lords, in the souls of our lords and rulers, that their electoral and princely graces shall and will keep all the above-described articles, together with that which is stipulated in the letter of articles, steadfastly, firmly and unbreakably, sworn a physical oath, and placed this letter in eight forms of one volume, and delivered one to each part, signed with our own handwriting and hand sign.

Done to the glory of God at Breslau, Wednesday after Jubilate [15 May], in the fifteen hundredth year, and thereafter in the seventh and twentieth year.

Article 830, granted, bequeathed, pledged and promised by the above-mentioned Royal Serenity of Bohemia, Electors, Archbishops, Bishops and Princes.

This document immediately follows the previous number at the locations indicated therein.

On the train against Hungary.

The Archbishop of Mainz, Elector 2c., wants to give ten thousand florins to Royal Serenity for the welfare of the procession.

The Elector of Brandenburg, Margrave Joachim, wants to send two hundred horses, for three months.

The Archbishop of Salzburg eight thousand florins.

The bishop of Würzburg and Bamberg want to give eight thousand florins each.

Duke George of Saxony one hundred horses, for six months.

The dukes of Bavaria want to give their royal sovereignty a thousand servants, six months, or so much money, namely four guilders per man per month.

On the march against the Prince and Elector.

Royal Serene Highness of Bohemia wants to march in his own person, and has eight thousand men on foot and fifteen hundred on horseback.

The two Electors of Mainz and Brandenburg want to have six thousand men on foot, one thousand horses; the Elector of Brandenburg wants to go in his own person.

The bishop of Wuerzburg wants to go in his own person, as a duke of Franconia, and have together with the bishop of Bamberg four baptized on foot and eight hundred horses.

The archbishop of Salzburg and the dukes of Bavaria want to send four thousand servants to the bishop of Wuerzburg, or if they cannot have them, as many Swiss.

Duke George of Saxony wants to take so many men that he is strong enough for his enemies.

And every prince shall arm himself with artillery for the field and for the storm, to the best of his ability, to set no measure therein.

It is considered good, also spoken, vowed and promised that the above-mentioned covenant princes shall draw other princes, counts and lords, namely the Margrave of Franconia, Count Wilhelm of Henneberg, the Abbot of Fulda, also other bishops to their course, or quietly induce them to sit, especially the Dutch counts, who have a large covenant, and are opposed to the landgrave without that, on account of that of Nassau.

Item, that the imperial cities be spared all the same (outside Magdeburg) with writings, words, and deeds, and in no way offend them or their inhabitants, until such time as the appointed two princes have been punished, so that they do not cause the same to be applauded. But when the princes have received their punishment, the imperial cities may well be made obedient without a few military campaigns, with the laying down of roads, the taking of estates, and that imperial majesty decree reprisals against them, and with other many ways that are not yet necessary to discuss.

831 Landgrave Philip of Hesse's letter to his father-in-law, Duke George of Saxony, sending him a copy of the alleged alliance. May 17, 1528.

Duke George had this letter sent out in quarto together with his answer to it at Dresden in 1528. Both letters are reprinted from this original edition in Hortleder, "Von den Ursachen des deutschen Krieges", Vol. I, lib. II, aax." 2, p. 583 f.

1st Most reverend Prince, kind, dear uncle and father. I will not hide your beloved, as I am obliged to do: your beloved has good knowledge how your beloved is to the thicker one.

times 1) and would have liked to know what my undertaken armour was; since I then have to give your dear one an answer on how your dear one will still have it with him without doubt.

002 But now that I may tell your beloved what has caused me to be so armed and so distinguished, it is in this form:

(3) I have come into certain experience, so that I have not only heard it from hearsay, but also want to believe it from bad copies, that Ferdinand, King 2c, and likewise several princes have joined together; which is the most unfortunate thing that God knows, that I would like to have a limb taken from my body for this, that your beloved is also in such a covenant, that I would never have hoped that your beloved would have allowed himself to be used for such a counsel against me. But I nevertheless find that your beloved still has a kinder heart towards me in such an alliance than towards others. Therefore I must reckon it to your beloved that your beloved is of the opinion that we others should be such evil heretics that your beloved would gladly see them turned away. Now God knows that I am sorry that your beloved perhaps does not want to enlighten God to His knowledge; but your beloved can easily understand that I have to stand in danger and cheek by jowl, that I should deny God's word and adhere to the devil's service, or have to let myself be driven out of the country and the people. If I now sit still and do my work until those who have such a noble purpose against me overtake me, then I have slept through the mornings. For this reason my mind is finally set on not wanting to look at either body or goods, and in the name of God I want to bring others who are planning such things against me and others, with God's help, to refrain from such unchristian, unjust actions, with the assurance that I will no longer look at such things.

4th And that your beloved may see that I really know the matter, I send your beloved a copy of such a covenant. Since your beloved has done me good in my childhood, and since I have helped your beloved against the rebellious peasants, and since I have your beloved's daughter, and your beloved's son my natural sister, I consider that I should be heartily sorry that your beloved and I should grow together in displeasure. And the Prince so related to your love...

1) "zu dem dickermal" - to the oft, often. With Walch: "to the Dickermal".

2) "beiten" - to wait, to wait. In the old edition: "beut". But "beuten" means: to exchange.

is that I truly know that he would also like to be on friendly terms with your beloved, if it would always be so. So now my friendly, official, and for God's sake request to your beloved, let him write to me by this messenger that your beloved renounce the alliance, as your beloved may well do with honor, and not act or act in unfriendship against the Elector and me, and also not help such others against us: I hereby decree to your beloved that the Elector, or I, your beloved, or yours, shall do no harm or harm, not even a chicken, as they say, shall squawk, and if your beloved wishes to do so, if your beloved ascribes this to me, as has been said, place my life and property with them. What is the use of your beloved, if your beloved drives us out, though it may yet be lacking, if God wills it, because your beloved drives out their own flesh and blood and good friends. So your beloved may well mean that as little as your beloved departs from their faith, so much less will we depart from ours; for this your beloved will not give account for us, and we for them. And lastly, I beseech your beloved to give me here a kind and right answer, your beloved, and for the good of us all, also of lands and people, by this messenger in the most conducive manner. This I will earn; so be your beloved God Almighty commanded. Date Homburg, Sunday Vocem Jucunditatis [17 May] 2c.

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.

To the Highborn Prince, Lord George, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, our dearest uncle and cousin,

...in his own hands.

832 Duke George's immediate answer to this, in which he denies the alliance concluded, and asks to report the author of such falsehood. May 21, 1528.

The location of this letter is indicated at the previous number.

(1) Reverend Prince, kind and dear uncle and son: Today I received from your love a letter in which your love reports that the alliance against my cousin, the Prince Churfürst zu

1) "someone it" (namely Leides) put by us instead of: "someone's".

Saxony, and thereafter against you, in which I was also involved; that your love was faithfully sorry, and would rather that you lost a member of your body, than to learn such from me, with request in the kindest and most official way for God's sake, that I give your love an answer, in which I renounce not to be in the alliance, not to do against my cousin and you 2c., I have read further contents, and add your love hereupon know: Though I am simple and unskilful, yet your beloved shall mark me of pride, if anything true be done of me in the matter, I would not deny it before your beloved, or a greater, as I would justly fear more than you. But since this fictitious copy, which your love sends me, has so much falsehood in it, even with the original it can never be produced or shown: I am not a little astonished that your beloved believes it and complains to me about it; rather, I pity your beloved, as my blood relative and son, that your beloved allows himself to be seduced by such unfounded, untrue lies and to be moved into rebellion, from which your beloved, wife and child, country and people may suffer ruin and harm; I say and write, that he that hath said such things to your beloved, that hath seen such original, that hath my hand-mark or seal upon it, or that hath read or heard the same original, that he is a desperate, dishonourable, perjured villain, therefore I will stand still before all. I will also ask your beloved kindly, and, as your beloved has asked for God's sake, your beloved will approach your matters with better care than has been done, and will not let yourselves be hurried on the journey, since someone else is hunting ahead of you; and your beloved will also tell me about the lying man, that I must beware of him, and he must beware of me: For if it were not done by your love, I should be led to think that your love invented it himself, and so would take occasion to begin your unkind will against me poor old man.

(2) I will also not refrain from writing to those who are supposed to be in copies of the covenants made in Breslau, send them to them, have no doubt, they will excuse themselves and me according to necessity; for I know well that there were not many of them, nor did they have their message. Because I do not know of any alliance, nor can it ever be brought to my attention that I have knowledge of it; for that which is stated in such a copy of the other half is a public untruth, but what I do not know is not true.

...and even lied about. Wherefore, if your beloved therefore give up a member of your body, let your beloved be sorry that it hath been done in vain, and that nothing hath been done. Neither may I step and renounce that which is not in himself. I will, if God wills it, hold myself against your love and your manhood in such a way that I know how to answer for it with honor to God, my authority, and to all the world.

This I have not wished to do in answer to your beloved, whom I am inclined to serve. Given in haste at Dresden on the day of the Ascension of Christ ^21 May^, Anno Domini in the fifteen hundred and in the eight and twentieth.

(4) I will also not fail to report this to my cousin, from which his beloved will have excused me. Date ut supra.

George, Duke of Saxony 2c.

To the Highborn Prince, our dear son and Oheimen, Mr. Philippsen, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, of Dietz, Ziegenhain and Nidda 2c.,

on one's own hands.

833 The Landgrave's Manifesto, before he received the answer from Duke George, and before the Elector consented to it, publicized for fine excuse, because of the undertaken armament. May 22, 1528.

From the original edition cited in von der Hardt, ^uto^r. iMtk. , Theil II, p. 147 reprinted in Hortleder, "Von den Ursachen des deutschen Krieges," vol. I, lib. II, eax. 2, p. 577.

By the Grace of God, we Philips, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, of Dietz, of Ziegenhain and of Nidda. To all and each, high, middle and low estates, so this our responsibility and tender occurs, we offer against each fee, our servitude, and all Christian friendly good will. And do hereby manfully acknowledge..:

I. After our and also our lords' and friends' application and armament not a little displeasure is spread by our detractors and repugnants, on the following articles, to the most annoying and quite detrimental way.

002 For the present, as though we were to encamp before Frankfort, and be subject to become king of Rome.

1) "Application" here will mean: Recruiting people for military service.

Item 3: That we have displeased and disobeyed the King of France. Maj., our most gracious Lord, to displeasure and disobedience in the service of the King of France.

Item 4: That we should be willing and intend to stir up the common man, and to reinstate the Highborn Prince, Lord Ulrich, Duke of Würtenberg, our dear cousins.

(5) To reject such fancied, grievous calamity, our high necessity will require to do the cause of our cheap application and armour in day.

006 And hereupon we offer to know manfully, that because of such untruthful statement we are quite wronged, and are shamefully lied to in the same. For we have never been of a mind or spirit, and we know ourselves to report that such or such a thing would not be done to us. And we are also of the clear conscience that we have always been loyal to Imperial Majesty, our allies. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, to all due obedience. Likewise, we have also shown all fairness to the Confederation of Swabia, as an obedient prince related to the Confederation, as we intend, by God's bestowal, to observe all irrevocability and thus to keep it against God, Imperial Majesty, the Confederation of Swabia. Maj., the Confederation of Swabia, all impartial Imperial Estates and manly honorable minds.

007 And that we may be rid of this suspicion, it is in the form of the Most Reverend Prince Johansen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, our kindly dear uncle, brother-in-law, and father-in-law, and for the sake of our nobility:

(8) Although the common estates of the realm unanimously resolved at the last Imperial Diet held at Speier that we shall keep peace among ourselves by virtue of the Imperial Peace, none of us shall overreach the other. The Imperial Council at Speier has unanimously resolved that we shall keep peace among ourselves, in virtue of the Imperial Peace, and that none of us shall overreach the other, and that it shall not be possible for any authority to take action in matters concerning the Imperial Edict of Worms. Worms Edict, until a common Christian concilium, as they hoped to answer for it against God and the Imperial Majesty. Majesty to answer for it.

9th That also for the prevention of outrage in the empire a stately embassy should be dispatched to imperial majesty in Hispania to report to her majesty of the touched Speier action and farewell, which dispatch, by slight cause has been prevented, no doubt from the fact that some bishops, monks, a long time ago, now by advice, then by this and other manifold deliberations and assemblies, have been pleased,

Until finally God Almighty decrees a heavy fall upon them, that they have moved some great princes into an alliance with their practices, against the living, gracious Word of God and His followers, that they have entered into an alliance with them, have sworn together, and have taken an oath, as can be seen pathetically in the print. 1)

(10) Now that all things should and must be done and accomplished by God our Creator according to His divine will, all to His praise and glory, in that we always want to stand in humble supplication to His fear, we have undoubtedly also come by God's sending into the experience of such covenants, which are not only against God, nature, Christian love, but also against the Holy Roman Empire's peace, against the covenant of Swabia, common order, against all the Nuremberg, Augsburg and Speier agreements of the Empire, and also against all equity. Reichs Landfrieden, against the Covenant of Swabia, common order, against all Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Speier agreements taken by the Reich, also against all equity, especially if, to our knowledge, we have not given anyone cause to do so, and would unwillingly do so.

11. Because God Almighty has appointed us to be in charge of our lands and people, to govern them with Christian faith and the right truth of His Divine Word, in which alone we have our salvation, and not to be dissuaded from it unrecognized, but to protect ours in doing so, and to defend them as much as possible, and God gives assistance, and to defend them from pernicious harm; 2) and we are then in danger with ours, if our enemies see their advantage, that they must wait daily for the mentioned our grandparents, the Elector of Saxony, and overtake us with the strongest and greatest power, thus of the cheek strike, chasing away of country and people:

12. We therefore believe that every pious person who has good sense and an impartial, honest mind, will easily be able to judge and not disapprove of the fact that in natural and established rights, and therefore also in the imperial peace, necessity and resistance are not forbidden, against such a swift alliance and undertaking our emergency and counter-defence in time so that we may withstand the unchristian, unlawful violence which shall meet us in an unheard-of matter, and protect ours in equity and justice. And in this

1) From this it appears that this Manifesto is actually only the preface to the wording of the Covenant given in print by the Landgrave, No. 829.

2) The thread of connection will be this: Because God has set us over our lands as regents.

We do not seek anything else (that we are called to testify to God), but His, the Lord's, honor, praise and glory, so that His word may remain unpressed, and we and our subjects may remain peaceful.

13. According to all this, we want to have asked manly, of what rank and dignity each is, by the will of God and of the truth, of great diligence, whether it should be granted to us that we should, for other reasons than those mentioned, stand in armor and for the forceful restraint of violence, so that our people may be secured in peace and be protected from sorrow and suffering, to keep us excused from this; For we have no desire nor will to stir up rebellion, and would much rather live with our people in peace and Christian unity, and await the public hearing of our actions and proceedings, as befits our obedience. If, however, peace may not befall us as a result of our request and entreaty, we will turn the matter over to God and our resistance, and in a cheerful suit we will command ourselves and our fellow warriors to His omnipotence in victory. We also want to ask manfully, that this our letter has been made in no other form, than out of this urgent high necessity, that such disgrace will be granted to us, to reject the same with it. Given under our secret expressed above, on Friday after Voeörr" llueunäitatis [May 22] Anno 1528.

834 D. Martin Luther's, Melanchthon's, and Bugenhagen's misgivings concerning Pack's covenant. Between May 6 and 12, 1528.

On March 9, 1528, a defensive alliance had been concluded in Weimar between the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave against the Catholic princes. About the same Luther had given a concern on March 28, 1528 (Walch, St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. X, 548, with the too general heading: "von der Gegenwehr" and the wrong year 1539; in the Erlangen double, once Vol. 54, p. 1 with your date "May? 1528" and Vol. 55, p. 264 "without date 1539"; likewise with De Wette, Vol. III, p. 319 and Vol. V, p. 247. The correct date is given and motivated in the Erlangen correspondence, Vol. VI, p. 231). The Landgrave of Hesse had objected to this in a letter of April II, 1528 (Kolde, Analecta, p. 100 and Erl. Briefw., vol. VI, p. 238). Now another objection arose, for the sake of which the Elector summoned the Wittenberg theologians to Torgau, where they remained from the middle of April to April 21. After that, the Elector and his theologians left for Weimar to conduct negotiations with the Landgrave. On 5 May the-

the same finished, and the theologians probably returned to Wittenberg on May 6, set up this concern for the Elector. Since in it the sending of envoys to the "murder princes" is demanded, and the Elector's request for the envoy to Würzburg is dated May 14, our concern must have been written before that date (Erl. Briefw., Vol. VI, 259). A copy of our writing is in the Weimar Archives, ReA. H, toi. 29. Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 270C; in the Altenburg, vol. Ill, p. 522; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 559, and by Walch; in all these editions erroneously ascribed to the year 1526. In De Wette, vol. Ill, p. 314, and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 447. Already Seckendorf, Üi8t. CMC, Cd. II, p. 51 u, has recognized that this concern belongs to Pack's alliance. In Walch, this document has the superscription: "D. M. Luther's, D. Pomerani's, and Melanchthon's objections to the Landgrave's replica, to the Mainzian alliance."

(1) First of all, it pleases us almost well that the attack from this side should continue, for thus our consciences are the more secure, since we have not begun nor have cause to shed blood, and the world's joy is the greater that we have waited for the attack, and have suffered all kinds of patience, and have sought ways to keep the peace.

(2) Secondly, that an embassy to Imperial Majesty be dispatched in the most conducive manner. Maj. who, behind his imperial Majesty's knowledge and will, carry out such treacherous plots against his imperial Majesty's subjects 2c., and ask to omit a commandment, and to command such murderers to stand still?)

(3) Thirdly, however, the same murdering princes shall be petitioned and requested to desist from such action, because it is against God and law and imperial majesty; as such shall be done most powerfully with reason and cause. But that it be left to the outside world to reimburse the costs, lest one think that one is seeking war or strife. God will repay us a hundredfold what we have offered for his sake, even though we owe it to ourselves to do so; so that our conscience and goodwill may be the better, since we seek nothing but peace.

004 Fourthly, nevertheless, to do our part, to be in armour, to stir up and visit other princes and cities, as God hath commanded us, who have done all things without our help.

1) De Wette and the Erlanger: "forbid".

power and counsel, and yet by our fist, tongue, and heart, will think, speak, and create, as by instruments of his divine wisdom and power.

005 First, it is not wise to let the armour come together. For such a people are not to be kept; they are falling down and spreading out.

006 To the other, whether by other princes or sovereigns they might be acted upon, that they might be quiet; and the hope is, that the people would be so, if the answer were given.

007 Thirdly, that such a thing may be heard in the Diet, and that it may be complained of, and that it may be reported to the other estates what may follow therefrom.

8. to the fourth, H68pon8io inllnitL: Our Lord God commanded how one should do, so they

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nothing / t68t üsri iuter r68pov8ion68.

835 Churmaints' excuse that the given alliance was a purely invented thing. Dated 27 May 1528.

From Hortleder, "On the Causes of the German War," Cd. II, Cup. 3, p. 585, where this document is printed from the single edition.

I. We Albrecht von GOttes Gnaden, of the Holy Roman Church of the title Kaneti Uetri ack Vinenla Cardinal, of the Holy See of Mainz and of the Chapter of Magdeburg Archbishop, Elector, of the Holy Roman Empire through Germania Archchancellor and Primate, Administrator of Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, Pomerania, Duke of the Cassuben and Wenden, Burgrave of Nuremberg, and Prince of Rügen: We offer our friendly service, greeting, grace and all the best to anyone of any dignity, rank or character, asking and requesting in a friendly, amicable and gracious manner that everyone read, hear and hear this following apology and responsibility, which we, out of our great necessity and no other opinion, hereby testify to, have the utmost cause to do, and to deliver it without any displeasure and without any doubting faith.

002 And thus, although a good while ago there was a public rumour of the land, and we had

We have been kindly and faithfully warned by various high and low people, how the highborn prince, Mr. Philipp, landgrave of Hesse, is to overdraw us and our archbishopric in brave, serious armour and business, 2c. but which we at all times, in consideration of many high and constant causes, give no credence to, and especially to those: First, that for the sake of all error and infirmity, pending between us both, we stand in amicable action before the most venerable in GOD Father, Lord Reicharten, Archbishop of Trier, Churfürsten, our dear friend. Second, that we are bound to each other in the union of the praiseworthy alliance of Swabia, which gives a special form and measure, so that one may speak to the other and demand how he should seek the same. Thirdly, that Landgrave Philip has granted us a brave and respectable fiefdom. And fourthly, with regard to the common, public, proclaimed land peace, also the unanimous agreement made at Speier, which we have agreed to, established, sealed, and committed ourselves to keep. Thus, we cannot or may not consider or remember for what causes or reasons the aforementioned our uncle, Landgrave Philip, could or may have overreached us or our archbishopric and monastery.

3. About this, and in order that we should never feel any lack of anything that might serve for peace and unity, prevention of outrage in the holy realm, and for the prevention of Christian bloodshed, we have, in response to the common rumor and manifold credible warnings that have ever reached us, sent our ambassadors to our dear grandfather, Landgrave Philippsen, with credence and instructions, we have sent our ambassadors to our dear grandfather, Landgrave Philippsen, with credence and instruction, and have kindly requested and asked him to inform us that we should provide him with such his armour and common rumour and excellent warning 2c. Our envoys, however, did not receive a loud answer about their vehement persistence, whereupon security of the attack could have been felt, much less is some cause of discord indicated.

(4) And so we were in doubt for and for, and did not know what we should provide for our uncle, the landgrave, until Saturday, the third and twentieth day of the month of May, of the present year, we were informed by the well-born, worthy, strict, firm, highly learned and honourable, Roman, imperial majesty, administrators and councillors of the landgrave, that the landgrave is our uncle.

Imperial Regiment, now at Speier, a writing and besides a copy of a supposed covenant, so the noble, highborn Prince, Mr. Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia 2c., Imperial Majesty Governor in the Holy Empire 2c., our dear lord and uncle, together with several princes and princes, ecclesiastical and secular, should have entered into and undertaken to overrun and overwhelm, to drive out and to expel the highborn princes, Mr. Hansen, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., and Mr. Philippsen, Landgrave of Hesse, obgemeldt 2c. In addition, we have received a public notice, under the above-mentioned Landgrave Philippsen's name and title, in print, in which it is stated in no uncertain terms that the above-mentioned supposed alliance is to be the cause of their, the two Electors and Princes', trade, armament and intentions.

5. Since we are also named and specified in the copy of the alleged alliance, and the Imperial Regiment indicates in the above-mentioned letter enclosed to us that the above-mentioned alleged alliance is the cause of the armament and trade in which both Princes, Saxony and Hesse, stand: Our great need requires "that it may be publicly and clearly understood that such an accusation of the alleged alliance is wholly blameless and imputed to us, and that the two princes and rulers of such causes have no reason or justification against us" to make our apology.

6th And say thereupon, in true faith and belief, by our electoral honors and dignities, that to hear of such a covenant is strange and weird to us, and we bear no knowledge of it at all. Nor have we ever spoken or acted with anyone, high or low, about it, nor have we given anyone any order about it, orally or in writing, nor have we had or arranged for anyone to come to the place where the above-mentioned supposed covenant was to be established, nor have we therefore ever been spoken to or requested by anyone, before or since. It is not found that this alleged covenant has been sealed with our seal, or that the person who, as the copy shows, is supposed to have been ordered to do so by us, has been designated or named for this purpose. No one may truthfully say in life that anyone has ever received an order from us for this purpose. And of this, for our several true excuses, we refer to our friend, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Elector 2c, the Elector of Nassau, and the Dutch Counts, with whom we are in agreement.

We should, as the copy of the alleged alliance indicates, act to help or stop them, that for this reason nothing at all has come to them from us, either in writing, orally, or in any other way; so that we know ourselves completely free and certain of the same accusation of the alleged alliance drawn up, from which they derive the causes of their war. Therefore we can and may say with constant truth, and publicly declare, that such accusation of the alliance is imputed to us. For we have never taken or thought of such a thing in our mind and spirit, let alone in fact.

7. And if we had ever been confident, even entirely confident, of how such a supposed alliance, or something of the sort, would have reached the two Electors and Princes, Saxony and Hesse, against us: Considering the friendship, kinship, covenant and feudal relationship in which they stand and stand by us, they should not immediately and easily give credence to this, have taken this to their serious minds, have behaved and acted in such a way behind them, have put on their armour, and have let us know with a ready, defenceless and armed hand: but have asked us beforehand for a friendly opinion, as they were well disposed to do, and have inquired the true reason, or least of all, when we sent to the landgrave by our counsellors, as aforesaid, and met him with a straight answer of peace, and the same our counsellors, on account of all claims and demands, which he, the landgrave, thinks to have towards us, have called upon the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord 2c., Royal Dignity of Hungary and Bohemia 2c. , her Majesty's Governor, Regiment, Court of Appeal, all Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, the noble Union of Swabia and the Burgomaster or Master Builder of the Castle of Friedburg; they should have given notice and report to us of such cause of their intended move, or have ever accepted the superfluous legal commandment. Thereupon we wanted to have met them with a princely, friendly and amicable answer (where they otherwise loved peace and were not inclined to arouse any rebellion in the realm for the handling of the peace of the land), that such armament and trade on our part should have been completely unnecessary for them. That is why in the letter of Landgrave Philippsen sent out in print we are thus highly attracted in an unjust way (as to be judged by men), and it is reported as a cause of their armament that peace may not happen to them over their request and request.

8. When, however, our friendly request and offer of rights, also unification and relationship, and everything as mentioned above, did not come to pass or help, and the Landgrave sent himself the longer the more in armor on horseback and on foot, the common rumor poured out the more diligently, and we were somewhat warned, first of all, of a swift move by high, middle, and lower estates in the most friendly, faithful, and serious manner, and we are warned by high, middle and lower estates to the kindest, most faithful and serious, that we also received a strong suspicion and belief that such a trade on foot of three thousand strong, was first put to our land, the Ringgaw 1), and there re-mustered:

(9) Thus, in the end, we are highly induced and urged to send and place ourselves in counter-armament for our, our foundation's and subjects' stay and protection, shield and defence, not at little cost and burden to our and our poor subjects. Not to overreach, insult, or damage anyone, contrary to the common law, the imperial peace, and the farewell taken at Speier, but, as stated above, to keep them from unreasonable violence. For we, as a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, intend to abide by the truces, imperial orders and decrees established by the Emperor, our most gracious lord, as well as the covenants, obediently, in accordance with and in all fairness, as we have lived and followed them in all due obedience, as may not otherwise be imposed upon us in truth, in all matters, points and articles, to the best of our ability.

10. It has also never been our mind, will and opinion, and not yet, to suppress or prevent the divine word, and what may serve for the honor and praise of God the Almighty, also for the promotion of the love of our neighbor in some way, as we have also never been contrary to it, as we may in all innocence want to be imposed upon us, but our, as a Christian prince, highest sense and thoughts are always directed and inclined to plant, increase and promote the same, as far as our reason and ability stretch. Where it also comes about that the order and reformation of the Christian religion is undertaken, of which we have never been lacking, nor shall we yet be lacking, we want to show ourselves in such a way, prove and keep ourselves, that our just mind, will and good opinion shall be felt and found in the works. No less are our inclination, diligence, and desire, peace, and love

1) Rheingau?

and unity in the Holy Empire as much as possible, and to promote the common good and welfare of the entire German nation, as we owe it as a member of the Empire, and have done in all our actions and changes up to now, and hopefully have not been noted otherwise by men. We also want to act and do this faithfully, as far as our assets, body and goods extend.

(11) After all this, we most kindly, graciously, and graciously ask, remind, and request everyone, as stated above, to attribute this letter of ours first of all to our great need, and to no other form or opinion, and to give complete credence to our needy excuse, as it is in truth. That we have sent ourselves alone to defend ourselves and to stay in arms, not in the mood to overreach anyone, but to keep the imperial peace and the imperial treaty at Speier. And with this, we want to once again refrain from all claims and demands that the above-mentioned two [princes] think they have on us or our] 1) subjects, if it concerns the above-mentioned supposed alliance, which is innocently made to us, or whatever it may be, on the Roman Emperor's Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor. Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, Royal Dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, Her Majesty's Governor in the Holy Empire, and the Imperial Regiment, Chamber Court, also all impartial Princes, Princes, ecclesiastical and secular, Prelates, Counts, Knights, in addition the laudable Union of Swabia, the Free and Imperial Cities, and otherwise all impartial respectability, due right and all equity;

And therefore have asked and admonished each one, whatever his dignity and standing, in the last and highest and kindest way, not to be induced by anyone, beyond this true apology and superfluous offer of rights, to act or attack us, our monasteries and subjects, to some advice or help. We want to be comforted and provided for each one of them according to all respectability and fairness, and in turn we will kindly, amicably and graciously deserve, settle, blame and be unforgiven to recognize this in mercy. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our seal in this letter, which is given at St. Martin's Castle in our city of Mainz, the seventh and twentieth day of Nazi anno Oornini iniUesirao Huingsutssiino vioesirao ootuvo.

1) Added by us.

836: Prince Joachim's responsibility against Hesse and Saxony for the supposed alliance. May 25, 1528.

In Spalatin's Annals, p. 120, and Hortleder, l. c. S. 588.

a) Our most gracious lord, the Elector of Brandenburg, writing to the Landgrave of Hesse went out.

Our friendly services, and what we are able to do dear and good, always beforehand Highborn Prince, dear Oheim! The Highborn Prince, Mr. George, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, our friendly dear uncle, brother-in-law and sister-in-law, has given us this day to know by fine love message, that your love to fine love with sending copy of a supposed alliance, so by Royal Serenity to Hungary and Bohemia, also our friendly dear lord and brother, the Cardinal, Archbishop and Elector to Mainz 2c., his beloved, us and other princes, ecclesiastical and secular, recorded in the notel of the same covenant, against our uncle, brother-in-law and brother, the Elector of Saxony and your beloved, at Breslau, to be erected, securitized, sealed and sworn, written: for which reason your beloved have put on their armour, sent to defend themselves, and do not want to expect to be struck in the cheek, with further contents, we have received in instruction.

(2) Now it is not without, various legends have reached us on account of your love's armor, and namely that your love should be meant to touch our friendly dear lord and brother, the Cardinal; but we have not been able to find out what causes your love to do so, and now note from this that it should also apply to the rest of us. If, however, your beloved has no other motive for rebellion than the alleged fabricated alliance, it would have been proper for your beloved, before they burdened themselves with such expenses, to ask us and the other princes and princes about it and to hear our answer, so your beloved shall certainly have it for what has happened to it; it shall also not have been denied for our part, but shall have been reported without fear. Likewise the other princes and princes, whom you have reported, would have known how to keep to the fee; but if such a fictitious unstable copy, which your beloved has sent to her uncle and father, has so much falsehood in it, it can never be produced [or] reported with any true original:

3. Thus we bear no small complaint and surprise that your beloved, unhearing the rest of us, gives credence to the inconstant request, and so accuses us with inconstancy as to denigrate us against men; yet we pity that your beloved thus allows itself to be seduced to sedition with inconstant, untrue lies, from which your beloved, its lands and people, may suffer ruin and harm; and may not refrain from answering for such unfounded impositions in this way: That he that hath told your love of such fancied covenant, hath seen the original, hath found therein our names, handwriting, and seals, hath read the same, or hath understood the copies, is a desperate, dishonourable, perjured villain, and may never make this true with truth; And beg of your love to know who is the lying man that hath invented and told you these things, that we may know how to beware of such a lying villain; for if it should not happen, we might be caused to think that your love had invented it himself, and would seek cause for unkind will against us. 1) If this cannot be otherwise, although we are not inclined to rebellion, but would rather have peace, we must therefore take it for granted, and find counsel with our lords and friends to send against it; provide us, the other princes and princes, as reported in the fabricated alliance, if such reaches their love, they will know well how to keep to the truth with a due answer. For the greater part of them have not been at Breslau, nor to our knowledge have had their message there; nor may we remember that your love, nor even the Elector of Saxony in disgrace (2) has been thought of by royal majesty, nor by the rest of us, much less that alliances have been set up against you. Therefore, it is well due to your love, according to our friendly, documented, sealed and sworn pledge and alliance, to inform us in time and of such unfounded, untrue statements of their concerns and intentions, and to inquire about the truth. Accordingly, our friendly request is that your beloved inform us by this messenger that our friendly dear brother, the Cardinal, Archbishop and Elector of Mainz, and we, to your beloved, are in agreement.

1) As one can see here, there is such a great similarity between this letter to the Landgrave and that of Duke George (No. 832) that it must be assumed that Joachim received a copy of it before he wrote this letter.

2) In Spalatin: "not" instead of: "ever".

so that we may keep our opportunity and need in mind. For if we should be overtaken by your love with action unawares and beyond sworn alliance and agreement, we would almost be run over. And our necessity, together with our lords and friends, requires us to use our resistance against this, although we are kindly inclined to serve your love in other ways, as long as we can be assured of this again from your love. We request a reliable answer to this. Date Cologne on the Spree, 3) on Monday after Exaudi [May 25] Anno 2c. 28.

To the Landgrave of Hesse.

b. Des Churfürsten zu Brandenburg Schrift, an [den] Churfürsten zu Sachsen ausgangen.

1. our friendly services and what we are able to do dear and good always before. Highborn Prince, dear uncle, brother-in-law and brother! The Highborn Prince, Mr. George, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen, our friendly dear uncle and brother-in-law, has given us this day to know by his love message, that the Highborn Prince, our dear uncle, the Landgrave of Hesse, to his dear one, with the transmission of a copy of a supposed alliance, so from Royal Serenity to Hungary and Bohemia, also to our friendly dear Lord and brother, the Cardinal, Archbishop and Elector of Mainz 2c., his love, us and other princes, ecclesiastical and secular, in the notel of the same alliance, against your and his loved ones shall be set up, sealed and sworn, written, therefore his love put on armor and sent to counterattack. And although various tales of his love's armor have come to us, namely, that his love is meant to attack our kind, dear lord and brother, we have not been able to learn what causes his love to do so, and now note from this that it should also apply to the rest of us. But if his love has no other motive for the rebellion than the alleged, fabricated alliance, then it would have been well due to his love, before it loaded itself with such armor and indignation, to send us and the other princes and princes for it, and to hear our answer. His love should certainly have it for that, if it happens, it should not be denied to him by us.

3) Both here and in the following letter Spalatin says "Sprew" and Walch "Spreu".

but without fear; likewise the other princes and sovereigns also had to do to know to keep to the fee. For it can never be shown with credible appearance that at Breslau or elsewhere such a fictitious alliance has ever been proposed or spoken of in any way, much less approved, established and executed. For it is entirely an untrue and fictitious statement, and neither the original nor a permanent copy of the fictitious covenant, which we should have approved, may be shown. Therefore, his love has refrained from unsteady instruction, by false, fabricated letters, to induce us, unheard, to such armament as is indicated to us, but has, in accordance with our written, sealed, and sworn agreement and covenant, so that we may find each other friendly, reported it, and has not so notorious us along with others, perhaps in the opinion of disparaging us against men, which, however, his love has neither reason nor cause for fairness.

(2) Accordingly, we will see to it that your love does not give any place or credence to such unfounded claims, which will never be found to have any foundation or truth, and that we reject them to our superiors, the landgraves, in the same way, as we are well disposed to your love, according to our kinship. For we are kindly inclined to serve your love. Date Cologne on the Spree, on Monday after Exaudi [May 25] Anno 2c. 28.

To the Elector of Saxony.

Also, kind dear uncle, brother-in-law and brother, we send to E. L. herewith closed for copying, that we, according to our necessity, have written this matter to our uncle, the landgrave, from which E. L. may find out truth, reason and occasion of the matters. Date ut 8ux.

pology of the bishop of Wuerzburg. May 28, 1528.

This writing was published under the title: "Apology to Mr. Conrad, Bishop of Wuerzburg and Duke of Franconia, for the supposed and false alliance, which recently went out. Quarto. Printed by Hortleder, 1.0. p. 590.

1. to all and everyone, ecclesiastical and secular, of the Holy Roman Empire, princes, prelates, counts, freemen, knights, servants, officials, guardians, governors, mayors, burgesses, and all other persons of the Holy Roman Empire. We offer Conrad von GOttes Gnaden, Bishop of Würzburg, and Duke of Franconia, our friendly service, friendship, friendly and favourable greeting beforehand.

2. most venerable in God fathers, highborn, reverend, and highborn princes; venerable, wellborn, dignified, noble, strict, highly learned, seste, honorable, and wise, special dear lords, friends, and dear special ones! Your loved ones and you are undoubtedly well aware and unaware of the fact that for some time there has been a noticeable trade of soldiers and footmen among some estates in the Holy Roman Empire, and especially the high-born princes, our special dear lords and friends, Mr. Johann, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal of the Holy Roman Empire. Roman Empire, Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, of Ziegenhain, Dietz and Nidda, have taken up great and public arms.

3. Although, on account of these trades and armaments, much and various things were said now and then, and subsequently the common clamor and the countrymen resounded loudly in more than one place, that our lords and friends of Saxony and Hesse were planning to overrun and rape us and our monastery, we nevertheless did not give them any cause for displeasure and unfriendship, considering that we did not know how to do anything bad with their loved ones: Nevertheless, considering that we did not know how to send anything unpleasant with their loved ones, nor did we give them any cause for displeasure and unfriendship, and then we have come to a friendly agreement with our friend from Hesse, and his love is our and our foundation's obligated vassal; and especially also because in the name of and on account of Roman. kais. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, a common public mandate has gone out, and with excellent pleadings has commanded that every imperial estate refrain completely from any violent action and attack against the imperial peace. They should not want to give any credence to it, but rather, if they thought they had some demands and sayings towards us, our foundation or ours, they should provide us with such, by virtue of the Holy Roman Empire's order and the imperial peace, which is guaranteed by their own constitution. They have sought this against us through their love and other princes and estates at the most recent Imperial Diet held in Worms, and have granted, promised and accepted it, so that we should have no lack of justice and all equity.

4. But when we found that the above-mentioned lords and friends of Saxony and Hesse had strengthened themselves for and against us, we also received one warning after another, as to how such of their dear intentions would certainly go against us and our foundation; And our friend from Hesse, as we have received a credible report, has let himself be heard openly, as he should have good reason and justification for his intention, and as soon as he has encamped on horseback and on foot in considerable numbers, and with an excellent cannon, in and on the borders, very soon at our foundation, for the strongest. Therefore we, on such approach, have humbly and humbly requested help and salvation through our subjects, with notice that they have been credibly reported and seriously warned by their brothers-in-law and friends, if they were seated among the above-mentioned our lords and friends of Saxony and Hesse, that a military campaign was to pass over us and our subjects. In order that we do not leave our subjects with help, we have, out of necessity, not in the opinion of overrunning, raping or damaging anyone, but, if we or our subjects were to be overrun, raped or damaged by anyone, we have had to send and prepare to defend ourselves against such violence; as we are also required to do by the captains and councillors of the praiseworthy League of Swabia, on account of the proper handling of the Holy Roman Empire's land peace and full power. We have been admonished and requested to do so by the captains and councillors of the noble League of Swabia, on account of the proper handling of the Holy Roman Empire's land peace and the execution of the aforementioned agreement.

(5) It has come to pass that we have been asked by our Lord and friend of Saxony, Elector 2c, his sweetheart, and also by our Lord and friend, the Landgrave of Hesse 2c, Councillors, for the sake of some incidental matters, to advertise to us on behalf of both their sweethearts, whereupon, as a friendly favour to their sweethearts, we have had their Councillors brought here to our city of Wuerzburg with a written and live escort. And when they, the counsellors, thus arrived, they appeared at our request before us, our cathedral chaplains, knighthood and some of our countryside, and in free public interrogation did their advertisement, according to an instruction, which instruction they handed over to us in writings and had read out. And reads from word to word thus:

Instruction, what our, by God's Grace Johann, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., and Philippsen, Landgraves of Hesse, Councillors and dear faithful, Hans von Minckwitz, Knight 2c. , and Contz Gotzman, Werner von Waldenstein and Jörg Nuß
bicker, the younger, to the reverend in GOD and special dear friend, Conraden, bishop of Wuerzburg and duke of Franconia, to advertise on our behalf.

First, to report our kind service to his love, as usual, and then to speak the following opinion:

1st Most Gracious Prince and Lord! Hochgedachte unsere gnädigsten und gnädigen Herren haben uns befohlen, E. F. G. anzuzeigen: wiewohl ihre churfürstl. und fürstl. and princely graces know that their electoral and princely graces have no one. Although their electoral and princely graces know with special fame that their electoral and princely graces have never before been in the presence of E. F. G., as their friend and neighbor, of any other than friendly, neighborly and good will, their electoral and princely graces are nevertheless in credible and certain good will. Their Electoral and Princely Graces have come into credible and certain experience, to the effect that all sorts of things have happened and occurred for some time, from which their C. F. and F. G. have received such strong suspicions that their Electoral and Princely Graces are justifiably and unquestionably aware of this. Graces have to give and deliver this fair unimpeachable belief, and also hope to make such seemingly necessary and to do so at his and appropriate time.

(2) Namely, that the Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Emperor have entered into an alliance and obligation with some through their authorized councillors, and among others, against the proclaimed imperial peace, and especially against the treaty that was unanimously decided at the Imperial Diet at Speier. They are of the opinion that the Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Emperor, together with others of their kinsmen, have committed themselves to the Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Emperor in matters concerning the Holy Divine Word and Gospel, which their Electoral and Princely Graces have conferred upon them by the granting of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Emperor, and that the Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Emperor, together with others of their kinsmen, have committed themselves to the Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Emperor in matters concerning the Holy Divine Word and Gospel. Grace by bestowal of the graces of Almighty God in their C. F. and F. G. lands and principalities, in praise of God and out of His divine obedience (which their C. F. and F. G., the Holy Roman Catholic Church, have given to their C. F. and F. G.). F. and F. G., like every Christian, owe and are owed obedience to all others) have had preached for some time, and ceremonies held in accordance with the same, in such a way that their C. F. and F. G., by virtue of the touched Speierian farewell, are obliged to trust God and Imperial Maj. and males. Maj. and male trust, to attack and overrun their C. F. and F. G. and their country and people with war and feud, and to deprive C. F. and F. G. of their rights. F. and F. G. from the land and people miserably, wretchedly, unaccused, innocently, and without all preceding proper interrogation, and in such a way that such unkind and powerful nobles hardly experience more, wanted to help to chase them away: all this was done in the name of the Emperor.

according to the further contents of the same covenant, which we have ordered to be sent to E. F. G. Copei.

(3) And although it would not have been unreasonable to her electoral and princely graces [that she] would have done so. and princely graces, [that they] thereupon and on such vowed and joined enmity, for the protection, protection and salvation of their electoral and princely graces and their country and people's best and advantage, have stopped the same act by force. and their country and people's best and advantage, they had stopped by force to get the same action also to E. F. G. Landschaft and to complain to E. F. G. about the same: nevertheless, and irrespective of how unkindly they acted against their Elector and Princely Grace, they have acted in this way. and Princely Grace, their Electoral and Princely Grace have first of all. and Princely Grace have first of all, as is proper in the sight of God for the prevention of rising and other troublesome complaints, and subsequently Roman Imperial Majesty, their All Gracious Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor. Majesty, their most gracious Lord, and for the third (although this has been considered little or not at all by their C. F. and F. Gn.) the neighbourhood, and especially so that it may be noted how much more their Elector and Princely Grace are to peace than to discord. are more inclined to peace than to discord, and that E. F. G. does not desire anyone's honor, goods, land or people, and for this reason intends to have us, as the skilful and for this purpose with full power dispatched councillors, deal with E. F. G. by way of peace.

(4) For if we note that F. G. will refrain from many of the covenants and undertakings touched upon and will be inclined to do to their C. F. and F. G. such assurance and assecuration, together with their chapter and estates of their countryside, as F. G. will in equity, according to the form and occasion of this transaction, be inclined to do, and for the sake of such articles of peace and assecuration we have further and special command that F. G. refrain from such and such undertakings on account of this or other matters, but against their C. F. and F. G. and the heirs of the same. F. G. refrain from such and suchlike actions for the sake of this or any other matter, but will be content against their C.F. and F. Gn. and their heirs, also against your Grace's land and people in equity and right for themselves, their Chapter, and their also their descendants, and renounce and renounce the much touched connection; in addition also to their Electoral and Princely Graces the damage to which they are entitled. and princely graces the damage, in which their electoral and princely graces, from above. We have the order, also the power and authority from our C. F. and F. G., with E. F. G., that such peace and assurance be finally executed and established with us without delay,

(5) To act thereon, and so let us be further heard, that for the sake of their C.F. and F.G. there may be no lack of that which is useful for the prevention of evil and other grievous afflictions, and for lasting peace and rights in the realm, and that in all this their C.F. and F.G. [love of peace] 1) may be felt.

6th And their C. F. and F. G. have not wished to burden E. F. G. with this in the best and for peace, nor to notice the same in any other way than that it requires great necessity on the part of their C. F. and F. G.; which their C. F. and F. Graces are kindly inclined to deserve in this case.

To such we reply and let action take care as follows:

1. the most reverend prince and lord, lord Conrad, bishop of Wuerzburg and duke of Franconia, my most gracious lord, has commanded me to send you, the strict, honorable and firm, most noble, high-born princes and lords, lord Johansen, duke of Saxony 2c., and Mr. Philipsen, Landgrave of Hesse, my most gracious and gracious lords, ordered councilors and embassies, on applications and advertisements, which they have received by virtue of their electoral and princely credence and jurisdiction. and Princely Credence and Instruction, and to my keeping, that, although my most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony [and] of Hesse, behave towards the said my gracious Lord of Wuerzburg 2c. with all kindness and good neighborly will, and provide again, also law and all things against S. 2) F. Gn., and have never been: they have nevertheless come into credible experience, and have also received good reason to believe that the said my gracious Lord of Wuerzburg, the Holy Roman Empire's established land peace, has been violated. The Holy Roman Empire, and the recent and unanimously approved treaty at Speier, has entered into an alliance, and is of the opinion that they, along with several others, have joined his F. G., so that their C. F. and F. G. may preach the Holy Gospel more loudly and more effectively. They want to expel them from their country without being accused or prosecuted, and in such a wretched form as has ever been heard, all according to the copy of the same agreement that has been handed over. And although their C. F. and F. G. immediately without any further

1) Added by us.

2) Walch: "E." instead of: "S."

The C.F. and the F.G., considering what great bloodshed, death and mischief would result from this, have ordered you to send their embassy and to ask my gracious Lord of Würzburg for permanent peace, considering what great bloodshed, death, destruction and harm would result from this, have ordered you, their embassy, and will not refrain from requesting my gracious Lord of Wuerzburg for permanent peace, with notice where my gracious Lord of Wuerzburg again renounces and refuses the alliance made against them, and of this sufficient assurance and assurance, together with their F. G. cathedral chapters, also estates of the countryside, for their princely lords, all their descendants and all their families. G., all their descendants and foundation, that they will not take any action against my most gracious and gracious Lord of Saxony and Hesse and their heirs in perpetuity, and that they will also relinquish and pay the expired war costs, their C. F. and F. G. want to accept the peace later, and give this as an answer in accordance with the advertising that has taken place and the instructions that have been handed over, which I do not want to have diminished or increased:

(2) His F. G. cannot and do not know anything else to hear from the aforementioned advertisement and instruction, except that my most gracious and gracious Lord of Saxony and Hesse has been reported by my gracious Lord of Wuerzburg (2c). And if it were without this, my gracious Lord of Wuerzburg does not doubt at all that such advertising and reasoning would be from their C. F. and F. G. inferiority; for his Princely Grace, without glory, is not to be trusted with this. Gnaden know that during their reign, as befits a laudable, honorable, ecclesiastical prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and that they have kept the established peace of the country, order, and distinctions, as diligently as possible, and that their F. G. His sovereigns have also not placed in any mountain that it is their right and due, as an ecclesiastical prince of the Holy Roman Empire, to keep peace before others, and that if there should ever be strife and discord, they should use diligence to turn it to peaceful ways. For this reason, His Grace has always and in all cases, when matters have arisen between my most gracious and gracious lords and you, allowed them to act by friendly letters and messages, as you, the envoys, have in part undoubtedly known and can be proven with writings, and have sought nothing more than peace, and still want peace.
have nothing dearer than peace, have also never been willing to overdraw their C. F. and F. Gn. or to weigh them down in other unfair ways.

(3) My most gracious lord of Wuerzburg has neither received nor heard of the alleged covenant, the copy of which has been handed over, until this day, when it has been handed over by you, the envoys; and is therefore not unaware of it, first of all, and because it is stated therein in one common document alone, that his F. Gn. at Breslau by one of the same councillors, who however is not named, shall have accepted and sworn the same agreement; which, without doubt, has been done and brought about in a malicious manner by the most illustrious of my most gracious lord of Wuerzburg, who would gladly cause strife between my most gracious and most gracious lords of Saxony and Hesse and my most gracious lord of Wuerzburg, as well as other members of the Holy Roman Empire; for my most gracious lord of Wuerzburg cannot remember that they have ever seen one of his F. Gn. Gn. Councillors to Breslau, and even less to the time, as the supposed copy reads, as one has to inquire about it with those of Breslau. My most gracious lord of Wuerzburg also says with his princely dignities and true words that his f. gn. not only did not accept or make an alliance according to the alleged copy, but never took such in mind nor thought to do so; and that is even more, such was not even sought from his princely lord. Gn. has not been sought at all. And so that my most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony and Hesse may have sufficient faith in this, His Grace hereby undertakes and binds Himself: where it is shown, and as is justly enough proved, that His Grace has made or accepted such a covenant, they will suffer punishment for it in life and limb and in property, as is recognized, and for this reason they have justly offered to Their Grace and Grace to be released from the covenant. have justly offered to the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, the Majesty's Governor and Regiment in the Holy Roman Empire, also to the Chamber Court and before the Estates of the noble Union of Swabia, also before the most reverend, most illustrious, high-born Princes, Mr. Reicharten, Archbishop of Trier, and Mr. Ludwigen, Count Palatine of the Rhine, both Princes, my most gracious Lords, also other impartial Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, such as and, in addition, before the Counts, Lords and Knights of the Holy Roman Empire in general and all of them.

in the lands of Saxony, Hesse, Trier, Palatinate, Swabia and Franconia.

4th Besides this, my gracious lord of Wuerzburg does not want to keep you that the royal dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, when they want to move into the country of Hungary, let his sovereign lords by their noble embassy, the noble, strict, and firm lords Albrechten of Wolfstein and lord Dilmann of Breme, knight 2c.., for a military service and help on credence and instruction, which his Grace, however, for obvious reasons, does not want to grant and has refused, nor have their royal dignities given any help, neither with money nor otherwise, but have only lent two gunmasters, on their royal dignity's entertainment, for their march into Hungary. Thereby again to be taken for granted that the alleged copy which reports eight thousand florins has or may have no reason.

And because of all this, my gracious Lord of Würzburg will see to it that my most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony and Hesse will keep to the proposed holy imperial peace and unanimously approved imperial treaty at Speier; as then his F. Gn. Gn. to do, and to promote the Word of God, not only willingly, but also to be guilty of, and have hitherto done as diligently as possible, by virtue of the aforesaid parting, and thus his F. Gn. their subjects undrawn and unharmed, also to assure and assure their supposed peace, since his Grace has not violated the same peace, much less overcome it, but has kept and still intends to keep the peace of the land and the confederation, such as to refrain from such a demand for the sake of the desired war costs, since his Grace has given no cause for this. Gn. have no cause for this, and are not at all to blame for it, nor have my most gracious and gracious Lord of Saxony and Hesse, for the sake of his F. Gn., decided to spend the same. For their C. F. and F. Gn., if they had let such things reach his F. Gn. with a bad letter, might well have received this truthful answer, and that his F. Gn. would have been inclined to keep nothing but peace, and to show friendly service to their C. and F. Gn.; this my gracious Lord of Wuerzburg will gladly and willingly earn for their C. and F. Gn.

6th And since my most gracious and gracious lords of Saxony and Hesse report more than once that their C. and F. Gn. seek nothing more than peace: to this my gracious lord of Wuerzburg is
with diligence also inclined, but knows of no better measure than the Holy Empire's established land peace gives, to speak or to act. . But if my most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony and Hesse know of a better one, and indicate it to His Grace, they will hear it, consider it, and allow themselves to be heard in all fairness and equity.

Whereupon the envoys took notice until future Wednesdays, and so on the same day again presented before us in public interrogation, as follows:

1st Reverend in God, gracious Prince and Lord! We have heard the content of the answer that Your Grace gave yesterday to our instruction and advertisement on behalf of the most noble, high-born Princes and Lords, our most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony and Hesse. Gn. again, as E. F. Gn. yesterday heard from our advertisement and instruction, that our most gracious and gracious lords, among other things, have instructed us to act primarily for peace and good will with E. F. Gn. Therefore once again our humble request that E.F.Gn. will engage in the action of the articles which we have to report and to discover, as far as they concern peace and assurance; but where E.F.Gn. wants to insist on the given answer is not without, we have orders to further report to our most gracious and gracious lords.

(2) But since we fear that the same will be of little use for peace and unity, we have resolved, in order to prevent all mischief and harm that might result therefrom, to announce and report orally to our most gracious and gracious Lords such answer as has been given to their C. and F. Grace, and thereafter to hand it over in writing: what then will be the opinion and occasion of their C. and F. Grace? and their opportunity, that shall be made known to their Lordships afterwards in writings. Furthermore, as far as peace is concerned, we cannot report or act on anything, with humble request that Your Grace will excuse us for our person in this.

Then we let it be said that we had heard the present argument, which was that they, the envoys, were ready to seek peace and security, which peace we, no less than they, were inclined to seek and keep. But because the words of peace and security were somewhat broad, we asked for a brief consideration; and after this we had

Consideration and repetition of the requests made by the envoys, this opinion:

The most reverend Prince and Lord, my gracious Lord of Wuerzburg, commands me to speak this opinion: it was heard yesterday in the answer given by his F. Gn. that his F. Gn. sought and still seeks and desires nothing more than to keep the peace, that also S. F. Gn. has never been willing, and still is not willing, to do or act anything unpleasant against my most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony and Hesse, but rather to remain with the Imperial Peace and the most recent Speierian Peace. Therefore, his mind and opinion would still not allow anything to be changed in his F. Gn.'s favour, so that peace and unity, as well as friendly service and neighbourliness to both my most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony and Hesse, can be achieved. But since the article concerning peace and security needs purification, and the Holy Roman Emperor is reluctant to refuse peace, it should be understood, as was heard yesterday, that the Holy Roman Emperor should undertake to give assurance, and thus understood and directed as if the Holy Roman Emperor had violated the peace and had not acted as a prince of the Holy Roman Empire should, and thus had imposed something on the Holy Roman Emperor. F. Gn. something, that they are innocent, because they have always acted princely and well, and not otherwise than according to the imperial peace. My most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony and Hesse will not think, think, or do anything against his F. Grace, for she is innocent, because she has always been princely and well, and not otherwise than according to the Imperial Peace. weder gemuthen, sinnen, noch begehren, sich eines Dings zu verpflichten, deß sie unschuldig, und also ihr selbst das, so sie nicht gethan, auflegen; wo aber der Fried dahin gedeutet, daß Fried und Einigkeit gemacht und aufgerichtet werden sollt, haben seine F. Gn. sich gestern in der Antwort vernehmen lassen, daß sie keinen bessern Frieden, denn den kaiserl. aufgerichteten Landfrieden wüßten; wo sie aber sonst einen Frieden und Einigung, die zuförderst päbstl. Holiness, Imperial. Majesty, the same land peace and the order of the empire, the laudable union of Swabia, and other princes with whom his F. Grace is in friendly agreement, his F. Grace would like to hear about it, and would like to be heard. are pleased to hear of it, and to show and hold themselves out to my most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony and Hesse for their friendly, official pleasure, in such a way that it may be felt that his F. Grace seeks, desires, has and holds peace, and in all that which is the same, right and proper, they are not opposed to it.
and just, do not want to get anything. And after they, the envoys, have indicated that they will bring his F. Grace's answer to my most gracious and gracious Lords of Saxony and Hesse. And after they, the ambassadors, have indicated that they will bring an answer to my most gracious and gracious lords of Saxony and Hesse, and that their minds will be disposed to let their f. gn. know in writings, his f. gn. express their highest gratitude to them, the ambassadors, and want to recognize this in their gracious will; and they hope that my most gracious and gracious lords of Saxony and Hesse will offer his f. gn. more than enough to them, and that they will be able to tell their f. gn. in writings. They will understand the open mind that leads to peace, and will be satisfied with this answer, and will not do anything unpleasant against their favors or their relatives, but will keep and show themselves in accordance with the order of the realm and the peace of the land, and especially my most gracious lord, Landgrave Philip of Hesse. This is what his F. Gn. want to kindly earn and owe against their C. and F. Gn.

Accordingly the Saxon and Hessian Envoys 2c.They want, as they offered before, to present the oral and written answer, also now, to our lords and friends of Saxony and Hesse faithfully and with diligence, and put in no doubt that their love would show itself against it and act, as is due and well suited to them, also unrefusable; They have therefore taken their leave, and thanked us for all our gracious assistance, with a submissive request that we escort them back to the places where they were accepted into the escort, and that they may, for their own good, act between our lords and friends of Saxony and Hesse and us in these matters, which they would do most humbly, and not allow anything to be done to them.

Hereupon we let say to them: We accepted such a good-willed offer of theirs as a gracious favor, to recognize in grace and all good, asking and requesting them, the envoys, to the highest, to apply our given answer and innocence to the best and most faithful, if we were of the opinion that our lords and friends of Saxony and Hesse would be satiated with it, and would not be moved in evil or further development against us and our foundation or ours, but would behave all friendly and neighborly will towards us. This we also want to do and not be felt otherwise. For the sake of the seduction we consider the thanks unnecessary, because we are inclined to do so for ourselves, and we want to escort them again with a living escort through our foundation, country and land.

and territory in places where we have to guide, for where something repugnant would be due to them, we would be heartily sorry.

And from this, in view of the fairness, rightfulness, and our excessive offer, which we, as heard here above, have made, in addition to the display of our obvious innocence, we want to take care of it completely, so that our lords and friends of Salmon and Hesse do not overreach us, or ours, nor burden us in any other way, nor damage us, but shall keep the peace of the holy realm and the treaty of the realm, as well as the alliance agreement, which is most dear to us, and which we, in turn, are quite willing and inclined to earn and settle in a friendly manner with their loved ones.

But if this does not happen, and we are overrun, attacked and damaged by their loved ones, and against all this, it is to your love, and to all of you in particular, our very friendly and favourable request that your love and you will not do them and yours any help, assistance, advice or encouragement against us and our foundation. Whether your love and you also have some of your own with them, order them away and home, also handle, protect and protect us, as a prince of the holy realm, and our monastery's subjects and relatives in the established peace, imperial decrees and imperial treaties. And whether the matters have reached your love and you in a different form than is truly indicated herein, or would still reach you, we do not give credence to them, nor do we settle them, but have completely and utterly excused ourselves, as we are innocent in the right truth of the matters involved. This we, together with equity, are willing and inclined to do in order to deserve, instruct, and recognize your love and the rest of you, and each one in particular, according to each one's dignity, standing, and character, in a friendly, favorable, and gracious manner. Given under our secret, printed at the end of the writing, on Thursday after Exaudi [28 May] Anno 2c. in the 28th year of the month.

838. the archbishop of Salzburg's brief apology to the imperial regiment at Speier put. The 3rd of June 1528.

In Hortleder I. c. S. 596.

Issued by our most gracious lord of Salzburg rc. to the imperial regiment at Speier.

Most gracious, noble, honorable, learned, and festive, especially dear! We have your friendship and your letter, whose date is on the 25th day of this month.

Maji, together with the enclosed copy of a supposed, fictitious union, which should be contrary to the Highborn Princes, our dear lords and friends, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse 2c., with about much narration, what has been done so far by you in the matters with the reported Elector and Landgrave, also what is against it your both dearest indications and requests, with the unattached request that we take action on our part for the most beneficial of the things and have appointment, so that further mischief and outrage will be prevented, further contents understood. And thereupon we give your friendship and your love in good opinion, and with the truth to acknowledge that we have no knowledge at all of such a fictitious union. We have never been to Breslau, neither at the time when such a union is to be established, nor ever come otherwise, nor have we had any of our embassies there, nor have we ever thought of such an action and undertaking, nor have we taken it into our minds; which will never be otherwise invented with any truth. No one so ignorant of our and our convent's occasion, and especially of the great ruin into which we have been led by the two past uprisings, through no fault of our own, can appreciate how utterly unrighteous and untruthful we are drawn in the untruthful alliance mentioned, together with the fact that we desire nothing better than peace and unity in the holy kingdom and in all Christendom. Therefore, your friendship and you must understand that it is unnecessary for us to take any action or make any request, but our request and plea is to your friendship and to you that you will excuse us and talk to you and to your men about such things and such imaginary covenants. To this end, we provide that you, in the place of the Emperor's Majesty, will, according to the form of these highly important matters and the swift and dangerous runs, take such measures that such dangerous armaments, applications and exercises will be stopped, and that the peace of the Emperor and the Holy Roman Empire will be preserved, and the Holy Roman Empire, and that the royal dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as the other princes and rulers, who have been drawn into the above-mentioned imaginary union, are, as we fully respect them, of the same stature without any reason, and that all our honour, innocence and need be taken into account; we would your friendship and you on the same letter friendly and gracious opinion not behave. Date in our city of Salzburg, on the Wednesday after the holy day of Pentecost [3 June] Anno Domini 1528.

839 King Ferdinand's apology for the alliance. June 1, 1528.

This writing appeared under a similar title as the 837th document. After that with Hortleder I. e. p. 596.

1st We Ferdinand by the Grace of God, of Hungary and Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. King, Infante in Hispania, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Styria, Carinthia, Crain and Würtemberg rc., Count of Tyrol rc., Roman Imperial Majesty, Governor of the Holy Roman Empire 2c. 2c., to all and any princes, princes, ecclesiastical and secular, prelates, counts, freemen, lords, knights, servants, captains, governors, 1) bailiffs, stewards, mayors, magistrates, councillors, citizens and municipalities, and otherwise to all others of the Holy Roman Empire, also of our kingdoms. Kingdom, as well as our kingdoms, principalities and lands, subjects and faithful, in whatever dignity, status or being they may be, to whom this letter of ours is addressed, our special love, friendship, affectionate will, grace and all good things. High and venerable, high-born princes, well-born, strict, noble, honorable, respectable, learned, renowned dear friends, uncle, cousin, brothers-in-law, special love and faithful!

(2) Although it has come to our attention in the recent past that the highborn princes, our dear uncle and friend, Lord John, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, and Lord Philip, Landgrave of Hefsen 2c., have been engaged in a little armament of a war party, and that there has been an outcry in the country, as if such armament had been made on some estates of the Holy Roman Empire. Whereupon we, as imperial governor, have diligently taken notice of the matter, and in many ways have taken care of amicable negotiations through notable persons, of high princely and other rank, in order to learn what nobility the above-mentioned two sovereigns and princes would be, so that such an application would be put to rest and peace: We could not have been reminded of the right reason of such armament sooner, because until the last days the mentioned Elector of Saxony had his embassy with us in our kingdom of Bohemia, the same has brought us, among other things, a copy of an alleged, fictitious, untrue alliance or agreement, as it is to be called, which in the beginning was directed to us, and in the following order to the high and venerable princes of Saxony,

1) In the old edition": "Bißthumen".

High-born Princes, our dear Oheime, Cousins and Friends, Mr. Albrechten, Cardinals, Archbishops and Electors of Mainz; Mr. Joachim, Arch Chamberlain and Elector of the Holy Empire, both Margraves of Brandenburg rc.; Mr. Matthäus, 2) Cardinals and Archbishops" of Salzburg rc.; Herr Weiganden, at Bamberg, and Herr Conraden, at Würzberg; Bishops'; Herr Georgen, Dukes of Saxony, Landgraves in Thuringia, and Margraves at Meissen; Mr. Wilhelmen and Mr. Ludewigen, brothers, Palgraves of the Rhine, Dukes of Upper and Lower Bavaria, and which last year against the said Electors of Saxony and Landgraves of Hesse, and their two Electorates, Principalities and Lands shall be established, sealed, pledged, and sworn; that after the reading of the same imagined union we receive not only astonishment, but also the highest complaint.

(3) And have thereupon sent our answer in writing to the same Elector, with a true denial and contradiction of such fictitious matter, and have requested that it be reported to his dear uncle, the Landgrave, because it also comprehends his love, and that the same be dismissed from her nobility with her armor. But before such our responsibility reaches the said Landgrave, we have received from the Imperial Government in the Holy Roman Empire a copy of such a declaration. The same is true for a copy of the alleged alliance, which the said Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave have sent to the same government;

(4) And subsequently from another place a copy of a letter of invitation, which is to be issued to all estates under the above-mentioned Landgrave's imprinted secret, is received, which among other things refers to the above-mentioned alleged, fictitious, untruthful alliance, and which the above-mentioned Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, to excuse their dear armament and application of the people of war, intend to avail themselves of. And since we, along with other aforementioned princes and princes, are accused of the same fictitious union or alliance in a most unjust and untruthful manner, and we are accused of the same from the aforementioned Landgrave's letter, which is based on the untruthful agreement, as if we and the princes and chieftains, as reported above, were to be in the act of opposing and suppressing the living, gracious word of God, and of the Holy Roman Empire, which has been established. Roman Empire, also the unification of the Union of Swabia,

2) In the old edition: "Mattheusen" == Matthaussen.

all Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Speier agreements made by the empire, and all equity, to chase away and expel their love of the same churality and principality, also land and people; as such is indicated by the letter of the oft-counted fictitious, untruthful covenant, and now mentioned landgrave's letter, according to length:
(5) Thus we are urged and caused to take our responsibility against such a proclamation in the following manner, until it can be further and with more execution by the other sovereigns and princes, in addition to all of us, according to our need. And therefore report to your beloved, and to you the others, also manly, with right reason and truth, that we know ourselves to be quite free against God and the world of such fictitious, untruthful alliance, and to be accused of and to declare it untruthful; For it shall never be shown by anyone, whoever he may be, with truth that we have thought to establish such a union, or such a supposed one, let alone that we have sworn, pledged, and sealed it with the princes and rulers; and can understand nothing else with us, but that such a pretended notel or copy of the untruthful union is a fictitious thing, and brought on the way by him or by those, who not only between us, and the other Electors and Princes, obgemeldt, and the said Duke John of Saxony and the Landgrave 2c. Displeasure and enmity, but also rebellion, insurrection, and disobedience in the holy kingdom. They are pleased to see that they are able to do so for their own benefit and service; We therefore desire nothing better than that the one or ones who have thus subjected themselves to this heated, scanty practice, which is untruthful in it, should be presented and denounced to us, so that we may so oppose the same or those who are guilty of the matter, If we were to be presented with a counter-answer against the same or those who are guilty of the matter, we would hold and show ourselves to be manly with honor and praise, and the opposite to be untruthful, and that he has done and made such of himself, to his advantage and benefit, and to a disruption of all honorable conduct and being in the holy kingdom. He should recognize that this has been done and made for his own advantage and benefit. For your dears and you have well to consider, if the supposed, imagined alliance should be true, as it is not, we would not have endeavored so much to refuse the armor and application, as has happened, in many ways, but from the cause [of] the said Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave's armor, we together with the other unreasonably accused churals and princes, also in armor and counter-armor, would not have been able to prevent this.
But we have not undertaken any of them, otherwise, what has happened in our principality of Würtemberg through our government there, that it has come to light how Ulrich, who calls himself Duke of Würtemberg, should have had the intention, with his relatives, to invade our principality: Let your beloved and you, the others, and only we, of sincere, honorable mind, recognize that we, if God wills, walk in the right way according to the praise of God, and do our things in the light and not in secret, or do them in this way and commit ourselves to it, that (as the supposed imaginary agreement, and on it the mentioned Landgrave's letter wants to be understood) should be to the subversion of the true word of God, and against the imperial peace, the agreement of the Union of Swabia, and all the agreements made by the Empire. For we may well talk and discuss this without glory, nor shall it ever be brought upon us that we have ever been present to this, as has been foretold; so we also intend to keep ourselves Christian and unprovable in such things as befits a just king, and as our ancestors, Roman emperors, kings, and archdukes of Austria, have commendably brought upon us.

6. And therefore it is our friendly and gracious request, request and desire to your love and you, where the said fictitious covenant, likewise [the] aforementioned landgrave's letter is printed, or otherwise occurs in other ways to your love and you, or would still be indicated, you will not give credence to it, but will regard and hold such alleged alliance as a fictitious, untrue matter (such as it is), as it will in time be brought to light more clearly and unambiguously by our and the other sovereigns and princes named with us. Therefore, according to our answer, given to the said Elector, his beloved, the Landgrave of Hesse, nor her relatives, should not be in any danger or worry because of such fictitious alliance, for our sake and ours, if we are powerful; For we, not only as imperial governor, but also for ourselves, as a Christian king and an obeyer of the said imperial majesty, do not wish to endanger the aforementioned imperial peace, nor peace, justice and unity in the Holy Roman Empire. May you always be willing, eager and inclined to help, plant and maintain the said imperial peace, justice and unity in the Holy Roman Empire, only for comfort and good, for the help of our property. May your love and you be completely satisfied and provided for us, and

Your love and you show us in such that they give no credence to the above invented covenant, together of equity, especially friendly and pleasant pleasure, which we want to recognize in such and more about the same your love and you, the others, in friendship and gracious will. Given on St. Wenceslas' Hill, in our royal city of Prague, the first day of June, after the birth of Christ fifteen hundred and in the eighth and twentieth, of our kingdoms in the other year.

849 The Dukes of Bavaria, William and Louis, public writing, which they have sent out for their excuse. June 5, 1528.

In Hortleder I. c. S. 398.

(1) To all and every prince, prince, ecclesiastical and secular, and to all other relatives and subjects of the Holy Roman Empire, in whatever dignities, status and nature they may be, we, William and Ludwig, Palgraves of the Rhine, Dukes of Upper and Lower Bavaria, brothers, by the grace of God, offer our friendly service, and what we are able to do in the way of honour, love and goods, friendship, friendly and favourable greetings beforehand.

(2) We have been informed in days gone by of the most illustrious, most great prince and lord, Mr. Carl 2c., Roman emperor, our most gracious dear lord and cousin, imperial and his majesty and of the Holy Roman Empire. Reichs Regiment, now at Speier, also from other places, and lastly by the Highborn Prince, our Oheim, Herr Philipsen, Landgrave of Hesse 2c., Copies of a print, of which in his dear missive, to us, report happened of a fictitious, supposed alliance, so by the noble prince, our friendly dear lord and cousin, lord Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, infante in Hispania, archduke of Austria 2c., imperial majesty governor in the empire. Majesty Governor in the Empire, and other Electors and Princes, as they are indicated by name therein, to be erected by us at Breslau, on Wednesday after the Sunday Jubilate [May 15] of the past seven and twentieth years, against the Highborn Prince, our dear cousin, Mr. Johannsen, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., and the said Landgrave of Hesse.

3rd Besides it has also been reported that now thought of, Elector and Prince of Saxony and Hesse,
such supposed alliance into print, and sent it to many estates of the Holy Roman Empire, attributed it to them publicly. They have thereby excused their dear armor, craft, and attire, as if such should be done for a counter-defense. And although we fully respect that the royal dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, our friendly dear lord and cousin, as well as other attracted princes and princes, have sufficiently indicated, and the truth from the work will seemingly be revealed from day to day, that the presumed alliance has not only not been decided or established, but also has never been made by the named, their royal dignity, princes, and princes. We have also sent our reply to the Imperial Regiment, and likewise to our uncle, the Landgrave, and are partly excused in such a way of his dear letter of the proposed alliance and appendix; for which reason some further apology or responsibility on our part would be unnecessary; as your love and friendship are also to be understood from our writings and replies, such as those that follow. And initially from our answer, attributed to the imperial regiment, as follows:

By the Grace of God, Wilhelm and Ludwig, brothers, Palgraves of the Rhine, Dukes of Upper and Lower Bavaria 2c.

Our greetings beforehand, most gracious, noble and learned, especially dear! We have read your letter, together with the copy of a covenant, which should have been established by our friendly dear Lord and cousin, Lord Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and several other Princes, Princes and us at Breslau, and cannot wonder enough, nor consider on what opinion we should understand such a pretence on our part; for we have had no knowledge of this or such an alliance up to this time, nor have we had our embassies and counsels with the royal dignity at Breslau on account of this or other matters. Therefore, you may understand that it is unnecessary for us to ask for the dissolution and enactment of these covenants and for peace, since we, as Christian princes, would like nothing better than to see unity in the holy Christian faith, peace and acceptance of the German nation, and to help to achieve this. Our gracious request and plea is also to you that you not give any credence to such charges of ours, and that you not even give us any credence with yourselves and others in this matter.

We apologize to you for the enclosure and the established covenant, and wish to discuss it. It serves us well to acknowledge our favorable and gracious will towards you. Date Munich, May 28th Anno 2c. in the 28th year.

To the well-born, noble, and highly learned, our special dear ones, imperial governors, stewards, and other decreed councilors of the imperial regiment in the holy empire, now at Speier.

Thus reads our uncle the landgrave's missive, which he has done to us herein, as follows:

Our friendly service, and what we are able to do dear and good, always before, highborn princes, friendly dear homes! We have come to the credible knowledge that an alliance is to be established between the Highborn Prince, Mr. Johannsen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, our friendly dear uncle, brother-in-law and godfather, and us, and that we are sending an imprint to your beloved; and after we have also been credibly reported that your love shall have written down such alliance in time 1). Wherefore, when we, according to the report we have received, have fully provided for it, we should have had special confidence in your love, and your love should have taken care of our grandfather, brother-in-law and godfather, and us, without any harm, but rather should have waited for service and friendship. Request, after all this, your love friendly, correct, described, conducive answer, with this our messenger. Date in our camp at Herrenbreitingen, on the Thursday after Exaudi [28 May] Anno Christi 1528.

LeUsäuln.

We also do not want to hold back your love, that we have always provided ourselves with all friendship and friendly good will towards them, we also comfort ourselves of this, and are completely confident that your love will not let itself be moved to ill-will in such unjust matters against us; the same answer begging. Date ut in littsrib.

Philips Landgrave of Hesse 2c. ss. z. t. 8nd86rip8it^.

To the Highborn Princes, Mr. Wilhelmen and Mr. Ludwigen, brothers, Dukes of Upper and Lower Bavaria, Palgraves of the Rhine, our kind and dear grandparents.

1) "written out," that is, as we see from the answer, refused the alliance.

Hereupon our Duke William's answer, which we have given to the Landgrave of Hesse to such his letter.

Highborn prince, dear uncle! We have received your dear letter, addressed to us in their camp at Herrenbreitingen, on Thursday after Exaudi, yesterday outside of the print of the supposed suggested covenant, of which there is a report in your dear missive, in the absence of the Highborn Prince, our dear brother, Duke Ludwig; and nevertheless a few days ago we received from the imperial regiment at Speier a copy of an alliance, which was established by the noble Prince, our dear Lord and cousin, Lord Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, together with several other princes, princes and us, at Breslau a year ago against the Prince of Saxony 2c. and your love should have been set up; to which we have given them an answer, according to the enclosed copy marked A. and leave it at that 2); and give your love this answer to their request: That your love reports this alliance with falsehood, and that it is fabricated by a dishonorable man who is inclined to sedition, war, and the shedding of Christian blood, and to lead your love and other princes to ruin; For we have no knowledge of such fictitious, untruthful alliance, nor have we been accused of it by others, to the effect that at the same or other times of this untruthful alliance, or also of other alliances or matters, we have not had our counsels and embassies at Breslau by royal dignity; otherwise no one, whoever he may be, may say or pretend of us with truth. Your love shall also recognize us of the princely mind, where your love asks us of it or otherwise, as acted by us, we do not want to have the truth kept, also do not wish to keep all our doings secret, but may well suffer the light. But we would have provided ourselves to your love completely, the same should not give credence to the untrue report against us, but reminded us beforehand, and learned our answer and the truth; likewise, not so in the print, as we may think, spread out everywhere, drawn in and named beside others, but still ascribe your love to us, that the same reports credibly that we are no longer related to the drawn alliance. And although we consider the royal dignity and other princes and rulers to be aware of this supplement, of their opportunity, of the fact that we are no longer related to the alliance.

2) In the old edition: "touch".

If we do not want to save your love from its letter, your love will undoubtedly find the reason for the truth of this reply from us. Date in our city Munich, the third day of June, Anno 1528.

By the Grace of God, William, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Upper and Lower Bapern 2c.

To the Highborn Prince, our dear Oheim, Mr. Philipsen, Landgrave of Hesse and Count of Katzenelnbogen 2c.

Nevertheless, since we have carried out all our doings with the help of the Almighty, as befits honest, pious, Christian princes, and have inherited from our honest forefathers, the time of our lives, and intend to continue in it, that we have been included in the sent out pressure without any permanent causes besides royal dignity, our friendly dear lord and cousin and other princes and princes: so our princely honours demand high and unavoidable necessity, our innocence not only against the imperial regiment, Electors of Saxony and Landgraves of Hesse, but rather and solely so that with all other honour-loving states, with which we might have grown into suspicion with an untrue poem, our reported responsibilities might not come to hand, to declare our innocence, and with constant, firm reason and truth so to do, that our detractors may have their untruthful mouths shut, and the pious may see and feel what perilous times we fall into, and that the father of all lies would ever willingly stir up disgust, outrage, destruction, bloodshed, and most grievous eternal damnable judgment of many Christian souls. And, after all, we may not conceal from your love, friendship, and all the rest of you, that we have hitherto shown and kept ourselves so neighbourly with all our neighbouring kings, princes, communes, and others (without glory to report) in the time of our government, that we shall be blameless of our hopes of such intentions, and of other unjust complaints from them all; of which we are also still of a mind, and not only against our neighbours, but against male ones. From which is to be deduced what favor, will, or mind we bear for ourselves to the covenant made, where the same should be established. And therefore he that, whether he be of high or low estate.

To our cousin and uncle, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, by your love, friendship, and all of you others, we have heard in a different form than now, and in particular that we have had some favor or knowledge of, adhered to, or agreed to, seal, or decreed by our councils the covenant indicated above, or have had one through our councils, or have had one at the same time or at other times with the royal dignity at Breslau, or have also been suggested such a covenant by someone, falsely reported and issued by us: The same has acted, speaks and says as a dishonorable, mendacious man; we also know ourselves so free before God and man that all of this should never be said, proven, nor imposed by us with the least indication and truth. That the proposed covenant, on our part, is also an inhuman, let us say unchristian, dishonorable, false poem. We also hope, in all respectability, that the above-mentioned cousins and uncle, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, as honest princes of the Holy Roman Empire, will know how to denounce the author and sponsor of the often-mentioned false pact, and the royal dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as the other princes, princes and us, in addition to all and every honorable people, who are annoyed by this denunciation, more than to have the same dishonest, lying man before their eyes; From this, then, there will be constant peace, and such unheard-of wickedness in the German nation will be put to rest, and the right, true reason will be reported, and the distrust that arises from this among all potentates, even the common man, will be rejected unquestioningly and with the truth. We have also, and especially about our uncle, the landgrave's, letter, in which his love reports that the same credibly reports that we should have written out such an alliance in time, not provided that we, through his love, and even less the Elector of Saxony, who is related to us with near blood, should have drawn in our unsought and unaccountable, in the outgoing print and writings, and then this excuse is the fair truth: Accordingly, to your love, friendship, and you, all others to whom this print and answer of ours comes to be read, is our kind request, amicable request, and gracious desire, that you give full credence to such our true apology, and to our repugnants and the lying poet, or others who accuse us of the lying alliance.

And even if this responsibility of ours is sharpened with somewhat heated words by someone, we still ask him to consider our princely traditions, and that we want to be infamous and brought into disrepute with males, and for this reason may not have to circumvent our need for honor, just as everyone is obliged to save his honor in the same case. For the sake of your love and friendship, and for the sake of each one of you, whatever his rank and nature, we will kindly pardon and acknowledge this. Date in our city of Munich, under our preprinted Secret, on the fifth day of the month of June, Domini fifteen hundred and in the eighth and twentieth.

841. responsibility of Duke George of Saxony for the sake of the alliance. December 19, 1528.

This document was first published under the title: "IVElcher gestalt wir Georg von gots gnaden Hertzog zu Sachssen Landtgraff in Duringen vnd Marggraff zu Meysfen von Martins Luther, des getichten Bündtnüs halben inn schriefften vnerfindlich angegeben, Vnd darauff vnnßere antwort." 10 quarto. At the end: "Printed in Dresden by Wolffgang Stöckel." After this, in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, 423; in the Altenburg, vol. IV, p. 457, and in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 669. Duke George had Luther's letter to Wenceslaus Link printed both in Latin and (translated by himself) in German in his edition, according to his copy. It is found in Latin in Aurifaber, Vol. II, p. 385 d; in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 340; in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. VI, p. 290; and in Seidemann's "Erläuterungen," p. 131. In German in the collective editions given above; in Hortleder, "Von den Ursachen des deutschen Kriegs," Vol. I, p. 602; and in Seidemann's "Erläuterungen," p. 132. - The Bries of Duke George to Luther is found in the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 292; in the Jena (1566), vol. IV, p. 532; in the Altenburg, vol. IV, p. 458; in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. II; in Keil, "Luthers merkwürdige Lebensumstände," vol. II, p. 20; and in Seidemann's "Erläuterungen," p. 133. Latin in Aurifaber, vol. II, bl. 391l>. - The original of Luther's reply to Duke George is in the Dresden Hauptstaatsarchiv. Afterwards printed in Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe", p. 35. Then in the above-mentioned Gesammtausgahen, in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 48 and vol. 31, p. 3; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 397 and in Seidemann's "Erläuterungen", p. 133. Latin in Aurifaber, vol. II,

In what manner we George, by the grace of God Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen, have been accused by Martin Luther of being

The poetic alliance half in writings unintelligible indicated, and thereupon our answer.

(1) Although we have herebefore, when we at the outset of the covenant made against the high-born princes, our friendly dear cousins, uncle and sons, Mr. Johannsen, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., and Mr. Philippen, Landgrave of Hesse 2c, shall be set up, accused, have our answer heard and put in print, also answer against the presented announcer of the same alliance, Otten Pack, and have our innocence brought to light, so that no honest man with some credible appearance will have or know the least to attribute to us that we ever advised or acted of the intention of which the fictitious alliance reports; Let alone that we should have something written about it in a note, or otherwise have some science about it; for which reason we should not be unjustly spared from all suspicion, accusation and slander, even further responsibility.

2. However, because Martin Luther may not have tolerated such a thing from his conceived envy,' nor recognize the truth of our public innocence, but such a poetic alliance, and on it especially us, now and then in his writings does attract and form in the people, and we note that this man, without all difference and fuss of his proceeding, is given faith and chance by many, and we note that this man, without all distinction and attention to his actions, is given faith and coincidence by many, so our necessity demands that we neither pass over such things in silence nor leave them unanswered, but merely indicate with what consistency and reason Luther held himself in such his pretensions.

3. Initially, we are reminded of the words that he uses in the preface of the booklet, in response to the mandate of the venerable in God, our special dear friend, John, Bishop of Meissen, namely: 1) "But our Lutheran princes must not come to such honor, yes, everyone must be theirs, and for this purpose seek treacherous plots and alliances against them, of which they must be ashamed themselves afterwards; as also happened to the plot at Mainz" 2c.

004 By which words every man shall know that he hath made a covenant, and therewith would willingly make men believe it, but in a hidden form. And in general, so that, when he is called to account for these words, he may say that he has this

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1349, § 11.

Covenant not meant, for which reason we also could not well have assumed such word soon.

(5) But subsequently, and a few days ago, we received a Latin writing which Luther wrote to Wenceslaum Linken against Nuremberg, not only about this covenant, but also about our apology, which had gone out, and which attacks it and us somewhat violently, and reads thus:

[D. Martin Luther's writing to Wenceslaus Link.] 1)

Grace and peace. Thou knowest more of the new paper than I can write. The alliance of the godless princes, which they deny, you see what motive it made, but 2) Duke George's very coldest excuse, which I interpret almost as a confession. Now, if they deny it, excuse it, or make it up, I know for a fact that the covenant is not nothing, or a chimera, although it is a miracle, and sufficiently miraculous for the whole world to know that they have publicly tried, done, and are still doing such things with their minds, with their deeds, with their commandments, 3) with stiff-necked diligence, up to this point: for they want to have destroyed the gospel, and no one can deny that.

But what is it to thee, who without doubt are sure of all this? only that thou knowest that we also believe nothing of the wicked, though we offer, desire, and give them peace. May God disgrace the most foolish of fools ,
More boldly than Moab can do, and not doing according to his might, as he hath done in all his ways. We will pray against these murderers, and so far they have been forgiven. But if they will be subdued again, let us pray to God, and then admonish the princes, that they may be destroyed without mercy; for the insatiable bloodsuckers will not rest, for they find that Germany is moistened with blood.

We're working in the Prophets now, getting them to...

1) According to Seidemann's "Explanations," 1. c.

2) In Latin: sed - but.

3) In Seidemann: "gebeth". If otherwise this reading is correct, then "gebeth" stands for areas. Latin: käieto.

Germanize. Oh God, what a great and annoying work it is to force the Hebrew scribes to speak German; how they resist, and do not want to leave their Hebrew ways at all, and follow the coarse German. As if the nightingale hastened, so the cuckoo's singing in unison, all the same should leave her lovely melody, and sing after the cuckoo. See you in good health, and pray to God for us. Sunday after Barnabas [14 June] 1528. Martin Luther.

To the very best and God-fearing man, Wenceslao Linken, a servant of Christ in the Gospel at Nuremberg, his brother.

(6) Although it is now easy to sense from the poem and other circumstances that such writing came from him, we have not failed to ascertain this thoroughly ourselves from him, whether he intended to insist on such his writing, or to give it another interpretation and excuse, and to indicate to us what caused him to do so, and to have it written to him for this reason, as follows:

[Writing of Duke George of Saxony to D. Martin Luther.] 4)

By the Grace of God George, Duke of Saxony 2c.

A copy of a letter sent by you to Wenceslao Linken against Nuremberg not long ago occurred to us yesterday before date 5) as you have to decide in this. Although we would like to give credence to this, our need requires us to know this from you as well, and we therefore request that you inform us clearly in writing to our messenger whether you have sent such a letter to the above-mentioned Linken, according to the one in this letter, so that we may be guided by it. Given at Dresden, Wednesday Simon and Jude [Oct. 28] An. 2c. 28.

Martins Luthern zu Wittenberg zu Handen.

4) According to Seidemann's "Erläuterungen", 1. c.

5) that is the 27th of October. Strange is therefore the remark, which, as Seidemann, "Lutherbriefe", p. 34, states, Thomas von der Heiden is supposed to have put on the back of the copy of the previous letter, that it was made "hewt Samptags nach Martins (14. November)". Here is either a clerical error of von der Heiden or a reading error of Seidemann. We assume that "Saturday after Severini", that is October 24, is to be read. The Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. VI, p. 289, has printed the above remark from Seidemann without expressing any reservations about it.

007 And if we had been careful, because we desired to know nothing but the truth of him, he should at least have allowed himself to be heard with the right answer, yes or no. But we have been given a broad answer, according to the following:

[D. Martin Luther's reply to Duke George of Saxony.] 1)

Grace and peace in Christ. I have received a letter from E. F. G., in which E. F. G. requests from me a note or copy of half an answer as to whether I am aware of such a letter; and this, as if I had to sit here waiting, like the least obligated or prisoner. To this my short answer is: Since E. F. G. is well aware of my great patience, which I have hitherto borne over the preface to the New Testament of Emser, and the answer to my heartfelt humble writing; so I will also have patience this time over this piece, which E. F. G. considers a great and heavy challenge. And humbly ask E. F. G. to leave me untried with such notes or copies. E. F. G. will undoubtedly find out from those who have received and handed such notes, even without Luther's help, what such writings are that are more related to E. F. G. than to me. I do not want to have written anything harder this time against such pious people. For I would be Christianly inclined to have mercy and to pray for E. F. G.'s affliction, if E. F. G. could suffer it. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. At Wittenberg, Saturday of the last of October 1528.

E. F. G.

willing Martinus Luther.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

008 From this we could not clearly find that he wanted to confess to such a writing, or to deny the same; by which we were then caused to find out about it further and at the council at Nuremberg; where we then found,

1) According to Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe", p. 34.

that Wenceslaus Linke has been confessed, and still is, that such a Latin writing as indicated has come to him from Martin Luther.

009 But how it is fitting and proper for an honorable man, and first of all for him who thinks he is evangelical, to flee the truth in response to such a writing, in which he attacks us with invective more favorably than others, and not to confess clearly that which he may easily be convicted of, is for men alone to judge, and whether in doing so they will say yes or no to the teaching of Christ which interprets us.

10. From this it should be felt sufficiently what good one has to provide for such a one, especially because he did not leave it at that, but about that, that he had no doubts, how we have shown our innocence against the presented announcer of this poetic alliance, he has given the common man the words indicated before, in the booklet of both forms, in another way, so that one should ever have it and believe that at least such a covenant was made, and thus something true was in it and in front of the hand.

(11) But we, praise God, are certain of it, and that such a writing is a public lie, that Martin Luther with all his fine followers will not know or be able to show the slightest appearance that it could be taken for granted, or that it could be considered and made credible that we have ever spoken and acted, or even thought, of the things of which such a poetic covenant is said.

012 But yet this evangelical man is so bold and impudent, and may spread such an exuberant lie, not only as if he had it from hearsay, but about that, that all those who were attracted by such a poem answer in the negative, for a certain truth, and so write of us:

"Duke George's coldest apology I interpret almost as a confession."

(13) How cold our apology has been, the letter gives, nor do we yet know how we should make a more vehement and heated denial of such an accusation. If it had been so cold and similar to a confession, as Luther presents it, it would not have brought out the announcer of such a poem. Therefore it has ever more warmth than Luther's, Pack's, and all others' accusation and imputation. Which have nothing more than the most bare, coldest, and most lying words, and no one even knows how to indicate the time as such.

The only one who could say with any truth that the poetic alliance was written in Breslau, or who ever said that she had heard of such an undertaking, or even seen the note. But we have all those who were at Breslau at the same time, among whom none will say such a thing about us with certainty, and that he wants to be known, and will blame us.

(14) It is true that Pack, in order to give shape to his lie, initially invoked the Highborn Prince Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, our kind and dear Lord, that his love should have seen a copy of this covenant with us. However, on the day when he presented himself as the announcer of this covenant, he not only did not admit it, but also when his former fame and calling were held up to him, he quietly passed over it and did not know how to insist on it. We have, however, offered and requested that Duke Henry of Brunswick be questioned about it; if his love, or anyone else, can credibly say with truth that, before the copy of such a poem was sent, something, and even the least part of it, was seen with or around us with our knowledge, then we will say that Luther did not do us an injustice, that he calls our excuse the very coldest.

(15) But without this it is necessary for our honor to say that Luther is the coldest liar that we can think of, and that he cannot give his lie any warmth or form, and without any cause or necessity must always mix it in. And since he boasts of a spirit, as it is also attributed to him by his followers, it is truly not he who teaches him to recognize and state lies for lies, and truth for truth, but the very contradiction. And for this reason he must consider our truthful excuse as a lie, and say: he interprets it, and interprets it for a confession of the covenant.

016 From this every one may well perceive how many such lying interpretations he will have taught and imagined in the holy scriptures, before from the poor simple-minded man. After he has also now let himself be heard to want to write Eccles. Hist. of the miraculous works that happened in his Gospel, he may well put this lie of his into it; for it is well worthy of one, and almost well worthy of the others.

017 And if he had the spirit of truth with him, he would not have doubted him from many seeming indications, which are also to be found in natural things.

The authors of the book, who have come to the knowledge of their own reason, state that the poetic covenant is nothing other than a pure well of falsehoods and lies, and namely from the style, as such the right, and first of all the ecclesiastical, should clearly indicate. It may well be, however, that because they burned Luther, grace did not unreasonably deprive him of this knowledge.

(18) And although such a falsehood can be noted in many ways, it appears in particular, first of all, from the title of the Royal Serenity of Hungary and Bohemia, which time has also written itself King of Hungary, and yet in this poem it alone is given the title "of Bohemia. 1)

19) On the other hand, Royal Serene Highness of their ancestors, Kings of Hungary and Bohemia, is not used to mention them with the title so common to princes, but to call them Serene Highnesses, and King Ludewig, more blessed, their brother; all of which is omitted here, not only in Royal Serene Highness, but also in the names of the other princes and princes, and nevertheless High King Ludwig is called "gracious lord", 2) quite contrary to the usage of the chanceries.

20) Thirdly, in the words: "our most gracious dear brother and most gracious lord", 3) the right chancery order is not kept, but according to the state of the persons who mention imperial majesty, the chancery would have made it thus: our dear lord brother, most gracious and most gracious lord.

(21) Fourthly, the princes of Saxony are accustomed to place the land of Thuringia before that of Saxony; and this is not always respected, but is sometimes reversed. 4)

22) For the fifth, more is laid on us for the sake of exaggeration, 5) than otherwise two or three; whereby one should ever have felt the poem.

23) Sixthly, the Royal Serene Highness of Hungary and Bohemia does not presume to write or name "her prince" 6) to us as we have indicated in this poem; in this connection the error is to be noted in particular.

24th To the seventh, is public on the day, that Storkau and Besko are not principalities, but two dominions, 7) and our cousin, the Elector of Saxony, inwardly twenty years not been; are however so set, like other falsehood more.

1) No. 829, § 1 and? 2 2c.
2) No. 829, s 2.
3) No. 829, s 3.
4) No. 829, U 3 and 5.
5) Jn No. 830.
6) No. 829, s 5.
7) No. 829, 8 5.

25th To the eighth, we shall "deal with both Dukes of Brunswick"; 1) and yet it is at day that Duke Erich of Brunswick is equal in time to us at Breslau; 2) therefore, where something had been before hand, his love would also have been drawn to it.

026 Out of all of which, and especially because none of the skilled men were named, and yet stated, as if they had been present, they only seemed to feel, and as it were to grasp, that this alliance is nothing else than a completely false poem.

027 Nevertheless Luther, by inspiration of his spirit, may write of himself, that it was sought against his princes, and that he must now be ashamed of it, and that they deny it, excuse it, or deny it, yet he knows knoweth that the crime is not vain nothing, nor a chimera.

028 Whosoever shall boast that he knoweth a thing, especially if he professeth to know it knowingly, he shall have some outward cause to show that he hath such knowledge, as that he hath seen or heard it himself, or at least that he hath heard it from two unsuspected persons who have seen or heard it.

(29) Now it may well be that Luther saw such a poem, or made it heard, perhaps also made part of it himself, or gave counsel for it; and thus it would be well to believe that he knew it knowingly. And not to refrain from it, since he showed consistent, credible causes in such his stated science, which should have moved everyone to such a testimony, and that he would have had to write it from himself. Or, on account of such an accusation, he would make a public contradiction, and spread the truth as wide as his lies, and confess that he knowingly lied to us on account of this fictitious alliance, and that he knowingly knew that it was a vain nothing, a fictitious chimera, and one of the greatest lies ever told or heard.

030 And because this is not done of him, we know not how to make it warmer to him, than we have done in our excuse. And we must say and write of him that the apostate monk lies to us as a desperate, dishonorable, perjured wicked man; as then this our excuse, which with him is considered the very coldest, manly, who has given us such an excuse.

1) No. 829, § 12.

2) Here, in the Altenburg edition, Vol. IV, p. 160, according to which Walch gave the text, are the words: "not been present," which, as Seidemann, "Erläuterungen," p. 132, note, says, are to be deleted.

The law of the covenant is not to remit, assign, and blame without speech, and it is not to be found (whether God wills it) who executes it, or (that anything has ever been done to it on our part) who makes it credible.

(31) And since Luther himself subsequently states it to be a sufficiently strange miracle, it would ever have been proper and fitting for him to find out about it thoroughly, since he thus, and above all our denials, gave a false, unknowable testimony to such a public lie with his knowing science. Which he also dares to affirm with a completely unfounded reason, saying that the world knows that we and others, as stated in the poetic covenant, have done and still do such things publicly with mind, deed, commandment, and all diligence.

32. But if by the word *talia*, or things like it, it is understood that this covenant is said, as he uses it, it is no less a lie than the covenant itself; And there is no one in the whole world who would say and prove with certainty that we have shown against our cousins, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, the least unfriendly will and disposition as the alliance attributes to us, or that we have given any reason to suppose that such a thing would be done to us. However, the fact that we have otherwise not wanted to let the Lutheran sect collapse in our countries, but have been most vehemently in favor of it, cannot follow at all from this that which the sealed covenant indicates. And Luther himself should be ashamed of such a childish introduction.

033 For we have also before now shown him sufficient causes, on account of which we have not hitherto been able to regard and hold his seductive doctrine as the true gospel, or that it is according to the same; wherefore, by his above-mentioned public lie, he now gives us much more cause to persevere and remain wholly in our former opinion. For we have not hitherto learned from Scripture that Christ, our Saviour, used such a public and deliberate liar as his apostle, and through him had the gospel preached and spread throughout the world.

34/ Therefore, where Luther, in the following words of his writing, means the gospel of Christ, it is just as true and credible that he imputes to us that we would gladly see it destroyed, than that he blames us for the fictitious covenant. He hath before with such iniquities and falsities reproached us, that we should be deprived of the gospel.

and otherwise also insulted us with various abusive words, and would have thought that he should one day be satisfied with his lust and desire to touch us in such a shameful way; but there will be no end to it.

035 For that he hath mixed into his writing some Greek words, which (as we have reported) are almost abominable, hath the very appearance of touching us, and wishing that God should disgrace us, as the foolishest of fools, for our boldness and pride, wherein he likeneth us to Moab; which is the common meaning of his gospel. From the gospel of Christ, and that the apostles used the like, it is not yet shown to us. And Luther would easily have commanded God Almighty something better than this, for it is ever said, "God does not defile anyone.

036 Neither have we ever professed to have any special wisdom; but, whether God wills it, Luther shall not bring us into folly, that he should persuade us to believe lies to be truth, or that we should let lies rest upon us and remain unaccountable, even if he pledged to us more than his conscience.

037 But because these things, as man's best jewels, are found to be false in him, and because of hope, envy, and zeal, he is not able to discern lies alone, but as soon as they serve his purpose, he proclaims them to be true, and commits his science to them: so it is of little consequence to us that he almost boasts of his prayer, and insists on it. If it had been according to his will, his cursing, scolding, and praying should have had much more force and apparent effect.

(38) In his writing, he also calls the others and us death-slayers and insatiable bloodsuckers, who would like to see bloodshed in German lands. But for our part, praise be to God, if we pass over his other manifold, bloodthirsty writings, there is not so much evidence of this as is found in his own writing, where he says: that he would admonish the princes that we should be driven out without all mercy.

039 In which words again we cannot feel the peaceable gospel of Christ, but rather that he desires our blood and destruction.

040 And although, praise God, he is too weak to do so, yet he does not rely on his prayer, as he otherwise insists, but on some princes whom he thinks he can bring to it. Now whoever has these princes?

...which he thus supposes to be his power, that he knows best. We hope that they will ever get to know him and see his lies for what they are. He will not frighten us with this, nor put us in some fear that we should renounce our pretensions and make ourselves dependent on his sect.

041 For we are confident in all princes, and in every one of them, that they will not suffer such a lying man to provoke or seduce them into unseemly behaviour. We do not want (if God wills) to give cause for this on our part, but know how to behave toward males in such a way that it should be unobjectionable to us at all times and to be answered for with the truth. And therefore, to all men, and to each one according to his position, we make our friendly request, our gracious intention, and our kind request that they not give Martin Luther any credence or faith in what he has written about us because of the poetic covenant, but that we lack all suspicion because of it,

(42) Luther is also to be esteemed and held in fair esteem as one who has given such a lying testimony to such a public poem, with the use of 1) his knowledgeable science, without all reason and constant cause, and has written it about himself. For the sake of each and every one of us, as befits us, let us earn it willingly and kindly, and let us compare and acknowledge it with grace and all good.

By deed we have had our secret expressed, and give at Dresden, Saturday after Luciä [49 Dec.] Anno Domini 2c. 28.

842: Otto von Pack's letter to Martin Luther about the fictitious alliance. Dat. Cassel, 23 Jan. 1529.

The original of this letter is in Hamburg, DIs. I, toi. 76; subsequently printed in Kolde, ^.nnloota, p. 110 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 48. Earlier it is already, as Walch also reports, printed in OoorFÜ Ollristiani ckonnnis IntnUnrum litornrurnquo votorum nonckuin ockiturum KpioiloAium, x. 548.

Translated from the Latin.

To the venerable father, Mr. Martin Luther, the drommeter (bueeiriutori) of the divine word, his most holy friend.

Hail, my dear Martin, in Jesus Christ our Lord, amen.

1) In the old edition: "vorfändung".

The other day I read Duke George's tragedy, or rather diatribe, and then your answer, which pleased me and all honest people especially. For how far does not Satan go? He not only blinds men with his seeing eyes, but even with good sense he makes them mad and mad. Thus he is wont to deceive his own. But you shall shortly know the bright and true truth, and at the same time my innocence. Ever since the light of evangelical truth began to shine on me, it has never occurred to me to deceive even one person, let alone to cause such a great disturbance in all of Christendom. God is my witness that I have wanted to appease the wrath of the wicked, but not to provoke it any more; the intended agitation has been a great cause.

I want to discover evil actions, but not to sow new ones; I want to warn the pious lovingly and make them cautious, but not to incite them to war or rebellion. But that the matter has turned out differently than I had supposed, I leave to the divine will; but it is quite enough for me and my conscience that I have preserved so many righteous and godly people through my disgrace and through the exceedingly great loss of all my property (for I have nothing more than an unharmed conscience). Other things you will learn from this messenger, who is an honest man who loves God's word. Fare well and be well with me. Farewell in Christ with all your house. Given at Cassel, 23 Jan. Anno 1529.

Otto von Pack, Doctor.

The second section of the twelfth chapter.

Of the Convertions of the Protestant Princes and Estates at Torgau, Rodach, Schleiz, Schwabach, Schmalkalden and Nuremberg.

1. from the convent at Torgau.

843 The Mayor and Council of the City of Nuremberg apologize to Saxony and Hesse for not being able to take any decisive action before the upcoming Diet of Speier regarding the intended alliance for the protection of religion. Feb. 15, 1526.

From Hortleder, "Von den Ursachen des deutschen Krieges," Vol. I, Book VIII, Cap. I, P. 1312.

Most Serene, Most Illustrious, Highborn Princes and Lords! Our subservient and willing services are diligently prepared for Your Electoral and Princely Grace. Grace with diligence. Most gracious, most gracious lords! E. C. and F. G. have sent a letter to us, the three elders of the Council, with notification and designations of a day which E. C. and F. G. have set for Torgau on account of the divine word, also its resistance and handling, and the gracious request that we should, on such a day, decree our embassy, with full authority, to help establish an understanding in such matters.

Introduction of all kinds of Christian memoirs, of his content quite subserviently heard.

(2) And, in fact, our desire and inclination is entirely directed to not standing and remaining alone by his holy word, as the one foundation of our salvation, by means of divine help, but also to faithfully help to protect and handle it, as much as it is proper and always possible for us human beings to do. May the Almighty graciously give us his divine assistance in this matter (as we do not doubt), and confirm that which he has begun to work in us.

It may be, and public daily history 1) gives irrefutable testimony, that, according to E. C. and F.G. letters, the clergy have hitherto undertaken to pursue this light of divine word by manifold ways and practices. But whether their actions have not served more for the benefit and acceptance of the Christian congregation, the promotion and expansion of the same Word of God, than for its prevention, we, praise God, find this out every day; we are also still of the consoling, undoubted confidence that He, who has made His divine Word glorious, is the one who is the only one who is able to do so.

1) History - what is happening, events.

and honor of his most holy name, for the salvation and enlightenment of his Christian congregation, will also break the intention of those who oppose him, and show himself against him as a mighty God, who is also a Lord to his enemies, in such a way that they will or will not recognize him as a Lord.

(4) Although, in our opinion, it is quite wise and prudent, and the duty of all Christian authorities, to take faithful precautions so that the subjects are not only fed with the word of God, but are also provided with it, so that they may abide by it, live peacefully among themselves, and be protected and preserved from the violence of those who oppose them, we nevertheless consider it burdensome to place the handling of the divine word on temporal or physical assistance. For since the Word of God is the most powerful and mighty thing in heaven and on earth, and therefore mighty enough to sustain itself without the protection and help of all men, it is truly our opinion that it does not require any human intervention.

005 Let us be silent concerning the difficulty which follows from this, where, besides God (in whom alone trust must be placed), other bodily consolation and help, which is either not necessary or useful, is sought.

6 Now, however, E. C. and F. G. that this matter, concerning the Word of God and our faith, and also the handling and protection of it, whatever may be attached to it, is not only a common matter which affects all Christian persons and estates separately, but is also, above all other matters incumbent on the kingdom, the most important and most excellent, of which also, according to our convenience, a reasonable equality is to be sought and something unanimous and permanent is to be established, by special persons, regardless of how Christian and good it is meant by them, to tract and decide something fruitful, difficult to send, as also E. C. and F. G., as the Christian Church, are to be seen. C. and F. G. as praiseworthy, understanding princes before us. And take care that the complaints of which some estates, inclined to the word of God, have to be concerned in this matter, are prevented and stopped, that (to speak humanly of it) it must be necessary and the most noble main thing to promote with the highest diligence, so that in a common imperial or other Christian assembly, it is initially acted upon and decided, not only to preach the holy gospel clearly, loudly, and purely, as was done at the recent imperial diet in Augsburg, and in

The only way to do this would be, according to our opinion, where otherwise only the glory of God and the salvation of the subjects is sought and not one's own benefit. This would be the only way, according to our opinion, where otherwise only the glory of God and the salvation of the subjects is sought and not one's own benefit. This would be, according to our opinion, the only way to promote God's word, to live peacefully and unitedly, to preserve the country and its people quietly, and to avoid the danger ahead, if only the honor of God and the salvation of the subjects, and not one's own benefit, were sought in such things. For without this, as we fear, and as every reasonable Christian may judge from the divine word and reason, a divided kingdom will hardly endure, and all means sought outside this proper way will not only be unfruitful or unstable, but will rather give cause to strengthen the repugnant in their pretensions, and to induce them, as much as they can, to still further discontent and subjection.

(7) Thus also E. C. and F. G. know and see this every day irrefutably at work, that the punishment of the rebellious subjects has given the clergy, and those who have hitherto been opposed to the word of God, a noticeable consolation of their intention, and has caused this courage in them, as if they now have the victory in their hands, and are so powerful of fortune, of time, that for their sake there is no longer any danger. What these repugnants have practiced in many ways before the Roman imperial majesty, our most gracious Lord, to prevent the divine word, to preserve many of their abuses, position and nature, and what they are undoubtedly doing more and more every day to disgrace their imperial majesty against us and other positions that have a desire and inclination for the word of God, and would like to see things Christian and good, is E. C.'s and F. G.'s business. C. and F. G. unconcealed. For this reason it is necessary for us, as a community of the Holy Roman Empire, which has to expect much disgrace from others, who are also obliged to keep a strict watch on the Imperial Majesty, as their rightful, unanimous, temporal lord and sovereign, in all temporal things, according to divine command, to act carefully and in such a way that the Imperial Majesty does not have cause, on us more than on other imperial estates, to show his disgrace.

and that others do not draw from this also glimpses and impulses to revolt against us, who have now been sitting for about many years in various troubles, challenges and persecutions of our enemies, and therefore have all the more cause for danger, and to shoot at us like a target.

(8) But we do not show this to E. C. and F. G. because we are fainthearted or fearful in some ways on account of these things (for we are sure that we have God for our helper, and so he for us, on whom we in this matter, being without remedy, are justly defiant, who then may be against us?), but rather that E. C. and F. G. may remember the more magnificently that which may move us in this matter, as men, not unseasonably.

9. So then, and with all diligence, we have hitherto worked for ourselves and with the help of others, to move the Princely Serene Highness of our most gracious Lord, and by His Serene Highness' encouragement, the Imperial Majesty and other estates of the Empire, so that at future Imperial Diets, or by a free Christian Concilium, these excellent things, Christian, constant unity, orderly handling and fair equality of the Word of God and its fruit, would be acted upon; Just as recently at Augsburg, to our eighth, not an unskillful way and beginning was made for such a thing, and therefore it is a good consolation that God Almighty will communicate His grace even more abundantly at the next coming Imperial Diet, to carry out this work more stately, and to bring it into orderly execution: Therefore, for all the Christian reasons and causes mentioned, it is indeed somewhat difficult for us to enter into some decisive action or understanding at this time, before the future and the appearance of this Imperial Diet, because it is so close at hand, and because it will be regarded as somewhat hateful not only by the Imperial Majesty, but also by many other states, to which we are bound without alliance.

(10) We are very humbled by all this to E. C. and F. Graciously, they will not take this notice of ours, which is based on reported and all Christian good causes and our mere need, to their disgrace, nor will they refer us to the fact that in these important matters we are still looking to the Emperor's Majesty, our right Lord, and this Imperial Diet held by his Majesty, and that we place our comfort, trust and hope in him who has graciously called us into the wonderful light of his holy word.

(11) Thus we are of the excellent, undoubted confidence that God, the Father of all comfort and mercy, who has not regarded and has not hitherto used E. F. G. for the comfort of His Christian congregation as the least instrument, promoter and handler of His divine truth, will also strengthen and handle the same E. C. and F. G., and will abundantly impart His fine divine mercy to them. and will abundantly communicate fine divine mercy, to continue in such Christian conduct boldly and manly, and to walk among their adversaries without fear, steadily and so that not only country and people are peacefully governed, protected and sheltered, but also the enemies of the divine word receive through such a thing a goodly horror, and the pious a cheap consolation, heart and courage; which we also wish E. C. and F. G. to do. C. and F. G. heartily and eagerly desire from God, and in God, because he is faithful, do not doubt at all. What we, then, as Christian people and a member of the Holy Kingdom, can always promote, advise, and help in the future Imperial Diet and in other ways for the glory of God and His Holy Word, for Christian unity, and for the salvation of all Christian subjects, should not only be done by E. C. and F. G., but also by all possible and faithful diligence. C. and F. G., their subjects and us for good, but in general for the benefit of all Christendom.

(12) That we do not wish to keep E. C. and F. G. in subservience; for we are inclined to show E. F. G. subservient service, and with this we also wish to have the love of the divine word, us and common our city, faithful and subservient to E. C. and F.'s grace, and have commanded the same to E. F. G. in the protection of the Most High. Date on the 15th day of the month Februarii Anno 26.

Mayor and Council of Nuremberg 2c.

To Duke Johannsen of Saxony, Churfürsten, and Landgrave Philippsen of Hesse.

844 First alliance between the Elector John of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, for the protection of religion and Christian ceremonies, established at Torgau, May 2, 1526.

In Hortleder, "Von den Ursachen des deutschen Krieges," p. 1314, and in Lünig's Reichs-Archiv, purtis speoiul. oout. II., x. 36.

By the Grace of God, we John, Duke of Saxony 2c. and Elector 2c., and we Philip, by the same Grace Landgrave of Hesse, confess: Since God Almighty, out of His special providence.

In the light of God's providence, and through his mild grace and unspeakable mercy, his holy, eternal, and pure word, as the only consolation for us, the food for our souls, and the highest treasure on earth, of which we should be justly grateful to his divine graces for eternity, and, whether God wills it or not, it is nevertheless, unfortunately, openly known in the daytime, what many and various practices have been sought and undertaken for some time, especially by the clergy and their followers in the holy kingdom, to suppress and destroy this same holy divine word again, and to tear it completely out of the hearts and consciences of men, if it were possible.

2. And although up to now they have not been able to do anything against this with their obstructive attempts, but the more they have striven, acted and practiced against it, the further, by the miraculous effect of God Almighty, this action of theirs has served for the benefit and reception of the Christian congregation, the promotion and expansion of the divine word, as this is still seen daily before our eyes, in quite undoubted and firm confidence, that he who has sent his divine word, for the glory and honor of his holy name, for the salvation and enlightenment of his Christian congregation in this world, will continue to break the intention of those who oppose his word, as has happened up to now, and show himself to them as a mighty, powerful God, in such a way that they must recognize him, willingly or unwillingly, for a mighty God and Lord, so that they will not have anything to say: Where is now their divine word and gospel, of which they have thought so much?

3. Even though His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has appointed and announced an Imperial Diet in Augsburg, which we (since we ourselves were prevented from appearing for obvious reasons) are confident would have been, and still want to be, of the highest necessity, both from the things there and from various brave causes, also that the imperial mandate was understood by many as if the letter had given and brought it, that such innovations and doctrines, contrary to the old customs, and in addition to that, the deficiencies and grievances that the secular had against the clergy, and again, were to be advised and acted upon; Thus also that the entire messages of the secular estates, ours and others, and of the greater part, out of unavoidable necessity, to prevent further disunity, bloodshed, and other grievances, are to be discussed in the Mei

It has been the duty of the Emperor and the Empress to apply for this article, as the main part of all imperial action, in which the honor of God and the eternal and temporal welfare of all Christian estates and subjects depend, and to have a Christian understanding in these matters. However, due to the fact that the Imperial Diet proclaimed by Imperial Majesty did not take place this time, but was extended to the first day of May, next to Augsburg, and was held at Speier, it had to remain, confident that there, for the reasons considered (inasmuch as it should have taken place next to Augsburg), according to Imperial Majesty's writing and mandate, it would again be judged.

4. And although we are quite inclined to unite with other states on such an Imperial Diet of Christian equality in everything that is in accordance with the Word of God and the good sense of His Holy Gospel, we also most gladly see that, by the bestowal of divine graces, an equality according to right and Christian sense may be made, and we hope for special glory, that we ever and always show ourselves to be obedient Electors and Princes towards the Roman Imperial Majesty, as we are inclined to do now and until our end, and that we do not want to be found otherwise, also that we may tolerate and suffer the knowledge and instruction of the Imperial Majesty, Electors, Princes and other estates of the Empire in all matters in which we are obliged to follow out of owed obedience; We also hereby declare against everyone that, God willing, no one shall have cause to complain against us, as if he did not receive justice against us, and therefore have cause to act against us, our land and people.

5. Now that we have been informed, and we have been given many warnings, that the public and daily actions give some indication that, notwithstanding all that has been said, and in particular that at the next Imperial Diet at Speier, of Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, by mandate and according to the agreement made on this matter next at Augsburg, matters concerning the divine word and spiritual and worldly afflictions shall be discussed out of unavoidable necessity; we have also, in part, been heard by our skilful men at Augsburg, and are once again requested to compare ourselves with other states of the realm according to right and Christian understanding 2c., by the

The churchmen and others, who are dependent on them, have unexpectedly practiced the Imperial Diet and whatever is decided there or might be considered good and convenient, further and with assiduous diligence, and they have also established a covenant, and of their highest fortune, which they cannot accomplish with it, that such shall be subdued, with the expenditure and transfer of much money, to keep their old, hitherto burdensome abuses, against the divine Word and Gospel, alive, and to suppress the truth of God and His fine Word; and to do so in such a way that those who, by the grace of God, permit the preaching of the fine holy word and other things according to the same in ceremonies and otherwise, in their lands (as they are guilty before God and conscience), and allow against touched traditional abuses, should be overrun by their practices and instigation, and because of their money, and their country and people damaged, attacked, and ruined because of it.

6. Since it would now be burdensome, and also frightening and pitiful to all Christian hearts, that truth should be suppressed and untruth take its place, and since these things have the occasion to befit us and every Christian authority otherwise, we will remain silent; We do not want to say that we should rather call upon God daily and ask Him to lead us further to the knowledge of His divine word, light and will, because we should not allow what is done according to the grace of God in sermons, ceremonies and other such things (even if it is against many touched abuses) and be against it in some ways: For this reason we give no cause to anyone to take such action, and for the sake of our office, for which we have been provided by God Almighty, we owe and are obligated to protect our subjects from unreasonable violence, and also to take faithful precautions, so that our subjects may not only be further protected with the Word of God, 1) but also be provided in such a way that they may remain in it, and be protected and saved from the violence of the unrighteous:

007 Therefore, considering that necessity requires it, and touching our duty, that we may be related to our own and others who depend upon the divine word, we will require it to be incumbent upon us, even from causes above mentioned, and from offerings made, in the case of males, to

1) "bewiedemt" will probably be as much as: grazed.

so that our people may be protected from unreasonable, unprovoked warfare, violent and ungodly harassment, may remain unoffended by the Word and all the more peaceful: now and herewith in the name of God, in honor and praise of his holy name and word, out of Christian mind, heart and right loyalty, also to no one's chagrin, nor contrary, but solely for the protection and salvation of ours and others who are of like mind about much touched matters, as our understanding is able to do, who we are also inclined to take into agreement with us in the same form, have united, assembled, and given each other in understanding as we also do and want to have done herewith, thus:

8. Where the above-mentioned adversaries and their followers, on account of the divine word and those things which, according to the same, are carried out and held against the above-mentioned abuses in our principalities and lands, or also want to use other things as a pretence, since it would be meant in principle on account of the divine word mentioned, and each of us could tolerate knowledge and instruction about such pretended pretence things, as mentioned above: That we add body and goods, land and people, and all property to each other, and also that one of us wants to inflict damage on the other, who wants to be attacked, overdrawn, or weighed down by this, to the greatest extent that we are always able, at our own expense and damage, and want to come to help and rescue.

(9) Yet in all things our trust is not in ourselves, nor in these our country and people, but in and upon God the Almighty, according to his divine will, revealed through us, as his instruments and instruments, to whom it is little to prevail with many or few against the enemy, humbly and with devotion set and set. All with a faithful, Christian, and right mind, and without all danger.

(10) And that this agreement and understanding of ours in all its points and articles may be the more steadfastly and unalterably kept and lived, we Duke John, Elector, have hereunto knowingly affixed our seal, and signed it with our own hand. Done at Torgau, Wednesday after the Sunday Cantate [2 May], after the birth of Christ our dear Lord in the year 1526 2c.

845. repetition, extension and renewal of the agreement made at Torgau between the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse.

for the sake of the protection of the faith. Done at Magdeburg, 12 June 1526.

In Hortleder l. c. p. 1317 and in Lünig's Reich Archives 1. e. p. 38.

1st By the Grace of God, we John, Elector, and John Frederick, father and son, Dukes of Saxony 2c., Philip, Otto, Ernst, and Franciscus, brothers and cousins, all Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen 2c., Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg, Prince of Wenden 2c., Wolf, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, and Lord of Bernburg, Gebhard and Albrecht, brothers, counts and lords of Mansfeld, confess: After God the Almighty, by special providence and by good, mild grace and unspeakable mercy, has made His holy, eternal and pure Word, as the only consolation for us, the food for our souls and the highest treasure on earth, of which we should be thankful to His divine grace for eternity, and, whether God wills, wills, has made it appear to men again: so, nevertheless, unfortunately, publicly on the day, what 2c.

The further content of this document is identical with that of the preceding one (No. 844) from word to word up to the end, therefore only § 10 is added here.

(10) And that this agreement and understanding of ours in all its points and articles may be kept the more steadfastly and unalterably, and that we the above-mentioned Electors, Princes, and Counts, each of us, as Duke John, Elector, for us and our son, Duke Hans Frederick 2c., and we Duke Otto and Duke Ernst, for us and Duke Franciscus, our brother, have knowingly affixed his own seal to this letter, and have signed it with our own hands. Done at Magdeburg, on the twelfth day of the fallow month after the birth of Christ our Lord, a thousand five hundred and six and twentieth years.

846. admission of the old city of Magdeburg into the alliance agreed upon there between the Elector of Saxony and several other princes and counts, for the protection of the true pure religion and what is dependent on it. Done at Magdeburg, 14 June 1526.

From Hortleder l. e. p. 1319.

1st By the Grace of God, we John, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector, and John Frederick, father and son, Dukes of Saxony, Landgraves in Thuringia and Margraves of Meissen, Philip, Otto, Ernst and Franciscus, brothers and cousins, all Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen 2c., Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg 2c., Wolf, Prince of Anhalt 2c.., Gebhard and Albrecht, brothers, Counts of Mansfeld, do confess that we the honourable and wise, our dear peculiars, councillors, magistrates and commons of the ancient city of Magdeburg and their descendants.., for the promotion and propagation of his holy word and gospel, and what depends on it, out of Christian goodwill, have resolved and united with one another, at their special submissive request, entreaty, and petition, they also hereby, at such their request and entreaty, enter into it.

(2) And because the prescription of such understanding and agreement could not be executed here now for lack of time, and for other reasons, we want to prepare the same in our above-mentioned name, and have it sent sealed to those of Magdeburg, from date in four weeks, the next approximate. On the other hand, they are to hand over a reversal to our messenger at the same time, as a copy has been sent to them, all without danger.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our seal, and given at Magdeburg, this fourteenth day of the fallow month, Anno Domini 1526.

847 Execution of the acceptance of the old city of Magdeburg into the understanding and agreement, which the Elector of Saxony and several other princes and counts, for the protection of the true pure religion and what is pending, together with the city of Magdeburg reversal letter about it. Given the 25th of June 1526.

From Hortleder l. c. S. 1319.

1st By the Grace of God we John, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and John Frederick, father and son, Dukes of Saxony, Landgraves of Thuringia and Margraves of Meissen 2c., Philip, Otto, Ernst and Franciscus, brothers and cousins, all Dukes of Saxony.

Brunswick and Lüneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, of Dietz, Ziegen, Hain and Nidda, Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg, Prince of Wenden, Count of Schwerin, Lord of the Lands of Rostock and Stargard, Wolf, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien, and Lord of Bernburg, Gebhard and Albrecht, brothers, Counts and Lords of Mansfeld, hereby declare: After we, out of Christian, princely and good opinion, for the promotion and spreading of God's Word, His Holy Gospel and what is dependent on the same, by the bestowal of divine grace, have resolved and united with each other in a special understanding and agreement, all according to sound and content, as follows from word to word:

By the Grace of God, we John, Elector, and John Frederick, father and son, Dukes of Saxony 2c., Philip, Otto, Ernst and Franciscus, brothers and cousins, all Dukes of Brunswick 2c., Philip, Landgrave of Hesse 2c. , Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg 2c., Wolf, Prince of Anhalt 2c., Gebhard and Albrecht, brothers, Counts of Mansfeld 2c., confess: Since God the Almighty by special providence and by good, mild grace and unspeakable mercy has given His holy, eternal and pure Word as the only consolation for us, the food for the souls and the highest treasure on earth 2c,

3. And because the honorable and wise people of Magdeburg, our beloved specials, mayors, councillors, jnnungsmeister and congregation of the old city, as those who bear to God's word, his holy gospel, and what depends on it, by the bestowal of divine grace, inclination and will, have humbly and diligently urged and requested of us, that we will graciously and favorably accept them with and beside us into our understanding and agreement, with the submissive and Christian submission that they and their descendants, at all times, as far as the divine word, the holy gospel, and what depends on it, are concerned, will commit to us all their property, as far as this extends, and will not seek any help, withdrawal, or refusal therein; as they have pledged themselves against us in a letter of reversal under the seal of the city.

(4) Upon such request and entreaty of their subjects we, the Reverend Prince, Princes and Counts, confess that we, the mayor, council, mayor and community of the old city of Magdeburg and their descendants, with and beside us, have taken them into the above-mentioned understanding and agreement of ours, and therefore hereby, by virtue of this letter, accept them where they and their descendants are.

If, on account of the divine word and the things pertaining thereto, they suffer persecution, adversity, and distress, and are therefore attacked, overburdened, or afflicted by anyone, we will then draw upon them to the greatest extent possible and at our own expense, and thus come to their rescue and aid; But that they shall at all times, in so far as the divine word, and that which depends on it, is concerned, place all their property, as far as this extends, according to their prescription, with us again; all faithfully and safely. In witness whereof we, the Reigning Princes, Princes and Counts, have each hereunto affixed our seal, as we Duke John, Elector, for ourselves and our son, and we Duke Otto and Ernst, for ourselves and our brother, Sir Franciscum, knowingly to this letter. Given on the fifth and twentieth day of the fallow month, Anno Domini 1526.

Reversal of the House of Magdeburg.

1. we mayor, council, Jnnungsmeister and community of the old city of Magdeburg 2c. As the most illustrious, noble, highborn princes and lords, Mr. Johann, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Mr. Johann Friedrich, father and son 2c., Mr. Philipp, Mr. Otto, Mr. Ernst and Mr. Franciscus, brothers and cousins, all Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Mr. Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse 2c., Mr. Heinrich, Duke of Mecklenburg 2c., Mr. Wolf, Prince of Anhalt 2c., and the noble, well-born, Mr. Gebhard and Mr. Albrecht, brothers, counts and lords of Mansfeld 2c., our most gracious and gracious lords, out of princely, Christian and good opinion, for the promotion and spreading of God's Almighty Word, and what depends on it, resolved and united to a special understanding and agreement, all according to sound and content, as is reported above in their chur- and princely graces.

(2) Because we are so much in the grace of God, that such a proceeding of their sovereign, princely, and royal graces is blessed, Christian, and just, and the salvation of all our souls is finally in the word of God. Since we, by the grace of God, find so much with us, that such a thing as their sovereign, princely, and benevolent conduct is blessed, Christian, and just, and the salvation of all our souls finally rests in the word of God, their sovereigns, fathers, and gods have, at our humble and diligent petition and request, graciously accepted us, with and beside them, in such an understanding and agreement with their sovereigns, fathers, and gods, F. G. and G. have graciously taken us into their understanding and agreement; with gracious entreaties to us and our descendants, where we suffer persecution, repugnance and affliction on account of the divine word and what depends on it, and would therefore be attacked, overdrawn and burdened by someone, that their churf.

G. wanted to come to our rescue and help in the strongest possible way, at their own expense and damage.

3. Accordingly, and in consideration of the foregoing, of our most gracious and gracious lords, the electors, princes, and counts, gracious and Christian will, we confess for ourselves and our descendants, that we will at all times, as far as the divine word, the Holy Gospel and all that pertains thereto, we will again place all our assets, as far as they extend, with our most gracious and merciful lords, and will not seek any remedy, withdrawal or refusal therein, all faithfully and safely.

And in witness whereof we have hereunto set our seal, which was given after the birth of Christ our dear Lord, a thousand five hundred and six, and in the twentieth year, on the 25th day of the fallow month, 2c.

848: Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia, has established a special alliance with Prince John of Saxony for the protection of the faith and all that depends on it. At Königsberg in Prussia. September 29, 1526.

In Hortleder 1. e. Cap. 6, p. 1321 and in Lünig's ReichsArchiv, pari. spse. eont. lll, p. 310.

By the Grace of God, we Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, Prussia, Szczecin, Pomerania, Duke of the Cassubians and Wends, Burgrave of Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen: After God the Almighty, by His special providence and by His good, merciful grace and unspeakable mercy, has made His eternal, holy and pure Word, as the only consolation for us, the food for our souls and the highest treasure on earth, of which we should be justly grateful to His divine grace for eternity, and whether God wills, wills, has again made it appear to men: But it is plain to see what many and various practices have been sought and undertaken for some time by some of the aforementioned clergy and their followers in the holy kingdom, in order to suppress and destroy this same holy divine word, and to tear it completely out of the hearts and consciences of men, if it were possible.

2. And although they could not have done anything against it with such deceitful attempts, but the more they acted, practiced and strove against it, the further, by the miraculous effect of God Almighty, their action served for the benefit and reception of the Christian assembly, the promotion and extension of the same word; as this is also seen daily before their eyes, in quite undoubted and firm confidence that he who has sent his divine word into this world for the glory and honor of his holy name, for the salvation and enlightenment of his Christian congregation, will continue to break the plans of those who oppose his word, as has happened up to now, and will show himself to them as a mighty, powerful God in such a way that they must recognize him, whether they want to or not, for a mighty God and Lord, so that they will not have to say: Where is now their divine word and gospel, of which they have thought so much?

(3) And although we, for our own glory, hope that we will ever and always show and keep all due obedience to the Roman Emperor's Majesty, as we are inclined to do now and to our end. Imperial Majesty all due obedience, as we are then inclined to do for the present and to our end, nor do we wish to be found otherwise, shown and held, also in due places, in all matters in which we are obliged to follow out of due obedience, We have also undertaken to tolerate and suffer knowledge and instruction in due places, in all matters in which we are obliged to obey out of duty of obedience, just as we have undertaken to do for everyone, so that, if God wills, no one shall have cause to complain on our account, as if he would not receive justice against us, and therefore have cause to act violently against us, our land and people.

4. But since we are told, and have been made to believe by various warnings, that the public and physical actions give some indication that, notwithstanding all that has been said, they continue to practice it with diligent diligence, and that alliances have been set up by the adversaries, of their highest ability, which they cannot accomplish with it, that this is to be subdued with the expenditure and transfer of much money, in order to keep up their old, hitherto practiced, burdensome abuses against the divine word and gospel, and to suppress the truth of God and the word as much as is in them, and to suppress the truth of God and His Word as much as is in them, and to do so in such a way that those who, by the bestowal of God's grace, allow His holy Word to be preached, and other things according to it in ceremonies and other things, in their countries, as they are guilty of before God and for the sake of conscience, and allow it to be preached against established abuses, shall be subjected to the same by their

Practices and incitement, and of their money should be overdrawn, and their country and people damaged, attacked, and spoiled because of it.

5. Since it would be burdensome, and frightening and pitiful to all Christian hearts, that truth should be suppressed (although it is in no one's power), and untruth should prevail, and with these things the occasion arises that another is befitting us and every Christian authority, we will remain silent, that we should rather call upon God daily and ask Him to lead us further to the knowledge of His divine word, light, and will, because we should not permit what is done according to the granted grace of God in sermons, ceremonies, and others in accordance with the same (although it is against many touched abuses), and be against it in some ways; For this reason we do not give anyone cause to take any offensive action, and because of our office, for which we have been provided by God Almighty, we owe and are obligated to protect our subjects from unjust violence, and also to take faithful precautions, so that our subjects are not only further protected with the Word of God, but are also provided in such a way that they remain so, and may be protected and saved from the violence of the unrighteous.

6. Accordingly, we confess and declare in this letter that in the name of God, in honor and praise of His holy name and word, out of a Christian mind, heart and right loyalty, and also to no one's annoyance or offence, but solely for the protection and salvation of ours, we hereby unite with the Highborn Prince, our friendly dear lord and uncle, Mr. Johann, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, as follows, and have given them an understanding, as we do and want to do herewith.

7. Thus: Where the above-mentioned adversaries and their followers, on account of the divine word, or on account of changes that have followed or are still to follow from the word of God, and the things that are done and held according to it, against the abuses thought of in his beloved principality and lands, or also other things for the sake of appearances, since the touched divine word would be meant in the reason, and his loved ones could tolerate knowledge and instruction about such pretended appearances, as touched above, that we then have S. L. help, advice and assistance, namely:

(8) If his beloved or his lordship's land and people are overrun, encumbered or attacked for this reason, we will send his beloved a hundred armed men to help him, at his lordship's request, at our own expense, until they reach his beloved's land, and if they reach his land, they shall be maintained by his lordship with a fair amount of transfer, fodder and expense, but at our pay and expense.

(9) Forasmuch, however, as between the said our dear lord and uncle, and ourselves, this more has been agreed upon and granted, what each of us may induce of other more Christian princes and estates into this Christian, friendly, prescribed union, that we both have diligence and power to do so, and whether the one or more with less help than aforesaid shall prescribe against us, that on the other hand neither of us shall owe him more, neither he shall prescribe against us 2c. Whether now after this more princes or other states would come to us in this prescribed Christian, friendly union, and we therefore from their one, before from the above-mentioned our dear lord and uncle, the Elector of Saxony 2c., and send it, and thereafter also be requested by the said dear lord and uncle, on account of the help prescribed herein: as much as we have then sent for help on the first admonition of the other contracting relative, we shall not be deprived of the help requested thereafter, as long as we are charged therewith, and further; and that such and all other things between us be understood and kept Christian, friendly, faithful and harmless.

010 But in all things let us not put our trust in such our covenants, or in ourselves, but in and upon God the Almighty, according to his divine will, through us as his instrument and instrumentality, to whom it is also little to prevail with many or few against the enemies, humbly and with devotion, all with faithful right Christian opinion and without all danger.

(11) And that this our agreement and understanding in all its points and articles may be kept the more steadfastly and unalterably, we have hereunto affixed our seal, and signed it with our own hand 2c. Given in Prussia, at our castle Königsberg, Saturday on the day of Michaelmas [Sept. 29] Anno 1526 2c.

2nd From the Protestant Estates' Legation to Emperor Carl the Fifth, and the Convention set up at Rodach 1).

849. compulsory note for the envoys to be sent to Emperor Carl the Fifth by the protesting Electors and Estates. The 26th of May, Anno 1529.

From Müller's History of the Protestant Estates Protestation, Book II, Cap. I, § 4, P. 146.

Since my most gracious and gracious lords, the Elector and the Princes of Saxony, Brandenburg, Lüneburg, Hesse, and Anhalt, and also the honorable free and imperial cities adhering to their electoral and princely protestations, have decreed you, my lords and friends, to be their princely embassy and advocates in Hispania to the Imperial Majesty, and have now ordered their electoral and princely graces, and also the honorable free and imperial cities, to ride in Hispania to the Imperial Majesty. And now their electoral and princely graces, also the respectable free and imperial cities, are much interested in this trade: so our, their electoral and princely graces, have ordered you, my lords and friends, to be their princely embassy and advocates, to ride in Hispania to the imperial majesty. [Therefore, it is our friendly request and friendly plea that you, in place of your electoral and princely graces, and for the sake of the respectable cities, promise us in good faith that you will act faithfully and diligently in the matters concerned, in accordance with the instruction you have given and the order you have received, and deal with the allowance in the most faithful and exact manner, and above the granted sum of two hundred florins, if a good parting is given in this matter, neither give away nor honour anything else, without our most gracious, gracious and favourable lords and friends' good knowledge and will; That neither of you without the knowledge and will of the other will take up or spend anything, and that you will faithfully account for your expenditures, and that you will also show and keep yourselves in all this as faithful messages and attorneys of our most gracious, gracious and favorable lords, as their graces and favors and our trust stand in you. Actum on 26 May Anno 1529.

1) Thus Ungewitter, "Geographisch-statistisch-historisches Handbuch," vol. I, p. 294, writes this name, as does Guericke, Kirchengeschichte (7), vol. III, p. 165; but Walch "Rotach," and so does the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 110. De Wette, vol. III, p. 465 writes "Rothach," as does Seckendorf, List. lmtü., lib. II, § 46, ^.ää. L.

850 Instruction what our envoys of the following named princes, princes, and cities are to present, advertise, and act before the Roman imperial and Hispanic royal majesty, our most gracious lord, upon surrender of our sealed document of credence. May 27, 1529.

In Müller 1. e. Book II, Cap. 2, Z1, p. 147 and in Lünig's Imperial Archives, pari. Zsn. oout. II, x>. Walch notes that this Instruction is also written in Latin and French, which is also evident from the following document.

I. First of all, to express to Her Imperial Majesty our most humble, submissive, owing obedience and most willing service, as our most gracious Emperor and Lord.

(2) And then to tell her imperial majesty the following opinion: After her imperial majesty had undertaken to hold a common imperial diet at Speier on the other day of the month of February, no doubt not without special cause, and had it advertised and proclaimed in the holy realm, but which imperial diet, in addition to such advertisement, was immediately extended to the one and twentieth day of the same month and was adjourned:

3. Thus we, the Elector and the Princes, in our own persons, and we, the free and imperial cities, by our stately embassies, as obedient members of the holy empire, have joined together in a certain imperial diet, and have no other opinion than to help to discuss everything at such imperial diet, to act and to decide, which might have always served for the advancement of God's honor, for the welfare and reception of common Christendom, the Holy Empire and her Imperial Majesty, also for the increase and preservation of common peace and justice.

(4) As we have noted each time from the most recent and other notices of Imperial Diet held by Her Imperial Majesty, that Her Imperial Majesty, as a laudable and peaceful Emperor, would finally direct his mind and highest inclination to the end that, through such Imperial Assemblies, that should be considered, tractted, and carried out which would prosper the peaceful, Christian harmony of all high and low estates in the Holy Empire. For what else would the manifold imperial congresses be either useful or necessary for, if the grievances and deficiencies incumbent upon the Holy Roman Empire were not remedied, and if that which is necessary for all estates and subjects were not to be achieved?

peace, tranquility and absorption should be taken in hand, and as much as possible should be brought into the work?

(5) But we could not avoid to inform her Imperial Majesty, as a Roman Emperor, protector and guardian of the Holy Roman Empire, also our most gracious Lord and temporal authority decreed by God, not only out of our, but also of all the relatives of the Empire's preceding high necessity, the following opinion in the highest submissiveness.

(6) Although Her Imperial Majesty has appointed a common Diet in Speier for the past six and twentieth years. 6. Although her Imperial Majesty in the past six and twentieth years has in like manner appointed and proclaimed a common Imperial Diet at Speier, out of the remote necessity of the Holy Empire and its members, and there appointed her Imperial Majesty's brother and Governor in the Empire, our dear lord, uncle, brother-in-law and most gracious lord, the King of Hungary and Bohemia, also other commissaries of her Imperial Majesty, namely the venerable, high and gracious King of Hungary and Bohemia, brother-in-law and most gracious lord, the King of Hungary and Bohemia, also other commissaries of her imperial majesty, namely the venerable, reverend, noble and high-born princes, dear lords, friends, uncle, brothers, brothers-in-law and gracious lords, Mr. Bernhard, bishops of Trent; Mr. Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., of blessed memory; Mr. Erich, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg 2c., and Lord Philip, Margrave of Baden 2c., ...decreed..: Who then, in virtue and by virtue of their plenary power and command, delivered to them by their Imperial Majesty, with all the Princes, Princes, and other Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, but among others, and most especially in matters concerning our holy faith, religion, and the ceremonies thereof, after due deliberation and advice, have unanimously agreed and decided that for the sake of such high, important matters, a common, free, Christian concilium, or at least a national assembly, where the same matters would be dealt with in the most equitable manner, has been requested from Her Majesty by a message decreed at that time by the common estates of the empire. And that in the meantime all Princes, Princes and other Imperial Estates, and each one for himself, with his subjects, in all and as much as the Edict, by their Imperial Majesty, on the first occasion, has been ordered. Majesty at the first Diet of Her Imperial Majesty at Worms. Majesty's Diet at Worms, should and would live, govern and conduct himself as each one hoped and trusted against God and Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty and trusted to answer for it.

(7) As then the common imperial decree of the predetermined Diet of Speier contains quite clearly, which is also accepted by all the estates of the empire with one accord, granted to be held, and

1) Whereupon we Ferdinand, Prince and Infante in Hispania, Archduke of Austria, of Burgundy, 2c., Imperial Majesty's Governor, and we the appointed Commissioners, do, by virtue of our power, by reason of the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious and most merciful Lord, promise and agree to keep and perform all and every thing above written which may touch His Imperial Majesty. Majesty, steadfastly, firmly, and unbreakably, and sincerely, to keep and perform the same, to comply with the same strictly and without refusal, and to live, not to do, perform, act, or cause anything to be done contrary thereto, nor to permit any other person to do the same on their account, except all danger.

(8) And we, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Lords, also of the Princes, Princes, Counts and of the Holy Roman Empire, envoys, embassies and rulers, as named. Imperial envoys, embassies, and rulers, as they are called, also publicly confess with this farewell that all and each of the above-mentioned points and articles have been made and decided with our good knowledge, will, and counsel, and that the same, all together and especially, hereby and in virtue of this letter, consent to the same, do speak and promise by right, good, true faithfulness, which, as much as each his lordship or friends, of whom he is sent or has power, concerns or may concern, shall be true, constant, firm, sincere, and unbreakable to keep, perform, and comply therewith to the utmost of our ability, and to live, without danger.

(9) And let such farewell be sealed by their Imperial Majesty's rulers, governors, and commissaries, also princes, princes, and other estates of the realm, with their seals, as befits, and confirmed for necessity; so that such stately deeds shall be confirmed in equity, and as much as possible, according to the same printed farewell.

(10) Notwithstanding such unanimous consent and resolution of all the estates of the empire, which is present in the sixth and twentieth year, it has been prevented and abolished by some of the lesser part that all the estates of the empire have not sent their decreed embassies to their imperial majesty, no doubt for no other reason than that they feared when such embassies came to their imperial majesty. The Imperial States have not ridden to their Imperial Majesty, no doubt for no other reason than that they feared and worried, when such messages come to their Imperial Majesty, that their Majesty would report the form and occasion of the matters with reason of truth, and otherwise than as and hitherto done by the counterpart.

1) Document No.809, §§31, 32.

and would also thereby be warned and moved not to obey or grant the other's repugnant request.

II. when, therefore, at this Diet of Speier, an Instruction was brought forward in the name of Her Imperial Majesty. In which, among other things, it was understood that it should be the mind and opinion of Her Imperial Majesty to repeal the article now reported, which had been decided upon in the previous Speierian Convention, and which she had promised to uphold, and which had been confirmed and sealed, and to return the matter to the old erroneous and dangerous state of affairs; which, however, for the reasons hereafter mentioned and other excellent causes, we do not at all provide for Her Imperial Majesty, but doubtlessly consider it, although such instruction should have come from Her Imperial Majesty. that this is either due to an unequal report of those who have concealed the occasion of this important business, or to the previous action of some who might be inclined to cause a greater proliferation in the Holy Roman Empire: confident that if Her Imperial Majesty had had a sufficient report of the reason for such matters, or of the previous Speierian and other imperial treaties decided before it, which complaints would certainly have resulted from it, where they were to be annulled and passed in such a manner, Her Imperial Majesty would not have been moved to such an instruction by any means; because we have committed ourselves to Her Imperial Majesty, as a just man, to the protection of the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty, as a just, Christian and honor-loving Emperor, that Her Imperial Majesty's heart, mind and soul will not be moved to such an instruction. We have no intention to act against what has been unanimously decided, accepted, and ratified by her Majesty's authorized commanders and commissars, in addition to all other imperial states, or to rescind, change, or allow someone else to do what has been decided, accepted, and ratified by all imperial states, or to rescind, change, or allow someone else to do what has been decided, accepted, and ratified by all imperial states, or to rescind, change, or allow someone else to do what has been decided, accepted, and ratified by all imperial states, or to rescind, change, or allow someone else to do what has been decided, accepted, and ratified by all imperial states, or to rescind, change, or allow someone else to do what has been decided, accepted, and ratified by all imperial states: we therefore, out of necessity, Christian good opinion, not only for our conscience and ours, but also for the praise, honor, and glory of God Almighty and of Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty, for praise, honour and dignity, for the prevention of further disturbances and offences in the Empire, and also for the sake of the preservation of common peace, we have submitted our advice and objections at the above-mentioned Imperial Diet to the effect that the other Princes, Princes and Estates of the Holy Empire, in the case of the Articles mentioned above, drawn up in the previous Speier Agreement, should, out of appropriate consideration, be granted the right to vote on the matter.

The things which have been indicated by us for the time being, for the reasons of their love, favour and grace, shall remain until a future Christian Council, and no unpleasant thing shall be decided in its presence.

12. 12. And when, through some repugnant actions, it was decided and undertaken to completely abolish the indicated article, in the pretense that in it alone a brighter declaration and purification should consist, and to put in its place some burdensome, unpleasant articles, which would rather lead to discord, division, and presumed further development than to unity, peace, and goodness, which would also be completely unsound in many ways for our and our subjects' souls and consciences, and presumed further development than unity, peace and good, which would also be quite infallible to us and our subjects' souls and consciences in many ways, if we had given their Imperial Majesty's governors, orators and commissars, as well as the other imperial states, our manifold deficiencies and complaints, our manifold deficiencies and complaints, according to friendly, good and subservient opinion, and besides made several honorable, reasonable suggestions, so that the much reported article of the previous Speierian farewell, if it should ever be misunderstood by some, should be explained in an equal, reasonable and fair way, without any other mistake, because all princes, princes and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire would not have made a mistake with us at all, but would have settled it without any great hindrance or objection.

13. When, however, princes, princes and other estates of the realm had insisted on their undertaking, and had not accepted our proposals, of the opinion to decide in this matter by a majority: If the previous agreement of the empire, also its unanimous decision, the approval, acceptance, high obligation and victory of all the estates of the empire, had been brought to their remembrance by us, with the further reminder that it would not be due to them at all, to change or rescind such unanimous imperial decree in the appearance of a majority, because out of the assets of all equity and human right 1) such a unanimous decision of the imperial estates should and must be changed again by a unanimous approval of the same: For if it were in accordance with right and all reasonable order that in temporal temporal affairs, since the matter does not concern many of them in common, but each one in particular, some resolution of the more part against the others and diminish and one of their special consent should not take place, it would be much more reasonable, lawful and orderly,

1) "Rightly" put by us instead of: Judging.

to act in this most supreme, most excellent matter, since it does not concern the temporal, but fundamentally and without means the glory of God, the salvation of souls and consciences, for which reason every person, high and low, must, for the sake of his faith, life, deeds and actions, give account and responsibility for himself before God the Almighty and his just, unchanging court, and his righteous, unchanging, serious judgment, must give account and responsibility for himself, and in this no man would help, be relevant to, or support any other order, even of the greater or lesser part, along with other more excellent high movements, which we would have most modestly and kindly indicated to the common estates for the purpose of putting an end to their plan. But above all this, notwithstanding our faithful request, exhortation, entreaty, proposal, and reminder, the other imperial estates would have persevered in their undertaking and decided in favor of an imperial treaty; That we, however, for the following and other noticeable and necessary reasons, complained to the highest degree, could not have accepted the same resolution and parting in any way or approved of it, but out of pressing necessity publicly protested against it, of no other opinion, than that our conscience not only for ourselves, but also for the sake of our commanded subjects, to whom we have been ordained by God according to their Majesty to be sovereigns and regents. to whom we are decreed by God to be sovereigns and regents, as is just, to save also her Imperial Maj. Maj., as in this affair badly and unequally reported, to report the matters with better true reason, as we hereby report to Her Majesty in the shortest time in all things. Maj. in all submissive obedience, thus:

14. Majesty that in the time of her Imperial Majesty's reign, and before that a good while ago, there had been many controversial articles and errors about our holy faith. Majesty's reign, and before that a good while ago, there had been many contentious articles and errors on account of our holy faith; so, too, through the public teaching, preaching, and proclamation of the holy gospel, things had reached the point that the same doctrine had spread everywhere in Christendom, but before that in the German nation, and had come so far that it had been accepted by many estates in Christendom as just, true, and Christian, and had hitherto been held and advocated for it without means.

(15) Although at many imperial congresses that have been held up to now there have been many good counsels and actions to counter such divisions and to bring the Christian estates into unity, yet daily experience would have taught us so much.

that Her Imperial Majesty's governors, decreed commissioners and commanders. The Emperor and the Holy Roman Emperor have indicated that their Majesty's governors, decreed commissioners and commanders, in addition to the princes, princes and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, cannot find a more convenient, more permanent and less burdensome way to help this matter in the case of pending Christian disputes, than that a common, free Christian council be held and announced by their Majesty's help. This is what has happened in the Christian church until now in such disputes of our faith. Not only all the imperial states, but also the majority of all the relatives and subjects of the empire, but most of all their imperial majesty, would have supported them in this way of Christian help. Majesty, would have approved of this way of a Christian Concilii; and some of the most recent imperial treaties, 1) especially the one at Speier of the sixth and twentieth year, as reported above, would have been seriously put to this end, so that their Imperial Majesty would have asked for a favorable appointment. Majesty should be requested in the most conducive manner for the conducive establishment of such concilii, to which also the majority of all those who are attached to and inclined to the Gospel, to which the opposite of the same have appealed and offered themselves. Although we, together with others, certainly provide that this means and decision of an approved and accepted Christian Council should remain valid, and that no one should be obliged to determine, act, and deliberate about it by any other repugnant means, the other princes, princes, and estates of the realm had, at this imperial diet at Speier, undertaken to take action on all the admonitions and notices that had been given, and also on some of the main points of these important matters of our faith, by means of their resolution and agreement; But how justly could her Majesty., as a Christian, praiseworthy, and understanding Emperor, may judge for himself. For since the same imperial estates before and now considered it useful, necessary, and fruitful to hold a Christian council in the best possible way, they would have declared loudly and more than sufficiently that in no other place than in a free Christian council would it be proper to act justly in this matter, and thus they would have surrendered the power of their determination, decision, and judgment, even if they had had some, without means. How then could one thing always be suffered to stand beside the other? For if these matters were placed in the hands of a concilii, the estates of the empire would not be able to act with any

1) In Walch's old edition: "des jüngsten Reichsabschied".

have a just mind to submit to some action, however small it may be; but if they had a just knowledge of it, what need would there be of a council?

(16) Secondly, in a crazy time, namely in the 24th year, her Majesty had planned to hold an Imperial Diet at Speier; but when it reached her Majesty that many of the princes, princes and other imperial estates had made themselves skilful with some brave counsels, in the opinion that in matters of the Gospel and of our faith they should act there the more nobly, her Majesty had most seriously forbidden such plans to the estates by a written order issued by her Majesty, with these reasons attached, that such important matters should be dealt with in a Christian common council and in her Imperial Diet. had her Majesty, by written order issued by her Majesty, most earnestly forbidden such plans of the Imperial Estates, with these reasons attached, that such important matters should be dealt with in a Christian common council and in the presence of her Imperial Majesty. Not only would such an action in matters of faith have remained to be held, but also the entire Imperial Diet. From this we could draw this undoubtedly certain reason, that her Majesty would not be of any other mind, than that this trade, and what may be attached to it, should not be traded and acted upon by some special imperial estates, as is now done, but by a common Christian council; and that her Majesty's mind, commission, and order would not be placed there at all, in this matter, beforehand without her Majesty's and other Christian estates' presence. and other Christian estates to decide what to do, although it was said that only the time between here and the Concilium should be kept that way. For so, according to Her Imperial Majesty Majesty. Opinion and Command outside of a Christian Concilii and Her Imperial Majesty's Majesty. If, according to the opinion and command of Her Imperial Majesty, no action is taken on such important matters outside of a Christian Council and Her Imperial Majesty's presence, then neither now nor in the meantime of a Council shall anything be traced or done by the estates in these matters as for a common decision.

(17) Thirdly, because Her Imperial Majesty's invitation to this Diet has been given to her Commissioners. Majesty's invitation to this Diet, as well as the Commission and Instruction given to their Commissioners at this Diet, it is clear, among other things, that Her Imperial Majesty promised and promised what would be decided at this Diet for the honor and benefit of the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty has promised and pledged that whatever is decided at this Imperial Diet for the honor, benefit and welfare of the Holy Roman Empire, Her Imperial Majesty will faithfully observe and keep. Maj. would faithfully keep it and help to carry it out: so we could by no means presume that, if through the cassation of the previous Speierian imperial treaty some more discord, strife and further development should take place in the Holy Roman Empire, that her Majesty should be inclined to make the same treaty for herself, or through the help of some of the
Imperial Estates, without the consent of the others, which would have helped to decide the same before, and to cause something more burdensome for it. For what imperial state would want to respect their Imperial Majesty's mind? Majesty's mind that she would have given her commissioners the power and command to do and decide what might presumably result in mischief, harm, and strife in the Holy Empire? Moreover, we have no doubt that the commission, authority, and instruction given to her Majesty was not based on a final command, i.e., that the content and letter of the same should be strictly adhered to and lived by, but on a useful, fruitful concern of all imperial estates in general; as princes, princes, and the other estates of the empire understood this in the same way, and therefore undertook to make several changes contrary to the letter of the instruction. For if it had been her Imperial Majesty's If it had been her Majesty's strict opinion to act entirely in accordance with the Instruction and not otherwise, what would have been the need for her Majesty's authority and commission, given to her Majesty's Commissars? What use would this Imperial Diet and all the Imperial Estates described therein have been for presence, concern, advice and decision? From this we can sufficiently remind ourselves that the other imperial estates, to presume upon some force or command, contrary to the previous imperial treaty at Speier, or to cause other complaints in the empire with it, would have had no cause from their imperial majesty. Maj. had no cause to presume.

(18) Fourthly, whether we have now decided in favour of the Imperial Majesty in the articles which the other imperial estates have submitted to the previous Speier Treaty. Maj. in the articles which the other imperial estates had decided upon in the previous Speierian agreement at this Imperial Diet, and to indicate to each of them in particular a great deal of our high complaints, where we should accept and agree to the articles, in a different way and as a matter of necessity: we would like to make such an arrangement until Her Majesty's happy future in the Empire, which we would expect with great joy and satisfaction, or at another more opportune time. We would, however, make such arrangements until her Majesty's happy future in the realm, which we would expect with but joys and desires, or at some other more opportune time, but would nevertheless inform her Majesty before others of this subsequent high grievance, and what would have driven us to our protestation in particular: namely, that some of the same articles have been placed where we should accept them and consent to them, that we would have to act against our conscience without means. We would be silent of all our subjects and dependents, on whom by our grant we laid an equally burdensome and unmistakable burden on their consciences; and where no other cause but this should be before our eyes:

we respect the same more than sufficiently, that the imperial estates would have had a reasonable, guilty motion, not to knowingly oblige us by their resolution to that which we would never want to answer to God for the sake of our conscience. For since it would ever be evident, and irrefutable among all Christians, that if a man considers something to be unjust, and acts upon it, if it were otherwise right in himself, it would be sin and damnable; If then we should be compelled by the granting of the same burdensome articles, or in other ways, to do that which, from the indication of the divine word, we have thought either unjust or a public error in our hearts and consciences, it would not only be most burdensome, injurious, and damnable to us, as Christians, but also, in the case of men, believers and unbelievers, reproachable, and most detrimental to our holy faith. We also fully consider that it would be more virtuous, less dangerous, and more detrimental for us to put our temporal life in danger than to fall into the hands of the Almighty God by allowing such public and damnable sins. Moreover, we have always desired from the bottom of our hearts, and we still do, since our minds would never stray, either with knowledge or out of willfulness, nor would we seek our own benefit or piety, but only the glory of God and his holy gospel, and the salvation of our pious subjects; If anyone from the imperial estates, spiritual or secular, should suspect us of some unchristian insanity, action or misbelief, and want to report all this to us with divine truth: We would be inclined to refrain from such errors, of which we have none in ourselves, without hindrance, even as we would be without remedy. For no man on earth could ever deny this with truth; even the clergy themselves would have to confess it. Thus, Pope Hadrianus, by means of a papal commission and instruction, which he gave to his orator at the recently held Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, would have freely confessed in the same way and announced that there were many certain infirmities and abuses in the Roman Church, 1) moreover, that these abuses had been reported at the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg to one hundred of their Imperial Majesty and the papal authorities. Maj. and the papal orators in writings). From which their

1) In Document No. 718 of the 15th volume of our edition.
2) Document No. 722 in the 15th volume of our edition.

Imperial. Maj. himself, as a highly understanding Christian Emperor, graciously remind us that we also have sufficient cause from the public abuses before our eyes, although the Word of God does not bear witness to them, and that we are also obligated to pacify our consciences in all of this in such a way that we should not, with knowledge, permit, accept, or approve of anything objectionable. It also behooves every Christian, in matters concerning the salvation of souls and our faith, to look neither to the crowd, nor to old customs, nor to disgusting practices, nor to the great multitude, nor to a greater number, but to the truth of their God, from whom they have received soul, body, honor, goods, government, and all things, as not only the holy divine Scriptures, but also the ecclesiastical papal laws themselves are able to do clearly and expressly.

19. Fifth, we should not unreasonably consider the impossibility of this great and important transaction, and what might result from the execution of a burdensome and repugnant parting, in addition to the aforementioned excellent reasons: for although our subjects know, and are told by God's word of necessity, that they owe obedience to the authorities, they are not unaware that they need some compulsion to sin and act against their conscience, no less than we do: but that they are also unaware of the fact that they are not obligated to grant a certain coercion by which they are required to sin and act against their conscience, no less than we are; that in this case, too, and since it concerns God's strict command without means, all obedience to man ceases. Even if we were to fall into this blindness, that we would consent for ourselves to that which would be burdensome for our souls and consciences, and that we would knowingly sin for ourselves (from which God Almighty would mercifully protect us), our subjects would not accept this as certain, but would, as is undoubtedly the case from the foregoing action, show themselves to be opposed to it, so that it would be impossible for us to obtain it and to bring it about. What further development, aggravation, disobedience, apostasy, and separation of all civil [order] 3) and common peace would cause, how far this burdensome pestilence would spread in the holy realm, whether it would not cause public irreparable riots, revolts, and all indecencies, which one would want to prevent, and whether the last days would become worse than the first, which we would like to prevent according to our best ability, would not be a problem for us.

3) Inserted by us.

less to her Imperial Majesty. Mas., as the highest promoter of all peace and justice, holder of the common peace of the land, and a ruler of the holy realm, than to graciously consider us, on whose backs the highest burden would be placed. For the subjects of the holy kingdom are now instructed this year that they do not wish to be instructed in these important high matters, since it concerns the honor of God and his holy gospel and the salvation of their souls and consciences, by any other means than by the certain word of God. If we were now to depart from the previous imperial decree at Speier, and fall into such burdensome articles, and were also to undertake to impose them on our own, without a prior thorough demonstration of divine truth, or before a free Christian council, for which all the imperial estates had hitherto urged the highest discord in favourable action, then it would be certain that such a thing would be impossible to raise among the common man and subjects. Since no man, to whom this would not be in his power, from which he could expect nothing but a final ruin and all danger, should be urged or be obliged to accept it, this movement would be so brave and respectable, notwithstanding all the other causes mentioned above, that the Imperial Majesty, as we do not doubt, would have given us the right to do it. Maj. would not, as we do not doubt, refer our refusal and non-consent to any disgrace, and, besides the impossibility of our doing so, would not consider it of any small benefit and promotion of the common welfare of the Holy Roman Empire that, by such protesting and non-consenting, we would have prevented a troublesome beginning of greater unpleasant uprisings and revolts, and much more a frightening and irretrievable outcome of the same.

20. It is certainly not in our mind, will, and opinion to give any cause for discord, division, apostasy, revolt, and repugnance in the holy realm by these or other actions of ours, but rather to devote all our diligence, effort, and labor of our highest fortune to faithfully prevent such things, as we have been willing to do in the same way no less than our forefathers did; that all our actions, and what we have suffered because of them, where they have been presented to Her Imperial Majesty with reason and truth, ought to have been taken into account. Majesty should be presented with reason of truth, would give us open testimony. But that, which in this matter has been confirmed by the recent Speierian If we were to take leave, the way would certainly not be, as one would think, to cause a lot of future mischief, but, as we have heard, the only way to cause the greatest harm; but we, as the obedient Christian members of the holy kingdom, inasmuch as we also recognize ourselves guilty, would much rather and more cheaply see this prevented with the utmost diligence, and for our part we would not like to lose anything from it 1).

(21) So also the Imperial Majesty should take care of all of us. Majesty should take care of all of us in general and in particular, that we are not only ordered on earth by God to Her Imperial Majesty, as our rightful united Lord, but also to Her Imperial Majesty, as our rightful united Lord, that we are also ordered by Her Imperial Majesty, as our rightful united Lord. Majesty. and faithfully promote everything that may always serve the dignity, honor, welfare and reception of divine truth, the holy empire and common Christianity, but also to join with our subjects and relatives in a common council or national assembly in matters concerning our holy faith and the same religion, by means of divine assistance, so that, if God wills, nothing else but an honorable, princely and Christian mind, love and inclination towards God, Her Imperial Majesty, common Christendom and the Holy Empire shall be publicly felt, and doubtless no one shall have cause to blame or accuse us all of some unchristian action, rebellion and disobedience in some way; Nor would it be in our minds to refuse or protest in others, where these matters of conscience, faith and Christian religion, and what therefore might be a common grievance to us all, are not concerned, but would in such, where it is the necessary help against the Turk, The Imperial Majesty at Worms has established the necessary assistance against the Turks, the maintenance of the regiment and chamber court, as long as it is in accordance with the order of the empire, the handling of peace and justice, and other such matters, and to live faithfully, and to act, perform, and execute everything that is due to the obedient members of the empire.

22 And thereupon our envoys shall petition the Imperial Majesty in the highest authority on our behalf. Majesty in the highest subservience on our account whether these things and acts have hitherto been communicated to Her Imperial Majesty by anyone. Majesty by anyone.

1) "erwinden" == lack, lack; put by us instead of: "erwenden".

of any other form than that which is in the ground, or that we would be disparaged and registered, either altogether or especially, with Her Imperial Majesty or in some way. If we have been disparaged and registered in some way or other, or if we have been discredited and registered in some way or other, her Majesty will not give any chance or credence to it, but will graciously be mindful of our true Christian and well-founded excuses, and will not be moved to do us any disfavor. For we are of no other mind, intention, or will than that we like to be Christians, to do right and to act right, and to be obedient members of the holy Christian church, of its imperial majesty, and of the holy empire. Majesty and the Holy Empire, and faithfully place our property at the disposal of their Imperial Majesty, also to God what belongs to God, and to their Imperial Majesty what belongs to their Majesty. Majesty, what is rightfully and obligatorily due to Her Majesty, inasmuch as our forefathers, brothers and ancestors have hitherto also done everything of their property. With further most humbly request that also her Imperial Majesty will graciously promote and be concerned that a common free Christian Concilium be held as soon as possible, of the "most humbly" understanding that her Imperial Majesty would find this our apology and statement so important and respectable that we would have urged to our protestation and non-approval out of unavoidable necessity, and therefore do not deny ourselves that we would not allow this, which would be so very burdensome to us, our souls and consciences, as well as to our country, people and subjects, but would prevent it as much as possible, considering how very burdensome and frightening it would be for all Christians to fall into deliberate sins, God's wrath, punishment and disgrace, and to cause others to do the same in the same way; Again, with the most humble Christian entreaty, if we or ours have erred in anything hitherto, or should still err, that we should then let ourselves be instructed each time with holy divine Scripture quite obediently, willingly, and inclined, and insist on nothing that should be repugnant to our holy faith, Christian religion, or God's Word in some way.

(23) We also wish to submit ourselves most humbly to Her Imperial Majesty, as our most gracious Lord and Emperor, in all due obedience, and to command Her Imperial Majesty's protection, protection, and imperial handling of the same, with most humbly humble request to inform Her Imperial Majesty of our gracious response to this; that is, we are all and one.

each especially for the sake of Her Imperial Majesty, as our most gracious Lord, Emperor and Ruler, to earn in dutiful obedience all submissive diligence, most eager, inclined and willing.

24th For the record is this our Instruction with ours, by the Grace of God Johannsen of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Empire, Elector 2c., Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., and Philippsen, Landgrave of Hesse 2c., for ourselves and on account of the Highborn Princes, our Oheim and brothers-in-law, Ernsten and Franciscen, Dukes of Lüneburg 2c., and Wolfen, Princes of Anhalt; and then by us Mayors and Council of Nuremberg, for ourselves, and those of Strasbourg, Costnitz, Ulm, Memmingen, Nördlingen, St. Gallen, Lindau, and other free and imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire, adhering to us in obberührte Handel, Insiegeln, imprinted at the end of the writing, sealed. Done and given at Nuremberg, on Thursday, May 27, 1529.

851: The protesting princes, princes and estates' supplementary instruction for their envoys to be sent to Emperor Carl the Fifth. May 1529.

In Müller I. e. p. 167 and in Lünig's Reichs-Archiv, part. Z6n. eont. II. p. 320.

(1) In addition to this sealed instruction of ours, which is also to be delivered to the Imperial Majesty in German, Latin, and French, our envoys are commanded to act in the same way before Imperial Majesty the Grand Chancellor, the Grand Chamberlain, Count Henry of Nassau, and Alexander Schweiß, on our letters of credence. Majesty's Grand Chancellor, Grand Chamberlain, Count Henry of Nassau and Alexander Sweat, to act in the same way on our letters of credence, and to tell them orally these matters of our protestation and the causes of the same as briefly as possible, and where it is necessary, and, where it is necessary, have copies of our instructions read out to them, to learn the principles of the matter from them, and thereupon to request them altogether and especially implore them that, in view of our highest pressing need, our true excuse and Christian honourable entreaty, they may apply to His Imperial Majesty for faithful, good and faithful assistance. Majesty's faithful, good and gracious supporters, and to help ask their Imperial Majesty to support us, as obedient members of the Holy Roman Empire, the Christian Church and their Imperial Majesty, to their highest mercy. Majesty, to whose highest possible servitude we offer ourselves in all ways, not to be moved, but to send our envoys with a gracious written-

...with a simple answer... That we would also be quite inclined and willing to blame them all, and each one in particular, and to recognize them with grace.

(2) Likewise, Ulrich Ehinger is to be used as a faithful assistant and solicitor to Imperial Majesty in the name of all of us. Majesty in the name of all of us, and be diligently requested for this by the envoys.

(3) If, however, our envoys should meet with some opposition from His Imperial Majesty or other persons on our account by disparaging and repugnant action, we shall be entitled to the same. Majesty, or the other persons, if they should apply for promotion on our behalf, as if we should not have some just cause or reason for our action and conduct: Let our envoys, from the acts passed at Speier, also from our protest and appeal, among other things, as they know and have heard at Speier itself, explain our reasons, goodwill and necessity to the best of their ability, but not in any other way than in general, and do not enter into any special article with answer and dispute. With the further indication that any reasonable Christian would find our undoubted oversight out of the aforementioned responsibility of ours certainly so much more courageous, respectable, and well-founded, that he would not blame us in such an unjust, unskillful, or wanton act 1). We wanted to keep silent about all our Christian heritage and other more valiant causes, so that we would be able to further harm the Emperor's Majesty in time. Majesty in time and with such important prestige that her Majesty would undoubtedly be graciously satisfied 2c., so that the envoys know what to do and must send themselves into it for the best from the action as it may come to them.

4 If the envoys receive a gracious answer and farewell from His Imperial Majesty for all their actions, they will work diligently to communicate it to them in credible writings. If the envoys receive a gracious answer and farewell from His Majesty, which they should also work diligently to communicate to them in credible writings, then it has its way.

(5) If, however, the Imperial Majesty does not bear 5. If, however, the Imperial Majesty should ever refuse to accept this noble apology, responsibility, and entreaty of ours, and should be so ungracious to our envoys that they would not have to put up with a more gracious and tolerable discharge, they shall "most humbly" inform the Imperial Majesty that this and other matters incumbent upon the common Christianity and the Holy Roman Empire, such as the following, are not to be considered by the Imperial Majesty.

1) "conceive" put by us instead of: "conceive".

we would like to testify with God and our conscience that we all do not mean anything else than the most Christian and faithful; we would like nothing better than that among all Christian states, first of all the German ones, a unanimous will, peace and unity, and a confidential mind should be found, which we would gladly and faithfully promote, and in such we would not spare our fortune; this shall also, if God wills, be evident to their Imperial Majesty and manly. Majesty and all men shall find this to be true. We would also have provided ourselves completely, our true justified excuse, also the noble causes and inheritances embodied therein, should have had such a standing with Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty should have had such a reputation that Her Imperial Majesty would have accepted our emergency measures. Majesty would have graciously respected and accepted our emergency responsibility, and at least not less, than their statements, which might have been repugnant to us, and without reason in the eyes of Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty without reason, as God wills, to disparage us and to make an ungracious Emperor. However, we initially consoled ourselves of our innocence, and of the fact that we considered Her Imperial Majesty a laudable person. Majesty for a praiseworthy, pious, just, Christian Emperor, who, as we have no doubt, would allow himself to be instructed in time, and would fall into line with the right truth and uphold it, without any means. Since this transaction affects not only our persons, our country, people, and subjects, and thus the temporal, but rather our faith, souls, and consciences, as the eternal; in which, even in the case of the loss of souls and the punishment of eternal damnation, it behooves us to look only to the strict command of God, who will be the certain right judge of all men, high and low: Therefore, we, as those who would gladly be Christians and prevent a common and even more burdensome adversity, strife and division in the Holy Empire, as well as a pernicious and irretrievable damage to our principality and subjects, as each one is obliged to do in accordance with his duties, have appealed to the youngest of the other imperial estates, out of the greatest need, and not contrary to any man, nor out of any will of courage, for a decision and for the dismissal of this case; as Her Imperial Majesty would graciously hear from the instrument of such appeal, 2) which our envoys should deliver to Her Majesty in German and Latin, that they, the envoys, are to be considered by Her Imperial Majesty, as a Roman Emperor. Majesty, as Roman Emperor, Lord of us all and temporal sovereignty, from our command,

2) Document No. 820 in this volume.

with the most humble reverence and reverence as befits, have humbly notified and proclaimed, with the request that we want to follow up such our needy and highly caused appeal at its time, and to comply with it as is due and right. Her Imperial Majesty should also be pleased. Majesty, notwithstanding this appeal of ours, should never look to us all, and to each one in particular, for anything other than faithful, dutiful obedience, willing submission, and peaceful, harmonious action, as much as is always possible for us, as to obedient, obligated members and estates of the Holy Christian Church, Her Imperial Majesty, and the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty and the Holy Roman Empire. And if we did not have the highest desire and inclination for such a thing, but that our mind should stand to cause some displeasure, discord, or dissension, however slight it might be, in the Holy Empire, we would certainly not be sent to her Imperial Majesty. We certainly did not want to send to her Imperial Majesty, and to have indicated our submissive obedience to her in such a tolerant manner, with a submissive, humble request, that her Imperial Majesty should not be displeased with us. Majesty will not be moved to disgrace us, but to have us in her Majesty's most gracious protection, protection and command. This we want for the sake of Her Imperial Majesty, as our gracious Majesty, as our most gracious Lord and Emperor, with all submissiveness and obedient diligence.

6th And the envoys shall again act with all diligence, of their highest ability, also by the support of the imperial counsels. Majesty's counsels, act for a gracious farewell and credible answer; as we then graciously and favorably trust in the said our envoys; this shall not remain unrecognized and undeserved against their persons.

(7) Besides this, it is also considered and ordered to the envoys, if Imperial Majesty does not want to lead them, the envoys, astray. 7. It is also considered and ordered to the envoys, if the Imperial Majesty does not want to mislead them, the envoys, that they then send their letter of credence, also the instruction and appeal in German, Latin and French to Ulrich Ehinger's hand, and write next to it how they have been dispatched to ride to their Imperial Majesty and to make a submission to her; but because they have been refused, they are not allowed to do so. But since they have been refused an escort, it would be quite burdensome and inconvenient for them to ride into Hispania in these swift heats without a necessary escort; and so that their Imperial Majesty would nevertheless be informed of their command. Majesty of their command, so they send their letters of credence, instructions and our appeal herewith to their imperial Majesty in all

With most humbly request that Her Imperial Majesty would again send us a gracious reply in writing and have us in her gracious command, protection and protection. Majesty would again send us a gracious answer in writing, and have us in gracious command, protection and protection; which we would quite willingly deserve against Her Imperial Majesty in subservience. Majesty in subservience quite willingly. And our envoys shall then ride home again.

852. power of attorney for the envoys sent by the protesting Electors, Princes and Estates to Emperor Carl the Fifth.

Nuremberg, May 1529.

See No. 851.

Before the Most Serene 2c., our most gracious Lord, and otherwise manly, we, by the Grace of God Johann, Duke of Saxony et ulü 2c., and we mayors and councillors of the Holy Roman Empire's free and imperial cities, Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Gall, Nördlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Heilbrunn,. Kempten, Ißnau [Jsny], Reutlingen, Windsheim and Weißenburg, that we have appointed and ordered as our attorneys in all matters of high obligation and necessity, as we have appointed and ordered them all and especially herewith, our dear special and faithful, Hansen Ehinger, Mayor of Memmingen, Alexium Frauentraudt, and Master Micheln von Kaden, with order to appear before Your Imperial Majesty, Our Allies. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, or his Imperial Majesty's commanders. Majesty's commanders, our well-founded and constant reason why we could not, on account of our conscience and other excellent causes, have granted, on the occasion of the Imperial Diet held at Speier, in the parting assembled at that time by the greater part of the estates of the Holy Roman Empire, in matters concerning religion and the Christian faith, to present together other necessities on the occasion of these matters: And hereby give them perfect power to present and act upon our necessity and advertisement, upon our received order, through themselves, or, their all or one hindrance, their subordinate attorneys, whom they may also substitute according to their necessity. Thereupon we the above-mentioned Princes, Reigning Princes, and Estates, speak and pledge to perform all that said our attorneys, or their subordinate one or more commanders, shall do on our account in the above-mentioned matters, wherefore they have been delivered by us to Imperial Majesty. Majesty, that we shall have all these things approved, and that we shall and will keep them steadfast and firm.

faithfully and approximately. 1) We, the electors and princes, and we, the electors and princes of Nuremberg, for the sake of all other free and imperial cities, and by order of the same, have had our petitions knowingly printed hereon. Actum Nuremberg.

853. draft of the oral presentation Lei the imperial audience.

In Müller l. c. S. 174.

What the skilful ones after transfer of the credence, and due service, are to present orally before Imperial Majesty. The king's Majesty.

1st Most Gracious Emperor! At the recently held Imperial Diet at Speier, which was called by Your Imperial Majesty for moving reasons, a discord of religion has arisen, together with that which is to be held in the meantime of a concilii with peace; Therefore our most gracious and gracious lords, princes and princes, and the free and imperial cities have protested, out of urgent necessity, against the other parting made, on account of their consciences, with notice that they wish to have this brought to your Imperial Majesty. Majesty, as follows:

(2) It is unknown to Your Imperial Majesty. It is not known to Your Majesty what controversial articles of divine doctrine have occurred for a long time in Germany and other countries, which have been accepted in part by some estates and their subjects, and opposed by other estates whose subjects are eager for the same doctrine, Therefore much error, quarrel and antagonism has arisen among them, and has always been considered by all parts, and still is, that these things could not be dealt with in a more appropriate way than by a free, Christian, common council or national assembly, as was done at the Imperial Diet by Your Imperial Highness. Imperial. Majesty in the 26th year at Speier, it was considered good, necessary and convenient, deliberated and decided that a council be held as closely as possible, and that in the meantime each governed and held it with his subjects in such a way as he could answer for it to God and to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and that no other suitable way be devised for the preservation of peace and unity; as was resolved and promised at the same Imperial Diet not to act contrary to this.

1) about - without danger.

all according to the printed parting having herewith.

(3) When, however, in this year another Imperial Diet was again called at Speier by Your Imperial Majesty for moving reasons, with a report on the future Council and other necessities of the realm. Majesty, with notice to act, deliberate, and decide on the future Council and other needs of the Empire, their Electoral and Princely Graces, in their own persons, and the cities, by their noble embassies, went there. Their Electoral and Princely Graces, in their own persons, and the cities, through their noble embassies, have gone there, in the opinion that everything that serves the honor of God and His Holy Word, the preservation of good peace and the noble welfare of His Imperial Majesty and the Empire, should be done. Majesty and the Empire, to seek and promote.

4th And although in the name of Your Imperial Majesty an Instruction has been read by the same Commissioners 2c. Majesty, an Instruction has been read out by the same Commissaries 2c. in which the previous Decree at Speier, concerning the Edict at Worms, has been passed, rescinded and annulled, these causes that a misunderstanding would have arisen with some from it.

(5) However, their Electoral and Princely Graces and the others of this part have shown good reasons. Graces, and the others of this part, have shown good reasons why it should remain with the first Speierian parting, and that no better way could be found to avert the anxious uproar, to calm all repugnance, than that it would be held as previously reported.

(6) There is also no doubt if Your Imperial Majesty would be thoroughly informed of the matter. Majesty had been thoroughly informed of the matter, out of what high and unanimous concern the previous Speierian treaty would have been decided, certified, and sealed; what also would have resulted from the revocation of the same for a disruption and careful burden in the Holy Roman Empire, if His Imperial Majesty had not been moved to the cassation. Majesty would not have been moved to the cassation; just as it would have been of the opinion that the matters should not be discussed in the first place, so the imperial diets that had been announced would, in their opinion, have been in vain and without fruit. As, without this, it may well be presumed that it will certainly and finally be the pleasure of Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty would certainly and finally not have been of the mind to decide on the affected opinion of the submitted Instruction, so nevertheless His Imperial Majesty's letter and mandate would have been in vain. Majesty's decree and mandate do not entail such, but extend to preliminary deliberation and consideration of the aforementioned affairs of the realm alone.

(7) Although this and other things have been objected to, especially that it should not be proper to do what has been unanimously decided with Your Imperial Majesty's permission and promise not to do. Majesty's grant and promise not to act contrary thereto, has been unanimously decided with the estates, such by the several, in divine matters, our

They are sure that they have not acted contrary to the same parting; and although some would have misunderstood it, they have intended to act as an explanation and mitigation of the other parting, but rather that it would be just and lawful to hear each one's special word and will, even in temporal matters that are held outside a community. To this end they know for certain that they have done nothing contrary to the same ordinance; and although a misapprehension would have been taken of it by some, yet they have wished to act by way of explanation and mitigation, and have proposed several honorable and equitable expedients. But notwithstanding these, and all their admonition, friendly and submissive request and reminder, the other Electors, Princes, and Estates, out of one majority, contrary to the previous unanimous agreement, have decided on a different opinion, and in religion have introduced several burdensome articles, notwithstanding Your Imperial Majesty's prohibition and permission. Majesty's prohibition and permission of the Council, and ordered how it should be done. Against this, this part, as complained of, protested, so that they might not have agreed to it for the following and other reasons mentioned; And especially because it does not behoove them, even as a majority, to set anything in the midst of the Council in matters concerning religion and faith, and to make a statute against the other few parts who hope to have the Holy Scriptures for themselves; first of all, because one should expect the same Council in the future, otherwise one would not be in need of it. Moreover, in the 24th year an Imperial Diet was called by Your Imperial Majesty at Speier. Majesty to Speier, to separate the evil from the good, and also to act again in Speier in the 26th year against the abuses to which Pope Adrian and other ecclesiastics had confessed, and ordered them to act, as the Estates have therefore been well prepared and skilful with their advice in such matters with their university scholars, but one Imperial Diet has remained; so Your Imperial Majesty has seriously ordered the other Imperial Diet to be held in Speier. Majesty had the other one seriously commanded that matters concerning religion be discussed without the presence of Your Imperial Majesty and of the Council. Majesty, and of the Concilio 1) neither to act nor to decide.

(8) Moreover, their electoral and princely graces and others may indicate in truth that it is not only burdensome for them in their consciences, but also impossible against the world. Graces and others indicate in truth that it is not only burdensome for them in their consciences, but also impossible in the face of the world, according to the present course, to persuade the subjects to a different doctrine than that which they have been instructed; and if this were not the case, it would be impossible for them.

1) "and of the Concilio" put by us instead of: "and its Concilii". Compare Document No. 816 in this volume, Col. 251, § 2.

It is to be feared, where something because of it, and especially in cities, where the same doctrine has become prevalent, should be done against it, that much more mischief and indignation, than ever before, might result and arise from it.

(9) Therefore Their Electoral and Princely Graces, and the others. Graces, and the other, humbly and most humbly request, that Your Imperial Majesty, for the above-mentioned and other reasons, will not take an ungracious will against the same. Majesty, for the reasons mentioned and others, do not wish to take an ungracious will to the protestation and refusal made against the same, but rather to assign this to the unimportant, urgent and great necessity: considering that the eternal, and thus the salvation of souls, must and should be placed before the temporal and the teachings of men; that it is also not to be assumed that anyone, out of presumption, would want to place the salvation of his soul in danger and oblivion; moreover, their Electoral and Princely Graces and others, who have been informed about the protestation and refusal of the same, consider that this is not the case. Furthermore, their electoral and princely graces, and others, by means of divine assistance, intend in the meantime to show themselves, to hold, to govern and to live in their jurisdictions and territories in matters concerning our faith and the same religion, as their electoral and princely graces, together with those of their own, do. Graces, together with the honorable free and imperial cities, pending to them, such against God and Your Imperial Majesty as a Christian. Majesty, as a Christian Emperor, by God ordered supreme authority, our most gracious Lord, hope and trust to answer for it, that nothing unreasonable or evil may be imposed on them because of it; as they also hope that with them, like their ancestors, parents and brothers, nothing else has been felt or found, but that their electoral and princely graces, and the others, have been able to find their way into the Holy Land. Graces, and the others, are working with obedient diligence towards Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty; and first of all, as far as the temporal is concerned, with the necessary help against the Turks, also with the assigned maintenance of His Imperial Majesty's regiment, chamber, and the army. Majesty's regiment, chamber court and other things that are necessary for the honor and welfare of His Imperial Majesty and the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty and the Holy Roman Empire, for which we, as the competent authorities, humbly ask your graces and favors.

(10) And if the things should come to Your Imperial Majesty in another form. Majesty, Your Imperial Majesty does not want to give the same unequal report or disparagement. Majesty will not give the same unequal report or disparagement, but will grant this truthful request and apology; in addition, without a necessary and thorough hearing of both parties, and our most gracious, gracious, favorable gentlemen's answer, which they would be well advised to do by God's grace before His Imperial Majesty and other males, they would be well advised to do in the presence of His Imperial Majesty. Majesty and other men would be well advised to do.

Electoral and Princely Graces. Graces, and the others of cities and followers, cannot be moved in any way.

(11) Because they have also, where they have reported and overcome with divine truthful writing of another and certain, wanted to have their graces and the others duly measured; and hereby, as the submissive, obedient, command themselves in Your Imperial Majesty's protection and defense as our right lord. Majesty, as our rightful lord, protection, shield and defence, and again humbly requesting that Your Imperial Majesty will be so kind as to grant them the right of protection and defence. Majesty to give them a gracious answer; this is what Their Graces and the others around Their Imperial Majesty, as their all-gracious Lord, wish to do. Majesty, as their most gracious Lord.

854 Three letters of credence or promotorial, which were given to the envoys to some imperial ministers. May 27, 1529.

The three letters of credence are found in Müller I. c. p.180ff, the first in Latin, the other two in German. We have set the date after the second letter.

I.

Promotorial letter to Margrave Mercurinus, imperial supreme chancellor.

Item inutat. mut. to the second Imperial Grand Chamberlain.

Translated from the Latin.

Johannes von GOttes Gnaden, Herzog zu Sachsen, des heiligen römischen Reichs Churfürst, Georg, Markgraf zu Brandenburg, Ernst und Franciscus, Herzoge zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, Philipp, Landgraf zu Hessen, und Wolfgang, Fürst zu Anhalt, wünschen dem Hochgebornen und vortrefflichen Herrn Mercurinus, Markgrafen 2c., Heil.

We have no doubt that the actions of the princes and the German nation, which took place at the last assembly, will have been presented to His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, from which His Imperial Majesty will take it that we are with others of the Roman Empire. Majesty will accept that we have not been in agreement with other Princes and Estates of the Roman Empire on all points concerning the faith. So that Imperial Majesty will not doubt our obedience due to her, we have united to let Imperial Majesty know by means of certain sent-off letters how we have had very important and considerable causes for our deliberations, which we hope will be of interest to Imperial Majesty.

will be enough, and prove that we owe obedience in all things to Imperial Majesty, as our most gracious lord, and seek the general peace in this realm with great zeal. Accordingly, we have written to you, and for the sake of your peculiar mind and reputation, we wish to entrust our cause to you, not doubting that you also wish with all your heart that there may be peace in the Roman Empire. We therefore beseech you to help us to obtain from the Emperor's Majesty Majesty that, in accordance with their highest grace, they will listen most graciously to our apology why we have carried some doubts in the article concerning the disputed points of religion, and that they will give us a gracious answer, which we are prepared to give to Your Imperial Majesty with all obedient respect. Majesty with all obedient services; you, however, will be able to do yourselves the best service for the entire German nation in this imminent great danger, if you will endeavor to preserve the general peace by your power and good counsel; for which favor we want to thank you at all times and show you on occasion that you recognize that your good deed has not been used on any ingrates. Fare you well. Given 2c.

II.

Promotorial letter to Ulrich Ehinger, imperial council.

By the Grace of God John, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector 2c., George, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse 2c.

Our favorable will, friendly and willing services before, special dear, also special trusted lord and friend. We have dispatched your brother, our special dear, also trusted friend and relative, Hansen Ehinger, mayor of Memmingen, also our secretary and syndic, Alexien Frauentraut, and Master Micheln von Caden, to the Roman imperial and Hispanic royal majesty, our most gracious lord, with order and instruction, as you will hear from them verbally. Now we are nevertheless careful, and have more than one good reason to suspect that our friends and gracious lords, the bishops with their entourage, will not celebrate, not only the Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia, our friend, lord, and most gracious lord, as the Imperial Majesty's governor in the Holy Land. Majesty's governor in the Holy Roman Empire, to make this matter and action quite heated, and against the Christian faithful.

It is not only necessary to move as much as possible the estates who would gladly adhere to the Gospel and be Christians, as we have felt such practices with complaints at the Imperial Diet now being held, but also to form much in the Imperial Majesty through her writings and messages, which, God willing, shall never again be found in some of these same Christian estates. For this reason it is necessary that the Imperial Majesty be informed of this high and important trade, which is important to all of us, who are related to and interested in such matters, as well as to the Holy Roman Empire and common Christianity, in many ways more than can be considered, as a matter of necessity, just as the envoys, at our hope, will not let anything happen to them because of all their faithful diligence. And if we have hitherto recognized you as a good Christian and townsman before others, you have also declared yourselves to be faithful to the Emperor's Majesty. Majesty as a faithful promoter and solicitator in our, the cities', matters: so out of special gracious and good faith our very kind request, friendly and official request is that you, as a Christian, in honor of God, for the welfare of the Christian community, also for the benefit of Imperial Majesty and the Holy Empire, will faithfully submit to and accept this matter and diligently solicit from Imperial Majesty. Majesty diligently, promote that her Imperial Majesty will no longer give Majesty no more give credence to those who actually seek themselves and their own advantage, and not at all the common benefit and salvation of souls, than to all of us who ever devote ourselves to the cause in a Christian, heartfelt and faithful manner, or allow ourselves to be persuaded to do something from which their Imperial Majesty and the Holy Roman Empire may benefit. Majesty and the Holy Empire with too late regrets, and that all our envoys are dispatched with a gracious answer. For our mind does not stand at all to give cause to any repugnance, disobedience, or sedition in the holy realm, or ever to persist in it, in which we should lack Christian just cause, but rather to help to prevent all this of our ability: so we have also always offered, and are still offering, where we should err in one or more articles, that we would not only like to have a free Christian council, but would almost gladly have each one instructed with the word of God. In this we want you to show how we graciously and favorably trust you before others: we are inclined to earn this for you, to recognize you in grace, with all friendly servitude and inclined will. Date at Nuremberg, with the absence of the above-mentioned princes, and the of Nuremberg from the
other cities of all, Teeret sealed, this Thursday, 1) 27th of May Anno 2c. in the ninth and twentieth.

Mayors and councillors of the cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Nördlingen, Memmingen, and others, of these matters pending.

To our dear, special one, the honourable Ulrich Ehinger, Roman Imperial and Hispanic Royal Majesty's Councillor.

III.

letter to the imperial secretary sweat.

ise iriutatis mutanäis to the Count of Nassau and Secretary Waldes.

Our greetings and friendly services beforehand, dear, special, favorable Lord and friend! We have no doubt that the action taken at the next Imperial Diet at Speier by the Roman Emperor's Majesty, our most gracious Lord, Governor, Royal Dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, our special dear Lord and Grandfather and most gracious Lord, and Her Imperial Majesty's Orator, Commissaries, also Princes, Princes and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, will now be brought to Her Imperial Majesty's attention. From this Her Majesty will hear how and for what reasons we, in this matter concerning our holy Christian faith and religion, may not at all consent to nor heal the same, for the sake of our conscience. And although we have no doubt that Your Imperial Roman Majesty, as our allies, will be pleased with our work, we are not in any doubt that you will be pleased with our work. Majesty, as our most gracious lord and emperor, be graciously confident that we are quite eager and inclined to render submissive obedience to her imperial majesty in all due and proper matters, and especially for the preservation of peace and unity, and otherwise for the welfare and all good in the holy realm: Nevertheless, we have, according to our necessity, not wished to refrain from informing Her Imperial Majesty of our moving and high causes, on account of which (as indicated) we have taken such action, as far as our Christian faith and religion are concerned, until the future of a free common Christian religion.

1) In Walch's old edition: "on the day of Pentecost, the 27th of May", which is in any case wrong, because in 1529 Pentecost was May 16. We have left the date given, May 27, because we are of the opinion that all previous documents, from No. 850 on, are drafted on the same day.

We have not, however, consented to have the matter further brought forward and reported to you by our skilful agents. We therefore indicate this to you in our gracious and official opinion, that we hope you are inclined, as they can and do, to promote peace and unity in the Holy Empire with the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. And therefore it is our gracious and favorable request and official request to you, that you will be helpful and beneficial to our mentioned skilful ones on our behalf before the Imperial Majesty, that they may obtain from her Majesty a gracious hearing and answer to their commanded advertisement and request, and that they also otherwise have commanded us in the best possible way together with the matter in question. In this you show us favorable favor, which we are also inclined to recognize and owe you with graces and favors and willing services.

855. instrument which has been erected because of the one envoy, Alexius Frauentraut, exoneration from the legation. October 7, 1529.

From Müller's History 2c., lib. II. enp. 7, p. 191. - Frauentraut had herself exonerated from the legation in order to be able to serve as Notarius at the insinuation of Speier's appeal. See No. 857 and No. 863, 8 20.

I. In the name of God, Amen. It is made known and manifest to all men by this open instrument and deed, that in the year which is counted after the birth of Christ our dear Lord, fifteen hundred, and in the ninth and twentieth year, in the other Roman number of interest, called *Indiction in* Latin, in the reign and government of the Most Sublime, Lord Carol, elected Roman Emperor, our most gracious Lord, her Imperial Majesty's Regiment, the Roman in the eleventh, and the other all in the fourteenth year, on a Thursday, which was the seventh day of the month Octobris, about the time of vespers, or even close to it, Alexius Frauentraut, margravial secretary, personally appeared before me here below written notaries, and credible witnesses, and had and held in his hands a paper note of his own handwriting, in which he indicates reason and cause, why he does not want to wait any longer for his legation and sending, in which he was at that time, but wants to renounce, with request and desire that I, as a notary, make him *ex officio* one or more open instruments and documents, as much as he would be in need of them, about it and
which note he also asked to be read out immediately, which was thus read out, and read from word to word, as actually follows afterwards:

Before you, Mr. Notary, and the present witnesses, I, Alexius Frauentraut, Margravial Secretary, appear this day, the seventh day of Octobris, and say: After the most illustrious, noble, high-born princes and lords, Mr. Johann, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Saxony 2c., Mr. George, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., Mr. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse 2c., Mr. Ernst and Mr. Franciscus, both Dukes of Lüneburg 2c., and Mr. Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt 2c.., also the honorable free and imperial cities, Ulm, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, Costnitz, Lindau, Eyßna [Isny], Kempten, Memmingen, St. Gallen, and other kinsmen of theirs, my most gracious, gracious and favorable lords, my kinsmen, here present, namely, Hansen Ehinger and Micheln von Kaden, also myself, to the most most noble, most great lord, Lord Caroln, Roman Emperor and Hispanic King 2c.,our most gracious lord, all of them and especially dispatched, to their imperial majesty, in the matter of a protest against the parting of this 29th year, decided at Speier, concerning, from their all electoral and princely graces, also on account of the other respectable free and imperial cities, to cultivate advertisement and action (contents of our instruction). And because such my and my kinsmen's legation and sending is common and varied and such that our one, two or all three may do the same our act and command common or varied: I take care that such my legation may prevent me from carrying out my intention, other necessary business and things, which are not possible to be carried out by others in these foreign lands; Therefore, for the sake of the time, cause, and unavoidable necessity, I hereby and now wish to dispense with and exonerate myself from such my legation, now as then and then as now, in the best form, measure, manner, and way, as that should, can, or may always be most effective and constant, whether within or outside of law, and to place the others of my kinsmen at liberty to act, as they have then, for themselves, as much as they have always had the power to do, well-disposed of such legation and action. However, I reserve the right to submit to this legation again in due time, as I have done before. About this my exoneration requirire, I require and ask from you, Mr. Notary, you want me about all this.

make and give one or more trustworthy open instruments and deeds, as much as I would be able.

2. These things happened in the city of Playsantin [Hiacenza] 1) in our Francisri Baunon's dwelling, in the year, month, day, hour, and jndiction, as the above reads, in the presence of the highly learned, honorable, and firm and honorable, Johann Efeander, Magister Arnim Costnitzer, Marx Pfister the Younger, and Christoph Pissinger, both of Augsburg, of the same, 2) and Jeronimus Ebner the Younger, of the Bamberg diocese, as witnesses especially required and requested.

3. and if I Johannes Boxhorn, of Brüffel, Cleric of the Bishopric of Camerich, Caif. Majesty's Capellan, and Commissioner, by papal and imperial power a manifest Notary Public, have been present at the above protestation, exoneration, acceptance, and all things as above, together with the witnesses, and have thus seen, heard, and recorded such myself: I have hereunto written this present instrument by another's hand, hindering my business, and [with] this my own hand signed, and my usual sign, which I use, signed, in faith and sign of all things above written, required, requisitioned, and requested.

856 Emperor Carl V's farewell to the envoys sent to him by the princes and estates of the empire protesting against the imperial treaty at Speier. Given at Placenz, 12 October 1529.

This document is found in Müller's Historie, lib. II, e^x. 8, p. 196 and in Lünig's Reichs-Archiv, xurt. Mn. eont. I., x. 331.

Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, has granted to the highborn, their dear hosts, electors and princes, Johannsen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire 2c., Jörgen, Margrave of Brandenburg, Ernsten and Franciscen, Dukes of Lüneburg, Philippsen, Landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; also the honorable mayors and councillors of the cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Costnitz, Sanct Gallen, Nörd-

1) That the incomprehensible: "Playsantin" is to be resolved by: ?lu66ntiu, proves the "Placenz" found at the end of the following document.

2) Here "Bisthums" will probably have to be added.

lingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Heilbrunn, Kempten, Jsnau, Reutlingen, Winsheim, and Weißenburg, which they have brought before their Majesty through their envoys, Hansen Ehinger, Alexien Frauentraut, and Michaeln von Kadan: Namely, why they have not consented to the last agreement made at Speier by (not by them alone) all Princes, Princes and Estates of the Holy Empire, concerning the article of our holy Christian faith, with their attached petition, heard at length in their Imperial Council and sufficiently understood, and her Majesty has been reminded that they are therefore at odds with the estates, by the same agreement as that made by her Majesty's brother, orator and commissioners, with the Holy Roman Empire's princes and princes and other estates at this Imperial Diet, before their envoys arrived here with her Majesty. Which disagreement and discrepancy Her Majesty has heard with complaint, and of which she has been justly displeased, considering that from such disagreements and discrepancies nothing but disruption and much misfortune can be expected, which Her Majesty, in her power, has the right to prevent and to prevent, and which she is inclined to and means to prevent. For this reason, this matter has been discussed and considered in her Imperial Council to the highest degree, and as a result, she has been able to neither assess nor decide anything else, except that this decree has been passed by the much greater part of all the noble estates, not otherwise than solely for the prevention, from that time on, of all kinds of frightening innovations, doctrines and sects, and primarily for the preservation of peace and unity in the holy realm, and has been unanimously decided upon such means and measures: In which her Majesty's Oheim and Elector of Saxony, and princes and cities related to his love, should not have sought any refusal. For her Majesty never doubts that all these same noble Electors, Princes, and Estates would just as unwillingly act contrary to her consciences and the salvation of their souls as to act contrary to her Majesty's beloved Oheim and Elector of Saxony with his kinsmen; that they also, for the honor of God, and for the sake of some Christian understanding, and for the good of all beings, as well as for their own, ask a Concilium; which concilii might not seem necessary, as far as all that was once unanimously decided by all the estates (as well as by her Majesty, with all princes, princes and estates, at her first Imperial Diet at Worms, and on which her edicts were then issued; as her Majesty's grandfather had said, "I will not be a part of this concilium.

and Elector of Saxony and his beloved kinsmen, that they may be put off, with the parting of the Diet of Speier in the year fifteen hundred and six and twenty, and a parting after change and demand of the times and things should not be changed), had been or would be lived. And for this reason Her Imperial Majesty has decreed, and because it is also customary from time immemorial, what is decided in the common imperial assembly with the major powers, that the lesser part shall not resist this, but shall live obediently; and for many other honest motives and causes, to the above-mentioned their sovereign and Elector of Saxony, as well as to his related princes and cities, written and ordered that they once again accept such a treaty made, live obediently to it, and neither themselves nor their own do or act anything contrary to it: As they are bound by their duties to be kin to their Majesty and the holy realm. and the holy realm, with the gracious warning, if they should appear disobedient, that her Majesty will not avoid taking serious punishment against them to preserve their obedience in the holy realm. With further contents of such letter of her Majesty, which [as] her Majesty finally sees, they now receive or will receive within a short time, which they are also to comply with obediently, or which they will thus still do without refusal: That her Majesty would have special joy to hear, especially so much more of these times, since her Majesty is truly told how the hereditary enemy of our holy Christian name and faith, the Turk, has come with his great power into the Christian kingdom of Hungary, intending thence to take his course further into Christendom, and especially the German nation, and by his usually tyrannical raging to extend his empire; which can by no means be resisted without the same unanimous mind and a peaceful, unanimous being being made among the common estates of the holy empire (although her majesty's dear grandfather and Elector of Saxony, and princes and cities related to his love, willingly give their share of the resistance to the same Turk, together with the maintenance of the regiment and chamber court, as they offer to do); as common princes, rulers and estates have themselves indicated to her Majesty by their letter; which the Turk's terrible, cruel action, which affects not only one principality or country, but all of Christendom, and especially the
The German nation, and the faith, honor, soul, body, wife, children, and goods of each of its noble members; and that this must either be resisted with unanimous common power and force, or one must await its obvious and inevitable destruction. Even if there are still no other causes (beyond) the above-mentioned, by which her Majesty's grandson and Elector of Saxony, and princes and cities related to his love, would be obliged to accept this parting, as far as our holy faith is concerned, they should nevertheless move them to agree to it. Therefore also, and altogether for the aforementioned and other honest reasons, Her Imperial Majesty hereby most earnestly desires of the aforementioned her dear grandfather and Elector of Saxony, and of his beloved kinsmen princes and cities, graciously requests of them, and with this also not least, the content of her previous letter and order issued to them, otherwise commands and enjoins them that they take this leave, as far as the article of faith is concerned, in so far as this has not been done, that they again grant it in the most beneficial way, and in no way do anything contrary to it or act against it, but that, as Christian, praiseworthy, obedient and unanimous members of her Majesty and of the Holy Roman Empire, they agree with all the other praiseworthy princes, princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, who undoubtedly want to be good Christians just as much as they do, and decide how they may best assist their Majesty's brother, the Christian King of Hungary, and themselves, and how they may withstand and resist the reported Turkish rage, and as much as their Majesty may in their part most advantageously meet with our Holy Father the Pope, and consult and decide with his Holiness, all that she may consider, which in this place shall not only come to the stay and resistance of the hereditary enemy touched, the Turk, but also otherwise everywhere to the promotion, increase and permanence of the honor and service of our Lord God Almighty, our Christian religion and faith, and peace, tranquility, welfare and prosperity of all common laudable estates of the holy realm and of all Christendom. Her Majesty also intends to take care of the affairs of these Italian lands as best she can, and as soon as she has done so, to rise up in her own person to offer the aforementioned Turk, not only to her dear brother, but also to the praiseworthy German nation, the

Holy kingdom and the aforementioned Christianity for help and comfort, to resist this by the grace of God, and to bring all things to a divine, praiseworthy and Christian being, to do their utmost and ability, and thus also not to leave them; in the full confidence that her Majesty's dear grandfather and Elector of Saxony and his beloved princes and cities, to whom her Majesty has already written in large part for this reason, will take all the above-mentioned good causes and circumstances, form and opportunity of this difficult task and obligation to heart and consider them well, and will thank her Majesty for his support., as they owe obedience, and also to them themselves for the good and welfare of the family, and to each of them in particular, to show themselves in this as benevolent as they wish, so that their Majesty may feel and recognize that they seek and desire nothing else but to promote the honor and service of Almighty God, and the protection of our holy Christian faith, to obey her Majesty as their supreme natural lord and emperor, and also their own peace, tranquillity and comfort in the holy kingdom and Christendom, and in turn to prove to them her imperial mercy in a more lenient manner, and also to have cause to kindly recognize and blame them for this. Given at Placenz, under Her Imperial Majesty's usual sign of hand. Majesty's usual hand sign, on the 12th day of Octobr. An. 2c. in the ninth and twentieth, of the same her Imperial. Majest. Empire, of the Roman in the eleventh, and of the others all in the fourteenth.

Nunäuturri Eassursus st Outlrolioas N. proprium.

kro

^Isxuiiäsr Lolirvsls.

857 Instrument on the Insinuation of the Speier Appeal to the Emperor. 13 Oct. 1529.

From Müller I. c. S. 202.

In the name of God, amen. Let it be known and manifest to all men by this open instrument and document that in the year counted after the birth of Christ our dear Lord fifteen hundred and in the ninth and twentieth, in the other Roman number of interest, called inaeiotio in Latin, in the reign and government of the most noble, most powerful prince and lord, Lord Carl the Fifth, elected Roman emperor, at all times ruler of the empire, in Germania, at the time of the birth of Christ, in the year of the first and the ninth, in the year of the first and the twentieth, in the year of the second Roman number of interest, called inaeiotio in Latin.

Hispania, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. King, Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy 2c., Counts of Habsburg, Flanders and Tyrol 2c., our most gracious Lord, His Imperial Majesty's Regiment of the Roman in the eleventh year, on a Wednesday, which was the thirteenth day of the month Octobris, at eight o'clock in the forenoon or even close thereto, before me here below written Notaries and the credible witnesses personally appeared the honorable and respectable Master Alexander Schwaiß, reported Imperial. Majesty's Secretary, had in his hands a paper document, with Imperial. Majesty's own hand, also his own secretary's hand; saying and pretending that he had been appointed by Imperial. Majesty. Majesty to send the same document and copy to the honorable and firm Hansen Ehinger and Micheln von Kaden, as the envoys of the princes, princes, and also honorable free and imperial cities, for which reason they were sent to Imperial Majesty. Majesty, to hand over their advertisement: which farewell the envoys then took with due reverence, as befits, to their hands, read out with each other; which has announced, as actually follows:

Nota: Here the above imperial farewell [Document No. 856] has been mserirt.

2. after the reading of such imperial. Majesty. The above-mentioned Hans Ehinger and Michel von Kaden, before their Imperial Majesty's Secretaries, have presented the following opinion. Maj. Secretary the following opinion, and had it spoken by the aforementioned Michel von Kaden, namely:

Respectable and honorable Mr. Secretary! Hans Ehinger and I, Michel von Kaden, as the envoys, have now heard the written farewell (which you have given us on behalf of and by order of Imperial Majesty to bring to our most gracious, gracious and favorable lords) in all humility. Majesty, to our most gracious, gracious and favorable lords) in all submission; and our most gracious, gracious and favorable lords have provided that their true excuse and well-founded reasons for their protestation (as the oral and written ones to Imperial Majesty himself in German, English, French and Italian) shall be heard. Majesty himself in German, Latin, and French) should have had such a standing with her Majesty, or at least have been no less than the opposing disparagement, that her Majesty should have given us a much more gracious and comfortable farewell.

Her Electoral, Princely Grace and Favor. Graces and Favors, however, initially take comfort in their innocence and Christian benevolence, and that they consider the Imperial Majesty to be a laudable, pious, and pious person.

Christian emperor, who in time will also let himself be instructed and fall in with the right truth. But because this trade does not only concern their electoral and princely graces, and the person, land and people of the honorable free and imperial cities, but also their souls and consciences, so that they, in the danger of the] loss of their souls' salvation and damnation, they only want to persist in the strict command and word of God and be and remain Christians:

Thus their electoral and princely graces and the honorable free and imperial cities (to prevent even more serious hindrances to the honor of God, discord, and desecration in the holy empire) have appealed to Speier out of utmost necessity and not contrary to any human will. The Imperial Majesty, out of the greatest distress and not contrary to any man, nor out of any will of courage, has appealed to Speier from the most recent of the other imperial estates resolutions and decrees in this case, with the will and opinion that the same appeal should be pursued in its time, as is proper and right; as Her Imperial Majesty graciously has to hear from this instrument, in German and Latin. Which appeal we therefore herewith make to your most respectable honor in place of Imperial Majesty, our allies. Majesty, our most gracious lord, with transfer of the same appeal actis, also copies of our power, most humbly insinuated, handed over and announced; humbly requesting to attach to her Imperial Majesty the same, and to have the same published in German and Latin. Majesty's Majesty and to request that Her Majesty. without hindrance of this insinuated appeal, to all and sundry, in particular and in common, to our most gracious, gracious and favorable lords, princes and princes and the honorable cities, nothing else but all faithful obedience, peace, subservience and entreaty (as happened in the advertisement) to be completely and in all ways well provided for; that also their electoral, princely graces and the respectable cities want to live, govern and keep themselves in this way, as they trust to answer for it against God the Almighty, their Creator, and against Imperial Majesty, their most gracious and supreme Lord on earth, and that nothing may be imposed on them unreasonably.

With this, her electoral, princely graces and the respectable free and imperial cities in her Imperial Majesty's name command themselves. Majesty. protection and protection, most humbly requesting that Her Majesty will not be moved against them with some disgraces; this is what Her Electoral, Princely Grace and the honorable Free and Imperial Cities want. Grace and the honorable free and imperial cities around her Imperial Majesty, as their most gracious lord, in subservience to obedient diligence.

On account of such insinuation by our most gracious, gracious and favorable lords, princes, princes and the honorable free and imperial cities, we requisition you, Alexia Frauentraut, as notaries, that you give us ex officio one or more (and as much as their electoral and princely graces and the honorable free and imperial cities' need requires) instruments and documents. and as much of their electoral and princely graces and of the respectable free and imperial cities' necessity requires) instrument and deed you want to make, give and deliver. Which appeal was in German, as follows:

Nota: Here the Speier appellation has been indented, which is found above Cap. 11, No. 820.

(3) I, as Notary Public, have given them this answer to such a submission by the envoys: Because a few days ago I had exonerated and renounced my legation, in which I would have been completely and irrevocably appointed and ordered, for mobile reasons, I could not avoid making and giving them, the envoys or their principals, the protesting Electors, Princes, also honorable free and imperial cities, my most gracious, gracious and favorable lords, one or more instruments and documents, as much as they would be necessary.

(4) Upon such an insinuation of the appeal, also upon the subsequent requisition, the said Alexander Schwais further said: Although he had been ordered by Imperial Majesty to give the envoys written farewell, however, he had not been ordered to accept the insinuated appeal. Majesty to give the envoys written farewell, however, he had no order to accept the insinuated appeal. He gives the envoys leave by order of Imperial Majesty. Majesty's order, as it had been drawn up and signed by her Majesty's hand. hand; and if they had some deficiency in it, they would like to address Her Majesty themselves, and he would like to indicate this to His Imperial Majesty. Majesty. For although he has taken such an appeal into his hands, he does not wish to have it accepted by taking it into his hands, but to report it to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. He requested and demanded that I, a notary public, make and give him one or more open instruments and documents, as much as he would be able to do so. To which I give him this answer: As much as I would be obliged to do.

(5) Then the above-mentioned Ehinger and Michel von Kaden further said: they did not doubt Imperial Majesty's leave at all. Majesty's farewell, but because he, Master Alexander, had handed it over to them, they, the envoys, acted according to their instructions, and thus did not want to take back the handed-over appeal, but laid it down on the table.

(6) These things happened at Placentia, in the presence of the aforesaid Master Alexander Schweißen, Secretary, Herberg, in the year, month, day and hour, as reported above, in the presence of Georgen von Wittich, Colniß-/) Jheronmus Ebner, the Younger, of Nuremberg, Bamberg, Jörgen Zenkel, of Plankstetten, Eisteter, and Wölfen, Count of Schwatz, Brichsen diocese, as witnesses, especially required and requested.

858 Report of the envoy Michael von Kaden to the council of Nuremberg, because of the announced imperial arrest. 13 October 1529.

From Müller I. c. S. 211.

Most favorable, commanding^Herren! I hereby hasten to inform E. W. that we, the envoys, have been summoned to this date by Kais. Majest. Alexander Schweis, and found the same to be such that the Imperial Majesty will accept the mandate, a copy of which I have sent to E. W. from Lyon; in sum, we ask, desire and command that our most gracious and gracious lords, princes, princes and the honorable cities, if this does not happen on the mandate that has gone out, shall again accept the Speier farewell. Thereupon the farewell rests, containing long words: that one is well inclined to help the Turks 2c. Upon such farewell we have, according to our order, most humbly insinuated the appeal to the secretary Alexander, in place of the imperial majesty, for the reason that he is to accept the farewell. Majesty, for the reason that he has opened the parting to us, and served the appeal on him before notaries, in Kornra, as the actus is due, and E. W. has heard from our relation. W. from our relation. Alexander, badly frightened, protests: he has no order about it, does not want to accept the appeal, we should go to the Emperor 2c. We left him the Acta and went away. So he ran to court to report this to the Emperor. Majesty. And while we are still sitting at home and deliberating about it, and where to go for security and war in the country, Master Alexander Schwais comes with notaries and witnesses, sits in our inn and asks for our three; he has an order to tell them from Imperial Majesty. Majesty to tell them. But I supposed that he would protest that the Imperial Majesty would not allow the appeal. Majesty did not want to defer the appeal. 2c..,

1) This is "Kölnischen [Bisthums]".

So I went out of the house. Alexander was waiting for Alexium Frauentraut and Hansen Ehinger, whom I had warned before, at home, and they were waiting for me for a long time. But I had some business and did not come home, so it was dark and night. He has reported to the two of them before the notary that His Imperial Majesty is having them arrested. Majesty has them imprisoned, to remain in the inn, and not to leave it in case of loss of life, limb and goods, nor to send some writings or messengers from themselves to our lords, or else by ourselves or other people; and he, Alexander, wants to wait for me until midnight, if I come, it is good, if I do not come, he wants to report my disobedience to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. These tales are told to me by my servant; I have considered it good to report such a case to E. W. in a custody and secret letter, before I would be forbidden to write, like the other two. I am yet in doubt how to do him. I cannot leave the city this night; so I worry, if they keep me at the gates without this, I can do even less tomorrow; so it is bad to hide from an emperor in a foreign city, and to come badly from the country. If then I am to be disobedient, I must be before the Emperor's Majesty. Majesty. If I am to go to prison as a free man, not a prisoner, then it hurts, and no one knows what scorn may befall one with so many priests. In sum, I fear I shall go to my fellows; they would have me come shortly, lest, as they think, I should trouble them with my evasion. If I were in Parma or Milan, I would not come; but I must, I fear, for the sake of others; God help that it may come with grace. E. W. also know that Margrave Johann Albrecht has been ordered to a post by Imperial Majesty. Majesty to post in one or two days, together with that of Waldkirch, to post from estates to estates, to work for help, [there] are many letters of credence written. Whether this deal was made because the Emperor's request and the promises of the Estates were made before the protesting Estates were aware of our departure, is a matter for E. W. to consider. But I consider it necessary to be mindful of the imperial request for our farewell and how we are to be dealt with, and to act accordingly. I have still not yet caught the opportunity to inform E. W. and other protesters of this, and in a hurry I hereby want to discover it as quickly as possible, and have delivered such a letter this evening to a Venetian messenger who safely escorted us yesterday, and have hurriedly sent it to Venice to Hans Fuwrer, without having to send a messenger and incur costs.

and to send this letter to you with haste by your own messenger. Date Placenzia, 13 Octobris, at the third hour of the night, Anno 1529.

E. W.
willing servant Michel of Cadan.

To Nuremberg.

859 The protesting princes, princes and estates appeal before a notary and witnesses from the emperor's granting them a free Christian council. October 14, 1529.

In Müller 1. e. p. 214 and in Lünig's Reichs-Archiv, xart. A6n. eont. II. p. 332.

Before you, Mr. Notary Public, we, Hans Ehinger and Michel von Kaden, appear as envoys of the most illustrious 2c. Princes N., respectable free and imperial cities N., and show you: After we yesterday, the 13th of Octobris, in the morning, by kais. Maj. command, by Master Alexander Schweiß, on our action, of our most gracious, gracious Lords, Princes, Princes and of the respectable cities protesting against the Speierian farewell, a decree and farewell was opened, in which we found ourselves complained of on account of our Lords. According to the same we provoke and appeal on behalf of our lords, from such decree and farewell and to a free common Christian concilium, or where the matters belong, to the first, second and third; diligently, diligently and most diligently asking of you, Mr. Notari, ^.postolos testirnonialss, with reservation of our lords necessity and will, to extendir, increase, diminish, prosequir or drop this provocation and appeal according to their demand, according to all their occasion. Therefore we, the envoys, aä oautslain this Provocation thus with diligence want interponirt, over it publicly protest and request; and requirir you, Mr. Notari, ex officio, to set up for us one or more instruments over it in rnsliori korina. The envoys have also requested that the Notari Imperial. Majest. Majesty's will to put notice and answer in the instrument, which the Notary will grant. Actum the 14th day of October, at the fourth hour after noon, anno 2c. thousand five hundred and in the ninth and twentieth year.

60 Two petitions of the envoys to the emperor for the release of their arrest.

In Müller 1. e. p. 216.

First Supplication. Between the 13th "nd 21st of October 1529.

Most Sublime, Most Magnificent, Most Gracious Emperor! Your Imperial Majesty's Majesty's imperial farewell, given to our most gracious and gracious lords, princes, and honorable free and imperial cities, we heard last day in submission, and found so much in our most gracious, gracious lords and honorable cities' written instruction that we must, by the same order, initiate the appeal lodged at Speier against the same farewell; as we have also done in all submissiveness, with the entreaty that your imperial Majesty, without hindrance, will not be prevented from taking the matter up. Majesty, without hindrance of such appeal, to our most gracious, gracious lords and honorable cities, nothing less of all obedience, submissiveness, peace, unity, and offering, as your Imperial Majesty was told at first. Majesty at the outset, and have issued to Your Majesty a German and Latin Secretariat. Secretariat a German and Latin appeal letter.

We have, however, at your Imperial Majesty's Majesty, we have immediately initiated the appeal from Speier alone, and have not appealed; and whoever informs Your Imperial Majesty otherwise has informed wrongly. Majesty otherwise, he has informed wrongly, as evidenced by the insinuated acts, which are given to the hand of the Secretary, Alexander Schweiß.

After all, Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Secretarius came, and indicated to us by order of your Majesty to remain in the hostel, not to come out of it, not to write behind him 2c., until further orders of your Majesty.

Thereupon we give your Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord Majesty, our most gracious Lord, that we, as envoys and obligated servants, will do nothing other than what our most gracious Lords, Princes, Princes, and the honorable cities have ordered and instructed in writing, as, without doubt, your Imperial Majesty's servants must do according to the same order. Servants must also do according to the same order.

Since we then by order alone insinuate a lawful appeal, which has been interposed at Speier, as the imperial rights permit, in the most submissive manner, and your imperial Majesty has thereby received all obedience from our most gracious Majesty. Majesty all obedience from our most gracious Majesty,

offered to the gracious lords and the honorable cities, and as gladly as pious, honorable sent messages want to do, also to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Majesty's command and obediently, as Michel von Kaden did when he was sent to your Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Majesty's command, and that his fellow relatives had been arrested, went freely and willingly from his business to the inn, into such obedient arrest and detention. Majesty will graciously consider and count our long silence and innocence free to our most gracious Electors, Princes and honorable cities; or, if we would be otherwise disparaged, that we know ourselves innocent, let us come to a personal gracious interrogation. Such mercy from your Imperial Majesty Majesty, we want to praise our most gracious and gracious lords, princes and princes, also the respectable cities, and obediently earn it for ourselves in all submissiveness. Hereupon hoping for gracious decision.

Ew. kais. Majest.

most subservient

of the Electors, Princes, honorable and free Imperial Cities Envoys.

Second Supplication. The 21st of October 1529.

Most Sublime, Most Great Emperor, Most Gracious Lord! Now that we have entered the ninth day 1) of the Emperor's visit. Majesty. Majesty's command, we lie arrested in the hostel with heavy costs, perhaps because your Imperial Majesty, of our concern Majesty, of our concern, may have been moved to disgrace against us on unequal report. But if we have ever done nothing else than what we have to do as poor obligated servants by order of our most gracious, gracious and favorable masters, as we can prove with our instructions and authority, then we most humbly request that Your Imperial Majesty will graciously grant us the right to use the power of attorney. Majesty may graciously allow us to go home, or have us brought to interrogation, so that we may be released and bring the decision given to your Imperial Majesty to our most gracious, gracious and favourable lords; and in such a case of their electoral, princely graces themselves persons, also

1) Since according to the letter of Michael von Kaden (No. 858) the arrest of the envoys began on October 13, this writing is to be set for October 21.

...the respectable cities. This we will in all submissiveness deserve. Pray Your Imperial Majesty Majesty's most gracious reply.

E. kais. Maj.

most subservient
of the lords, princes, honorable

free and imperial cities envoys.

861 The answer given by the Count of Nassau and Alexander Schweiß to the envoys to the promotorial letters. October 30, 1529.

From Müller's History, cap. 15, p. 222.

I.

The Imperial Grand Chamberlain, the Grasen of Nassau, Answer to the Protesting Princes, Princes, and Cities.

Most Serene and Serene, Highborn Elector, Princes and Lords, and Honourable, Prudent and Wise! Your churfürstl. And F. G. and you, be my most willing and kind service and greeting beforehand. Most gracious and gracious lords and good friends! Your churfürstl. und fürstl. I have received and understood your letter from their embassies, Hansen Ehinger, Alexien Frauentraut, and Michael von Kaden, according to necessity and good measure; and although I did not have much desire to take on these matters for the reason of some things reported in their letter besides your Electoral and Royal Highnesses and you, 2) nevertheless, your Electoral and Royal Highnesses, and also you, to your honour, service, and favour, and also for your honor, service and favor, and so that these envoys of theirs would not be delayed here, so I have applied to the Emperor, our most gracious Maj. Maj., our most gracious lord, for their dispatch to the best, which they have also received from her Maj. as your Electoral and Imperial Highnesses and you will hear from them. So I have also for the sake of your Lord and Lady and you subsequently, as the said their messages, after receipt of such of their clearance, proclaimed an appeal in such a way that their Majesty may not have any gracious favor (which then, where I have reported such of their order beforehand, I have done by me).

2) This is aimed at Landgrave Philip of Hesse, who for this reason is also omitted in the inscription of this letter. Compare Document No. 829, s 12 z. E. and No. 830 in the penultimate paragraph. Nuremberg is also meant. See No. 863, s 3.

thus that, nevertheless, your Electorate and your F. G. and your order should have been complied with by them, and their request should have been accepted without hesitation for your gracious favor), have requested, asked and received from Her Majesty so much for the most submissive that Her Majesty will release them from their arrest, which they will let them do in their hostel for this reason, and that they may dispose of them again to Your Electorate and Your F. G. and to you. has granted her Majesty's most gracious permission to release her from her arrest, which she had therefore ordered to be carried out in her hometown, and to allow her to return to her Majesty and to you, and to report to her Majesty of her most gracious good will, even for a short time in the future, which she has undertaken for her in the Holy Kingdom of the German Nation. But 1) Her Majesty, Michael of Kaden, has ordered to bring a booklet, I do not know what, which he has handed over to Her Majesty, but 2) not to leave Her Majesty's Court without Her Majesty's permission and until further notice, 3) for which Michael, although he has not yet earned it for me, I nevertheless, together with other of my good friends, have ordered Her Majesty to send him the booklet and the other two, and most faithfully, but nevertheless, until now, not otherwise than that he may have attained succession to Bononia [Bologna], or by other order of her Majesty. For the sake of the German nation, which I am inclined to love and serve, I will gladly do my utmost in the future. That I do not wish to let E. churfürstl. and F. G. and you, in service and friendly good opinion, on their letter to me, again, go unreported. Date at Parma, on the 30th day of Octobre, Anno 2c. in the 29th year.

Heinrich, Grast zu Nassau, Margrave zu Zenete, Count zu Katzenelnbogen, Vianden und Zied, Lord zu Breda, Diest und Grymbergen 2c. H. G. z. Nassau.

To the most illustrious and noble, highborn princes and lords, Mr. Johannsen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Mr. Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg, Mr. Ernsten and Mr. Franciscen, brothers, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, and Mr. Wolfgangen, Prince of Anhalt, my most gracious and gracious lords; and the honorable, prudent and wise mayors and councillors of the free and imperial cities of Strasbourg, Ulm, Costnitz, Nördlingen, and others related to them.

1) Here we have deleted "itself" because it seemed too much.
2) "special" - in particular.
3) That is, not to go away.

II.

Of Alexander Sweat, Imperial Seeretarii, Answer to the Protesting Electors), Princes and cities.

Most Serene and Illustrious, Highborn, Elector, Princes and Lords, and Honourable, Prudent and Wise Dear Lords and Good Friends! To your churfürstl. and F. G. and W. my quite subservient, benevolent and friendly service with all faithful diligence before. Most gracious and gracious princes and lords, and dear lords and good friends! Your churfürstl. and F. G. and W. letter, at Hansen Ehinger, Alexien Frauentraut and Michaeln von Kaden to me, in which they report how they have received the letter to kaiserl. Maj., my most gracious lord, their messages, to indicate their reasons why they have been included in the farewell, so at the next Imperial Diet held at Speier, by her Imperial Maj. Maj. governor, orator, commissaries, also electors, princes and other estates of the holy empire, my most gracious, gracious and favorable lords, so far as the cause of our holy Christian faith is concerned, may not have healed nor approved; with the gracious request and entreaty that I may have such E. and F. G. also W.'s action to her Majesty, and that the aforementioned have their messages in favorable order, so that they may be dispatched to her Majesty with the most gracious answer 2c. I have received and heard them humbly and willingly, and have reported them to E. churfürstl. and F. G. also to W. Envoy of her Majesty; whereupon also her Maj. graciously granted them an audience, and subsequently, for the best possible benefit of their then present, many, considerable other affairs, dispatched them, and had their answer given to them by me in writings, signed by Her Majesty herself; just as the Electors and F. G. will also hear from the same of their envoys. Now, however, as the aforementioned your Elector and King have also given messages to W., after receiving such of their reply, that they have given me, as the one who would have delivered such to them by imperial order, the message that I have received from them. Maj. had ordered them to do so, that they announce the appeal to me: then E. churfürstl. and F. G. can also graciously and favorably judge that I, if I had not received an order from Kaiserl. Maj., it was not proper for me to accept it, and that I should not do less, nor could I do less, than to help the Imperial Maj. to make its presentation beneficial. Maj.'s request to the best of my ability, and that Michael von Kaden, as I have been informed, immediately thereafter

I have received an order from the Emperor himself, who had handed over a booklet, in which I was to tell them not to leave their inn without her Majesty's permission, and where they should continue to stay, which, God knows, was heartily repugnant to me. But I did not discharge myself from this by my most humble and most submissive request, but, since I had previously dealt with them in this matter by their Imperial Maj. Maj.'s command and who thus had knowledge, I had to do so obediently as a servant. As I have no doubt that E. churfürstl. and F. G. also W. are well able to judge this: therefore, I inform E. churfürstl. and F. G. also W. humbly and favourably that, if my gracious Prince and Lord of Nassau, Margrave of Zenetes, or I, have reported such to E. churfürstl. and F. G. also W., I will do so. and W.'s order had been reported somewhat beforehand, that I have no doubt that his F. G. would have judged all things to such good effect that E. churfürstl. and F. G.'s order would nevertheless have been carried out, and that this of their entanglement would have been without necessity; wherefore I have also reported this to his F. G., and where further need and good would have made me think of it, I would have held his hand faithfully. But now like this: The said my gracious Lord of Nassau, together with other friends of his F. G. whom she has taken, has nevertheless done the best for the honour, service and favour of the Elector and F. G. and W., of which I have also faithfully reminded her of my fortune, so much so that her F. G. has requested of her Maj. that the two envoys of your Elector and F. G. and W., Ehinger and Frauentraut, have been released from their arrest; but her Maj. has not yet wanted to release Kaden, as all this E. Elector and F. G. and W. will hear from the aforementioned two of their embassies at length. Hope nevertheless, on the gracious and faithful diligence, which I do not doubt, my gracious lord of Nassau will continue to do in the matter, and that I will have his F. G. and the lord of Grandvelle, kais. Maj. Councillor, as he has given them this last farewell of their settlement and stay, with further appendix, as far as each one is concerned, in my presence, in the presence of all E. Electoral and F. G. also W. three envoys themselves, submissively and diligently requested that they want to have the said Kaden graciously and for the best ordered here, that his cause may also be brought to a good end with the Emperor. Maj. still attained and brought. Whereupon also, that it be done, no diligence nor effort shall be spared on me of my small fortune, without doubt, that I shall be able to give E. all Electorate and

1) "To ensnare" or "to bestricken" - to hold in. Detain.

F. G. and W. would also do me a pleasant service and favour; humbly and favourably requesting that E. churfürstl. and F. G. also W. graciously and favourably excuse me of that which I have had to do as a servant in this, as reported above. For inasmuch as I may serve them humbly and acceptably and prove love and friendship, E. churfürstl. and F. G. also W., to whom I hereby, as my most gracious and gracious dear lord, and favourable lords and friends, shall command me humbly and favourably, shall find me quite willing of it. Date at Parma, on the 30th day of October, Anno 2c. in the 29th year.

E. churf. and F. G. and W. quite subservient and good-willed

Alexander Schweiß.

To the most illustrious, noble, highborn princes and lords, Herr Johannsen, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., Mr. Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg, Mr. Ernsten and Mr. Franciscen, brothers, Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg, Mr. Philipsen, Landgrave of Hesse, and Mr. Wolfgangen, Prince of Anhalt, my most gracious and gracious lords..; and the honorable, prudent and wise mayors and councillors of the free and imperial cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Costnitz, Nördlingen, Memmingen, and others of their relatives in this matter, my special dear lords and friends.

862. by the margravial chancellor of Brandenburg, Georg Vogler, in which it is explained how great injustice has been done to the Protestant envoys by the imperial arrest.

In Hortleber, vol. I, lib. I, eap. 6, p. 46, and from it in Müller 1. o. lib. II, eux. 21, § 5, S. 318.

Causes, why the protesting Princes, Princes and Estates of the Conflict, in which by Imperial Maj. their Envoys, on happened most submissive Report of said Estates Protestation and Appeal against and from the Imperial Treaty at Speier, Anno 1529, also on Insinuation of such Appeal, have been taken, to complain justly,

ded by Mr. Georg Vogler, Margravial Chancellor of Brandenburg, Anno 1529.

(1) At the recent Diet at Speier, the Estates of the Empire, under the appearance and authority of Imperial Majesty, undertook to act and conclude in matters of the Word of God concerning our faith and religion. Maj. to act and conclude in matters of God's word concerning our faith and religion, about which they were duly warned by some of the imperial estates, and more than one good reason was given why this was not proper for them. And notwithstanding all this, they have continued in their proceedings, and have made a supposed resolution and agreement, which the Christian estates reported before them have accepted in all articles, outside of the matters of our faith reported; but as far as the articles of faith are concerned, they have publicly protested against it in writings, not to consent to it for many important reasons, as they have written in the long protestation and the appeal that has been made 1) for necessity, and without necessity to report it again here.

(2) And that the Imperial Majesty may not have cause to think 2. And in order that the Imperial Maj. should not have cause to think, on the unequal report of some imperial estates which are repugnant to the Holy Gospel, as if the aforesaid protesting Christian estates were withdrawing from his Maj. and the Holy Empire's obedience, and were not obeying without reason and equity that which had been unanimously decided by others at the Imperial Diet held, or wished to live by it, the same Christian estates have dispatched their embassies to travel to Imperial Maj. in Hispania, which her Maj. has also entered at Genoa, and to inform her Maj. of the occasion of the Imperial Diet held there. The same Christian estates have dispatched their embassies to travel to Imperial Maj. in Hispania, which their Maj. also entered at Genoa, and to their Maj. on the occasion of the Imperial Diet, and why it was not proper for the protesting estates, without injury to their souls and consciences, also without the highest burden on their land and people, to accept this parting of the aforementioned article, and why it is also not proper for the estates to recognize therein, with the humble request that they be inclined to accept such parting in all other articles. That they also surrender their bodies, lands, people, possessions, and goods to their Imperial Majesty, whom they have in sole possession. Maj. whom they have recognized in this alone as their rightful, united Lord and Emperor, without any means, so that Her Maj. shall be powerful in all these things. What in these matters of faith is also discussed by an orderly, Christian, free concilium (to which such matters belong) by means of the divine word, that one accepts this without any hindrance, and in no way wants to separate from the Christian church, as the obedient members of the same, or wants to separate. How then the most submissive responsibility, submission, and inheritance of the Christian estates are to be accepted?

1) No. 820 in this volume.

offer through their envoys to the Imperial Maj. Maj. orally and in writing in the German, Latin and French languages, for necessity.

(3) Although the protesting estates have now appealed to this subservient, friendly, and for their sake quite necessary act of Imperial Majesty, they have not yet been able to do so. Maj, as their rightful lord, nothing else but a gracious answer, decision and dispatch of their embassies, nevertheless their envoys have been given a somewhat rough, unforeseen and burdensome farewell, and have been delivered in writings, in the safe opinion that their Maj. 2) have again earnestly commanded that the same protesting estates of the empire are to accept the drafted farewell and resolution at Speier forthwith 2c., as then such a farewell (which, however, has not yet been sent or delivered to the estates to this day) undoubtedly indicates in a long opinion.

4th Thereupon the envoys (according to their received order) have sent Magister Alexander Schweiß, kais. Maj. secretary, who opened and read to them the parting in kais. Maj. name and read it to them, delivered and left the protesting estates to appeal by means of a publicly instrumented libell.

(5) However, the causes which moved the same estates to file their appeal are sufficiently expressed in the instrument of appeal, and according to necessity, in such a way that anyone, even of little reason, can conclude from it that the protesters had a great reason and appearance to refuse the imperial decree in this matter, and, as the complainants, to appeal from it.

(6) When the envoys had carried out their order and then wished to leave Italy again, they were imprisoned by the said M[eister] Alexander Schweiß, Imperial Secretary, in the presence of notaries and witnesses, in their lodgings, and condemned not to come out of it without the knowledge of Imperial Majesty. Maj. not to come out of it, likewise in case of loss of life and limb, by themselves or others, neither in writing nor orally, not to announce anything about it to their masters 2c.

(7) This is (how manly, even friends and enemies can consider) an ungracious, burdensome and clumsy act, and quite frightful to hear that the Roman Emperor's Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, is not to be expected to do this. Maj.

2) These speech marks are put by us instead of the brackets which are often used in old prints to emphasize something.

by those who live around her Maj. and who are not only opposed to Christian, true religion, but also to all equality and equity/) shall be moved to such disgrace and burdensome action; for the following reasons:

(8) First of all, this matter, which the envoys have requested and ordered Imperial Majesty to advertise, is not a vexatious, unfriendly act. Maj. and had orders to solicit, is not a disagreeable, unfriendly, or such an act, thereby attacking the Imperial Maj. in her sovereignty, or seeking some rebellion or disobedience, but (as reported) a submissive act. Maj. in her Highness attacked, or some rebellion or disobedience sought, but (as reported) a subservient denunciation, apology, and responsibility, by which the Imperial. Maj. of the protesting estates, and to her Maj.'s own honor and glory, in which the Christian estates also offer themselves to her Maj. for such willing obedience and submissiveness, and also otherwise so Christian for the sake of their faith, that the Imperial Maj. will give her no cause for any disobedience. Maj. may not derive from this any cause of disfavor and such quick, 2) inconsiderate action.

(9) Secondly, the Imperial Majesty is our, and especially the protesting imperial estates, ordinary lord, emperor and sovereign. Our Majesty, and especially of the protesting estates of the empire, is the ordinary lord, emperor and sovereign, and therefore, out of the duties of his imperial office, he is obligated to treat the members and estates of the empire, as his maj. relatives and subjects, with all loyalty, to hear them graciously and in an emergency in their complaints and concerns, to protect and shield them from all unreasonable and infallible burdens, and also to give them his imperial assistance against all violence and injustice. Not less than the subjects are obliged to all obedience, subservience and submission to her Majesty in all ways.

(10) Now, however, with imperial maj. Maj. their own highest enemies, Turks, pagans and Jews, also others, are heard in their legation and advertisement. With what fairness or good grace then can it be justified that the most prominent imperial estates, from princes, princes and cities, envoys are not to be heard, but their legation is to be carried out in such a way that [that] without doubt these same estates, of their hope, would be tolerated by common Christianity's hereditary enemy, the Turk 3).

011 Thirdly, her majesty's ambassadors, which before this time came from Hispania to some

1) In Walch's old edition: "be", which seems to be a printing oversight, instead of: his (- are).
2) "raschen" put by us instead of: "rischen".
3) "Tolerate" here seems to be in the meaning of "exalted".

The Imperial Estates for help, let themselves be heard with loud words, that her Maj. was approached with a belief, as some of the Imperial Estates let themselves be heard: as if her Maj.'s mind and opinion was, when her Maj. came into the Empire, that she wanted to act with force and tyranny against some Imperial Estates 2c., that her Majesty bears a noticeable grievance and displeasure; for her Majesty's mind, will, and opinion are not at all disposed to a mighty, serious, or tyrannical action, but are directed to behave as a mild, gracious Emperor towards his Majesty's subjects in an entirely fatherly and gracious manner, and to hold them in such a way that they shall have much more cause to love than to fear her Majesty.

(12) Whether this action of her Majesty compares with such a gracious offer; whether the Christian estates should not be justly appalled that her Majesty, as soon as she has set foot out of her kingdom into the empire and has not yet reached Germany, should show herself in such a way; and whether they do not have to worry about an ungracious emperor, for their part quite undeservedly, from these preliminary beginnings, can be judged by anyone who understands.

(13) Fourthly, the Imperial Majesty has committed and sworn. In the receipt and election of her royal dignities, her Majesty has committed, obligated, and confirmed with an oath against the Elector in place of the common imperial estates: that her Majesty will not rape any of the imperial estates for herself, nor will she permit others to do so, but will allow each estate, where it may suffer due justice, to remain with the same, also in due hearing and equity, and will order others to do so.

Item 14: That Her Majesty have and hold her royal residence, estate and court in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation for the benefit and good of all members, estates and subjects of the same.

Item 15: That her Majesty will not fill and provide her royal and imperial offices at court and in the realm with any other nation than born Germans, who are not of low standing nor nature, but true, honest people, of princes, counts, lords, of the nobility, and otherwise of valiant good stock. 2c.

. (16) Now it is evident that the Christian protesting estates in this matter of theirs, for which reason they have sent their message to Imperial Majesty, desire and seek nothing else than proper and necessary interrogation. Maj., do not desire and seek anything else than a proper and necessary interrogation, and may also almost well suffer a right and proper discussion.

(17) They were not the least moved in their protestations and appeals that the estates of the realm should presume, in this most excellent great matter, which concerns the honor and word of God, as well as the consciences and souls of men, in which they may by no means be judges, to make a resolution and a decision, without all previous examination of the right reason, even without sufficient experience of the truth; as would be just and right even in the smallest matters and affairs.

(18) Thus it is evident that Imperial Majesty has never had her residence in the Holy Empire. Maj. has never had her residence in the Holy Empire from the time of her first Imperial Diet at Worms, and may not have it as soon as possible: shall the embassies of the Imperial Estates, where they are to be sent in honor of Her Maj. and to indicate a submissive obedience, be sent so far, with noticeable danger and expense, and act in a way that may promote the harmony of common Christianity and the empire, and also*) the sent ones be dispatched in such a way that it would be quite burdensome for all imperial estates to hear from their proper right head and superior.

(19) Moreover, it is irrefutable that the most distinguished offices of the imperial court are mostly occupied by Hispanic or other nations. Moreover, it is irrefutable that the noblest offices of the imperial court are mostly occupied by Hispanic or other nations, who are not only ignorant of the German and Latin tongues, but who are also ignorant of the opportunity, need, and essence of the Holy Empire and the German Nation. Whether now the imperial estates, where they have to act out of their necessity before Imperial Maj. Maj. to act out of their necessity, is not more disadvantageous than advantageous to be expected from this, can be considered by everyone.

(20) But the most burdensome and unequal thing is that this trade, the holy gospel, affecting our religion and conscience, where it comes to the imperial majesty, is only or mostly with the bishops or clergy, who are at the imperial majesty's disposal. Maj. alone, or in each case for the most part, with the bishops or clergy, who are the highest, most distinguished and most respected in the Imperial Maj. the highest, most distinguished, and most respectable, and who alone are inclined to preserve the papal see at Rome with its appendages, as well as the public abuses that have so far flowed from there and are in evidence everywhere in the church, should be consulted, mediated, and discussed; since they themselves, for the reasons indicated, are parties, counselors, judges, and arbiters, and therefore justly highly suspicious. That now the Emperor. Maj. as a pious, sincere emperor, who undoubtedly wished to see things well, should have been induced by the same people to such an unkind and extensive action, which would have been contrary to their

1) Here we have deleted "that".

Maj. with friends and enemies may not be caused to small calumny, contempt, and disparagement, that is to be highly complained of in many ways.

(21) Fifthly, the protesting estates have not appealed from Imperial Majesty's sentence or decree. Majesty's Sentence, Order, or Leave, and have made such an appeal to Imperial Majesty himself. Majesty himself. From this every one may again note what a burdensome act it is that the judge before whom, and not from whom, an appeal is made, should accept for arrest the messages which the same appeal from a command implies. Her Majesty has not previously seen the acts and instruments of appeal, and has no knowledge of the causes and motions of such appeals, whether founded or not.

22) In the sixth place, the order and instruction of the protesting estates, which the envoys have handed over to the imperial majesty in the three witnesses on their behalf, clearly shows what motivated these estates to protest and not to approve the imperial treaty. Majesty in the three witnesses, clearly show what moved these estates to protest and not approve the imperial treaty. The same causes, however, are so important and respectable that any man who has reason must conclude from this that the protesting estates had at least a great pretense, glimpses, and reason, even though the same movements should not have been justified in protesting and appealing. From this also the Imperial Majesty might have found so much. Majesty might have found so much from this that she would have refrained from such an action against the envoy.

23) Seventhly, although this protestation of the estates and their envoys has neither cause nor appearance, and should be the most unskilful, yet it is against all public, human, imperial, and papal rights to act against the envoy, who is made in a legation to the imperial majesty as our lord. Majesty, as the Lord of us all, to act in this way. For the same rights are quite clear that all legates are free in all places, have assurance and opening, and are in no way to be arrested or encumbered.

(24) Eighthly, it is a great nuisance and somewhat disgraceful to hear that the Imperial Majesty has based her departure, which she has announced in writs, on an order that should have been sent by Her Majesty beforehand. Majesty has based her departure, which she has announced to the envoys in writs, on an order that should have been sent by Her Majesty to the Imperial Estates beforehand, yet none of the protesters has received or been notified of the same Imperial order or mandate. The same imperial command or mandate has not yet been sent, transmitted, or proclaimed to any of the protesters. Therefore the estates may again excuse themselves in these matters of all inequity.

25 And even if the same imperial order and command were to be opened to the protesting estates, it would still have been done first after their protest and appeal. The same estates would not have been obliged to accept such a command any less than the imperial estates' resolution and agreement, for many excellent, important reasons, of which one could do a great deal. And if there were no other than this in view, that the protesters, if they should accept such an imperial command, would have to act publicly against their conscience and the salvation of their souls, to which, however, no man of some temporal power on earth should always allow himself to be compelled, because the same farewell is capable of just that which the Estates' resolution and farewell holds: it would be more than complete and sufficient in the sight of God and the whole world to deny such a farewell and imperial decree by the proper, permitted means of appeal, which the imperial rights themselves prescribe.

26 In sum, the protesting estates recognize all of them and especially the imperial majesty. Majesty. for their right natural lord, and by God decreed emperor and sovereignty, to whom they also offer and submit themselves with their bodies, lands and people to all obedience, assistance and subservience; But that Her Majesty, by affirmation of the imperial estates, would also submit to be lord over their faith, souls and consciences in some way, or to command them to accept something by which they should deviate from the truth, act contrary to their consciences, and anger God as a Lord: that would be going too far, and God would have taken hold of the rule and sovereignty without means, who has reserved to Him all power and jurisdiction in this matter, and has left to no man on earth even the least power in this matter; as the Prophet says: Ooslum oosli Domino, tsrrurn ankern äsäit UIÜ8 Uorninnrn: Heaven and what is spiritual, God, the Heavenly HErr, has reserved, but what is earthly, He has commanded to earthly men alone. Neither is any man obliged to obey the emperor, nor any other rulers of the earth therein; for in that case, as the Scripture saith, it behooves God more than men to obey him.

27 For these causes told, in whole or in part, one can now complain of this trade to the highest, and so that masculine may find of it too much great, extensive, and unmistakable inconvenience.

863. the narrative of the whole action of their legation, set forth in writing by the envoys.

From Hortleder, tom. I, lib. I, eux. 7, x. 49.

Relation or Report of the Protesting Princes, Princes, and Estates Envoys to Imperial Majesty what they have reported the protest and appeal of the Speier Imperial Treaty Anno 1529 partly to Imperial Majesty and partly also to the same. Majesty, partly also insinuated to the same, but thereupon taken into arrest, however, finally discharged and dispatched. Anno 1529.

1st First Hans Ehinger and Alexius Frauentraut came to Placentia on the 7th day of September, and had to leave the other their fellow deputy, Michael von Kaden, due to weakness of his body, at Genoa, and then on the 9th day of September to the Grand Chancellor, now Cardinals 2c, the von Nassau, M. Alexander Schweißen and Alphonso Waldes, both Imperial Majesties. Majest. Secretaries, at Placentia their Letters of Credence, and requested them to apply to the Imperial Majesty with graciousness. Majesty with gracious audience and dispatch to promote them, who answered them as follows, viz:

The Grand Chancellor said: His F. Grace wants to announce them, the envoys, to the Emperor. Majesty, request an audience, and give them further notice.

The answer of Nassau was: The Landgrave of Hesse always wanted to make him a Sollicitator, which was not convenient for his Grace; so the Nurembergers did not want his Grace to promote them, nor the Landgrave. There were many Germans who were not much good, although he was also a German; however, he wanted to do to the other princes, princes and cities what they would like; they, the envoys, would like to attribute this to their elector and his grace, as well as to the others.

4 M[eister] Alexander Schweiß thus answered: because his lord, the one of Nassau, was at odds with the Landgrave, and the ones of Nuremberg did not want to let his lord, M. Alexander, follow what the Imperial Majesty had given them. Majesty had given them, he did not intend to solicit much from either of them; however, he did not want the other estates to pay anything.

5 Secretarius Alphonsus Waldes has offered much to promote, and helped Hans Ehingern and Alexio Frauentraut at first before the Grand Chancellor.

6 Likewise Wilhelm de Rolle, kais. Majest. Hofmeister, on the handed over Credenz-

letter, which the nobles have had signed over to him, since the other Grand Chamberlain in Hispania is dead, also to do good will and support with the Imperial Majesty.

(7) On the 10th and 11th day of September, the two deputies again made every effort, and approached the Grand Chancellor, the von Nassau, and the others, Court Master and Secretaries, and asked them to support them, so that they would be heard most graciously by Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and that they be again graciously and well dealt with. They have all offered to do so, except for the one from Nassau, who answered: His F. G. had said before that he did not want to get involved in any matter involving the Landgrave and Nuremberg, and he would leave it at that.

(8) And after the envoys had thus stopped daily, the Imperial Majesty had M. Alexander Schweißen announce to them on September 11 that her Majesty wished to hear them on Sunday, September 12, at an early hour of the day; and therefore they should make themselves so skilful as to hand over the trade to her Imperial Majesty in writing, and not delay her Majesty with many words, for her Majesty had so many excellent things in her hands that it would be quite inconvenient for her Majesty to hold a long oral hearing. Majesty in writing, and not to delay Her Majesty with many words, for Her Majesty has so many excellent things under her hands that it would be quite inconvenient for Her Majesty to hear a long oral presentation.

(9) So on the same Sunday morning the two deputies rode with M. Alexander Schweißen to court and appeared before Her Majesty's Chamber. Chamber, where again their Imperial Majesty told them through the above-mentioned M. Alexander Schweißen that they were to be allowed to vote. Majesty told them through the aforementioned M. Alexander Schweißen: they should hand over their action in writing and not tease Her Majesty long with words. Thereupon the envoys offered to present the deal verbally in the shortest possible time and to hand over their order in writing.

(10) Thereupon they were brought before Her Majesty, and were graciously interrogated by Her Majesty in the presence of the Marquis of Ancisa, both Bishops of Osina and Palenta, together with M. Alexander, Her Majesty's Secretary, who was especially required for this purpose. Majesty their letter of credence with due reverence, as befits them, and at the same time they have expressed their graciousness to Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty's most gracious, gracious and favorable lords, the electors, princes, also honorable free and imperial cities, from which they have been dispatched, most humbly offered, also further indicated: Their Electoral and Imperial G., and the others, have ordered two of them, besides Michael of Kaden, who, due to weakness of his body, must remain back there in Genoa, to give their Imperial Majesty the following orders. Majesty the following
opinion, as their most gracious lord, which content was presented to Imperial Majesty by Alexium Frauentraut. Majesty by Alexium Frauentraut, as follows harmlessly, namely:

11. 11. It would be unknown to Her Imperial Majesty what controversial articles of divine doctrine have taken place for some time in German and other countries. Which doctrine has been accepted in part by some estates and their subjects, and contested by others (whose subjects were, and still are, most eager for it), from which much error, strife, and disagreement has arisen. For which reason Her Imperial Majesty Majesty appointed and announced a Diet at Speier in the year 1526 to avert such opposition. At this Diet, all the estates of the Empire unanimously and unanimously considered it to be good, necessary and convenient, and proposed that a common, free, Christian council or national assembly be held as soon as possible, with the resolution that in the meantime each estate would live, govern and hold itself with its subjects as it hoped and dared to answer to God and Her Majesty; with the indication that at that time for the preservation of peace and unity in the realm no better nor more tolerable way could have been conceived nor found. Such a treaty would also have been unanimously agreed upon and sealed by all the estates, and at the same time it would have been especially spoken and promised that nothing would be done or allowed to be done against the same imperial treaty, the content of the printed imperial treaty enclosed herewith.

Item: This 29th year, Her Majesty has again appointed an Imperial Diet at Speier, with notification to act, deliberate, and decide on the future Concilio and other necessities of the Empire. Therefore, their most gracious and gracious lords, the churons and princes, attended the same Imperial Diet in their own persons, and had the other honorable free and imperial cities attended by their noble embassy, in the opinion that everything that serves first of all the glory of God, his holy word, the preservation of good peace and the noble welfare of their Imperial Majesty and of the Empire, is to be done in the name of the Holy Spirit. Majesty and the Empire, to seek and promote.

But such a thing would not have taken place; but some estates would have pretended and wanted to say as if the previous Speierian imperial treaty in the 26th year should have been somewhat misunderstood, and therefore misused; that, however, their most gracious.

The fact that the gracious and favorable lords of their part have not been confessed, and would not yet be, they also know for certain that they would not have acted against the same parting of their part, and would not again be against it, nor do so; but would in the meantime keep to the granted concilii, live and govern thus, as they hoped and trusted to answer for it against God and their Majesty. And even if a misunderstanding would have arisen with some from such a departure, still their chur- and princely graces, as well as the others, would have been able to keep the law. The others, too, had wanted to act at that time by way of explanation and mitigation, and for that reason had proposed several honorable, Christian means, which, however, the other part had not wanted to accept, despite all admonition, friendly and humble request and reminder, but had, out of a supposed delusion, decided on a different opinion, contrary to the previous unanimous Speierian imperial treaty of this 29th year. They have decided on a different opinion in the 29th year, and in religion, against such Speierian imperial decree, have set other burdensome, unmistakable articles, which their churlish and princely graces, as well as the others, have not accepted. Their electoral and princely graces, as well as the others, could not keep, nor accept, for the sake of their consciences.

And although their chur- and princely. Grace, also the others, have rejected the opposite more than sufficiently and have indicated the reasons for which they would be justly obliged to adhere to the first unanimous, confirmed and promised Speierian imperial agreement, and against this, without the special permission and approval of their most gracious, gracious and favourable lords, the electors, princes, and also honourable free and imperial cities, nothing more 1) could be granted or concluded, and imperial cities, neither could grant nor conclude anything, nor that more 1) would take place, but that it would be fair to remain with that which their Imperial Majesty herself has permitted, and which has been unanimously decided by all the other estates, and which has been confirmed and sealed; that also especially her Imperial Majesty's The Council of the Holy Roman Emperor is to be the only body in the Holy Roman Empire that has the power to act, deliberate, and decide on the future Concilio and other necessities of the Empire at the next Speierian Imperial Diet, and that it is not to be interpreted as a means of again abrogating the previous Speierian Imperial Diet.

However, the obnoxious [part] would have persisted in his intention and the supposed increase and would have wanted to drag the matter back to the previous dangerous state, above which Pope Adrianus had previously confessed himself and other clergymen to the abuses at an imperial diet.

1) Only here Walch notes: "Votorum pluritas" - the majority.

So also her majesty would have announced in the next 24. year an imperial farewell to Speier, and would have reported therein to separate the bad from the good.

And because their sovereign and princely sovereigns, also the respectable free and imperial cities, had encountered such a thing (as stated above) against the previous Speier farewell, their sovereign and princely sovereigns, also the others, had protested against such a supposed increase and farewell. Their sovereigns and princes, as well as the others, have protested against such alleged increase and departure, as well as what they have encountered in this regard.

And for this reason it would be her most humbly request, and that of the others, too, that her Imperial Majesty, for the reasons mentioned and others, would not take an ungracious will. Majesty, for the reasons mentioned and others, would not take an ungracious will to the protestation and refusal made, but would grant this to the unavoidable necessity.

Thus, their sovereigns and fathers, as well as the others, intend, by means of divine help, in the meantime of the future approved Concilii, or National Assembly, to hold themselves with their own in their authorities and territories in such a way as they hoped and dared to answer for against God and their imperial majesty, in such a way that nothing bad or unjust may be imposed upon them. They also wished, as their forefathers and ancestors had done, to be submissive to their Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and keep themselves as obedient, first of all as far as the temporal is concerned, it would be with the necessary help against the Turks, for the orderly maintenance of the regiment and chamber court, also other things that are necessary for their Imperial Majesty, also of the Holy Roman Empire. Maj. also of the Holy Empire's welfare and honor.

With most humble request, if the matter reaches Her Majesty in a different form, Her Majesty would not allow any disparagement of the same, but rather would allow this truthful excuse to stand and be believed, and would not allow herself to be moved to disgrace against her without the interrogation and responsibility of her most gracious, gracious and favorable sovereigns, after Her Electoral and Princely Grace, as well as others, would be requested where they would be overcome by divine biblical scripture of another, that they would allow themselves to be rebuked of all charges. They are not to be moved to disgrace against them without the interrogation and responsibility of their most gracious and favorable rulers, after their sovereign and princely lords, as well as the others, have been summoned, where they have been overcome by the divine biblical Scriptures of another, to let themselves be rebuked of all charges.

And their Lordships and F. Gnostics, as well as the others, hereby command themselves in their Imperial Majesty's protection and promise as their most gracious Emperor and Lord. Majesty's protection, patronage, and promise, as their most gracious Emperor and Lord, with the request that their Imperial Majesty would give them, the envoys, the most gracious, gracious, and favorable lords, the most gracious, prompt, written answer.

And so that Her Imperial Majesty of Commerce...

2) "one" put by us instead of: from.

would receive still more report, which could not have been presented orally in the shortness, the envoys hand over to Her Majesty herewith their German sealed Instruction, together with two copies thereof in Latin and French, together with the other writings serving for trade; again with most humbly request, Her Imperial Majesty would rest to read the same, and thereupon to deliver them again in the most gracious, most hurried and most bailful manner. This would undoubtedly be done by Her Royal and Princely Grace, as well as the others. and the others, too, would deserve this in all subservience for their Imperial Majesty, as their most gracious Lord.

012 And have at that time committed the envoys of their imperial majesty to their own hands:

I. their German having sealed Instruction;

II. two copies thereof in Latin and French;

III. a printed farewell of the Speier Diet of this 29th year;

IV. of the Electors, Princes and the others first Protestation in Latin;

V. the other long protestation in German, and subsequently M. Alexandern, at his request, the same protestation in Latin;

VI. the tender for this Imperial Diet of the past 29th year;

VII Pabst's Adriani Confession of Abuses;

VIII. the hundred complaints, brought before the Diet of Nuremberg.

(13) Upon such a presentation by the envoys, the Imperial Majesty immediately had M. Alexander give them the following verbal answer. Majesty immediately had M. Alexander give them the following answer orally, namely: Her Imperial Majesty had received the envoys' requests from Her Majesty. Majesty had received the envoys' submission from her Majesty. and the other princes, as well as the honorable free and imperial cities, and heard their submissive obedience and service to their gracious will, and wished to see the submitted action in council, and how Her Majesty sees the matter, then give an imperial and gracious answer to the charge.

14 Subsequently, the envoys handed over a Latin copy of the Instruction to the Grand Chancellor, and asked for a prompt good answer and dispatch. This he has offered to do.

15th They have handed over a German copy of such instructions to M. Alexander Schweißen, and a Latin copy to Alphonso Waldes (both Imperial Majesty's Secretaries), and have also asked for encouragement.
to good clearance, which also let themselves be heard willingly.

16 And after Imperial Maj. Maj. gave an answer through M. Alexander Schweißen (as stated above), Her Majesty sent all written acts to him that he should overlook them and send them to the Grand Chancellor in advance so that the act could be discussed in the Great Council. This the same M. Alexander did and sent the whole act to the Grand Chancellor.

The envoys have also handed over a copy of their power, which they have from the Electors, Princes, also the respectable free and imperial cities. But when the Grand Chancellor became weak, he could neither act nor overlook anything. For this reason, the envoys were so concerned that the Grand Chancellor postponed the same deal and sent it to the Nongieur Oraii Vsla [Granvella], who was decaying in the Grand Chancellor's illness, and had it announced that he would translate the act and then bring it to council.

(18) So the envoys subsequently applied to him and to all places, but outside of Nassau, while he had given them an answer, as has been reported above in the entry, also to the imperial majesty himself for a gracious, speedy, and written answer, and each time received a reply: they would be graciously dealt with.

019 In the meantime Michael of Kaden has recovered and come to them in Placentia; there they have again informed all three of them in many ways, solicited and asked for information.

(20) And although they were always reassured that they would soon and graciously be disposed of, they nevertheless had to take this precaution that they would not be disposed of as they wished. And so that, if the matter should come to the insinuation of the appeal, there would be no lack of a notary (which one would otherwise not want to have), Alexius Frauentraut has pardoned and exonerated himself of his legation and sending before another open notary and the witnesses, and has also had an instrument made about it.

021 And because then, at the time when the envoys asked for dispatch and answer, it came to pass that Imperial Majesty the Pope had sent the envoys to the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty. Colman dispatched Plattnern 1) of Augsburg, that he should ride home and make some armour for her Majesty, also for the of Nassau, which Plattner requested from Imperial Majesty and the of Nassau. Majesty and that of Nassau, and requested that Imperial Majesty Majesty the Ge

1) "Platner" - plate maker, harness maker. In the old edition: "Colman Platnern".

When the Emperor of Nassau dispatched the envoys so that he might have companions, and did not ride alone in the swift louses, he told the same Plattner that he might well tell the envoys that they enjoyed him, the Plattner. For the Imperial Majesty also wants to dispatch the embassies so that he has company, and where it would be without him, the Plattner, the envoys would have to walk for a month or more afterwards.

22 But as it happened that Colman Plattner got other company so that he could ride, the envoy's answer stayed behind and was brought up. From this it is to be assumed where Plattner did not come across any company that his promotion helped more and had more reputation, neither princes, princes, nor respectable free and imperial cities themselves. From this it is also to be heard that princes, princes and the respectable cities have to provide themselves in matters of faith to their majesty 2c.

23 And after Alexius Frauentraut, for the above-mentioned reasons, had refused his legation, the other two envoys, Hans Ehinger and Michael von Kaden, asked for their leave. This was granted to them on October 13 by the Imperial Maj. Secretary, M. Alexander Schweiß, with Her Imperial Majesty and the same Secretary. Majesty and the same Secretarii's hands.

24. Which given parting Hans Ehinger and Michael von Kaden took to themselves, read out, thereupon by Michael von Kaden the Speier Appeal insinuated, with request and demand that Alexius Frauentraut, as Notary, give them, the Envoys, from their most gracious, gracious Lords, the Electors, Princes, and also the others, on account of such insinuated appeal, ex (meio), to make and give one or more open instruments and deeds, as much as they would be or would be in need of them.

25th Thereupon the above-mentioned Notary, in the presence of M. Alexander Schweiß, gave them this answer. Alexander Schweiß, gave this answer: because a few days ago he had refused his legation, in which he had been ordered all and variously, for movable causes, the contents of an instrument, he could not, for the sake of his office, avoid making and giving to the Electors, Princes, also respectable free and imperial cities, as principals, or to them, the envoys, one or more open instruments and deeds, as much as they would be in need of them. Requested thereupon the witnesses, as were present at that time.

(26) Upon which the appeal has been filed, also the requisition that followed it, has much to do.
The said M. Alexander said: he had been ordered by Imperial Majesty to thus give the envoys leave of their Imperial Majesty. Majesty, but had no order to accept the appeal; he gave the envoys the farewell by order of Imperial Majesty, which was signed with the same hand, and so the envoys lacked it. Majesty, which would be signed with the same hand, and if the envoys were in want of it, they would appeal to Imperial Majesty himself. Majesty himself, and he wished to report such action to Imperial Majesty. Majesty. And even if he had taken such an appeal into his own hands, he did not want to have it accepted by taking it into his hands, but to report it to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Alexium Frauentraut requests and demands that he make and give him one or more open instruments and documents, as many as he would need. To which the Notary now reported gave him this answer: as much as he would be obliged to do.

27 The two envoys, on the other hand, did not doubt their Majesty's decision at all. But because he, M. Alexander, had given it to them by Imperial Majesty, they, the envoys, acted according to their instructions 2c. Majesty, they, the envoys, acted according to their instruction 2c., and thus did not want to take the appeal again, and laid it down on the table; which Appeal Acta, German and Latin, M. Alexander, together with a copy of their authority (which they also laid down), from that time on (as the envoys are reported), carried to court and reported to Imperial Majesty. Majesty.

28th day of the same 13th, Oct.., about the hour of 3 past noon, the same M. Alexander came and brought with him a notary and some witnesses, and said that he appeared before the same notary, and because on the same day he had protested before Alexius Frauentraut, as notary, that he did not want to accept or have accepted the protestation, he repeated the same again, and his request was that if Alexius Frauentraut wanted to make an instrument about such a protestation, he would not let it go out, so he inscribed all the acts, namely Imperial Majesty's farewell, and what he, Alexander, had given for his person as an answer to it. Majesty's farewell, and what he, Alexander, would have given for his person for answer to it. Requested the same Notary that he wanted to make and give him one or more open instruments and certificates about all this. This now applies to himself as a person. For one.

29 Secondly, if the Imperial Majesty had ordered him to say to the envoys. Majesty would have ordered him to tell the envoys: because they had such an appeal insinuated and handed over to her Majesty, that her Imperial Majesty had by no means provided for them. Majesty had by no means provided for them. And accordingly she ordered her Imperial Majesty through him,

M. Alexander, into the hostel, with the appendix that in case of loss of body and goods they should not leave the hostel, not write behind them, nor send some servants from themselves. Everything until further notice to Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty's Imperial Majesty's decision.

(30) When Michael von Kaden was in the city at the time when M. Alexander Hansen Ehingern and Alexium Frauentraut were arrested in the inn, and learned of such arrest through a servant, he quickly attributed the same to his lords of Nuremberg, and subsequently went to his companions in the inn, and also heard of such arrest. However, due to the arrest, no notary nor testes [witnesses] were requisitioned by Alexander.

On the 14th day of October Hans Ehinger and Michael von Kaden have thereupon in the inn before Alexio Frauentraut, as notary, from their most gracious and favorable lords, the princes, princes, also honorable free and imperial cities, taken leave of Imperial Majesty and appealed to him for a farewell. Majesty farewell and eautslam provoked and appealed.

32 Thus the envoys have lain in such arrest as the obedient, namely from the 13th to the 25th day of October, and have nevertheless in the meantime given instruction in German and French to Imperial Majesty. Majesty in the meantime, and asked for interrogation.

On the 25th day of October, when Imperial Majesty was about to leave for Placentia, M. Alexander Sweat came to the officers. Alexander Sweat came to the officers, and informed them that the von Nassau, together with the secretary Lobis, had two or three times dealt with the imperial majesty on account of their trade or business, but that her majesty had taken it into consideration. However, the matter was finally brought to the point that Ulrich Ehinger's embassies, for the sake of his faithful service, now enjoy that her Majesty counts them exempt from this arrest and detention; but that they promised (as they must do) to follow the Court as far as Bononia. For her Majesty has complaint and displeasure about their action, and also about the booklet that has been handed over. But they, the envoys, may, on their way, or at Parma, settle the matter themselves and leave the inn. He tells the envoys all this by order of Nassau; but they should not overrun him, M. Alexander, too much.

34 Accordingly, the deputies of Imperial Majesty have gone to Parma. Majesty went as far as Parma and asked and asked daily for a single count of their household.

35. on Oct. 30, Imperial Majesty decreed the. Majesty the

The following notice was given to the envoy by Monsieur de Gran Vela in Latin, in the presence of Alexander, with the approximate content: Imperial Majesty would have been very displeased with their action on account of the appeal. Majesty would have been greatly displeased with their action on account of the appeal; but as to that, their Imperial Majesty, as a gracious and gracious man, would have been pleased with it. Majesty, as a gracious and kind emperor, wanted to have the envoys released from arrest and allowed to return to their masters.

36. however, kaiserl. Majesty. Order, Will and Opinion that Alexius Frauentraut does not make an instrument about the happened Insinuation of the Appeal, he would have handed it over to M. Alexander Schweißen before, to have a look at it according to necessity. To which Alexius replied: if the Imperial Majesty wanted it, he must have it. Majesty wanted, he would have to do it.

37 On such parting Hans Ehinger and Alexius Frauentraut departed from the Court; but Michael von Kaden, on Gran Vel's report of a booklet which he had handed over to Imperial Majesty, had to continue to follow the Court. Majesty, had to continue to follow the court.

38 Thus the von Nassau and M. Alexius Schweiß gave the above-mentioned Electors, Princes, and honorable free and imperial cities an answer to their letters of credence; as is to be heard here.

39 And because Ulrich Ehinger did not appeal to Imperial Majesty the King. Majesty's. Court, the envoys have kept his letter of credence with them, which they also hand over herewith, along with the other documents that have remained to them.

(40) Whatever instruments, namely Hans Ehinger's and Michael von Kaden's Provocation aä euutslam, are to be erected upon opened parting, Notarius Frauentraut, at her Electoral Grace, also submits to erect. The notary public, Frauentraut, at her Electoral Grace's request and that of the others, too, and at the behest of both of the aforementioned, agrees to erect them.

(41) The same Notary also requests that the instrument on the appeal's insinuation, insofar as it is not contrary to the last dispensation given him by Monsieur de Granvelle of Imperial Majesty, be set up. Majesty (as stated above), in which he asks for the advice of their princely and princely graces and favour, so that he may do what is just and inviolable to his honour.

From all this, the envoys want to give their Electoral and Princely Graces, as well as respectable free and imperial cities, so much to understand and to know. They want to give their electoral and princely graces, as well as respectable free and imperial cities, as much to understand and to know as their electoral and princely graces and in favor of the holy Christian faith can afford. and for the sake of the holy Christian faith to Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and also of the same rulers, in order that they may remember and act in accordance with their noticeable need.

43) The envoys shall inform their most gracious, gracious and favorable lords, the electors, princes, honorable free and imperial cities summarily of all this, and shall act accordingly.

44. do hereby also command their electoral, princely, and other graces. Graces, also to the others, herewith in all submissiveness, as their most gracious, gracious and favorable lords.

Of the above-mentioned princes, princes, also honorable free and imperial cities envoys,

Hans Ehinger, Michael von Kaden and Alexius Frauentraut 2c.

D. Luther's concern for himself and his colleagues, whether the dissenters in the Article of the Lord's Supper could be taken into the religious alliance. (End of May 1529.)

The original of this prayer, which was most likely made for the convention meeting at Rodach on June 7, is in the archives at Weimar, 8. toi. 40. n. 2, and is found from it in Müller's Historie der Augsburgischen Confession, lib. II, eap. 16, s 6, p. 230, but with the ending omitted. Incomplete also in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 25, and in Walch. Complete in De Wette, vol. III, p.465 and in the Erlanger, vol.54, p.79.

Because this alliance is to have the name, and be done in the opinion, that the doctrine of the gospel is thereby preserved and protected among us, it is

This is impossible and futile at first, because such an alliance must undoubtedly be based on the conscience or faith of those who have joined together, so that they may believe in one accord. Now such faith is unconscious and uncertain in others, and certainly to be feared in very few. If the emperor were to attack, there would be very few who would stand, and the others would all fall away; then we would first and too slowly learn how the cities are not powerful enough of themselves, and the alliance would be destroyed with great shame and damage. We have enough examples of this in Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, Erfurt, Augsburg, 1) Schwäbisch Halle 2c.

1) Here De Wette and according to him the Erlangen edition still has "Nuremberg", which is not found in Müller. The

before wanted to eat up the gospel because of love, but now suddenly and easily fell down. So it is to be feared that Ulm, Strasbourg 2c., will also go, because there are still many in it who are for the gospel, that one or two men who are now silent and suffering will come forward, and turn the whole city, for: Nou ost oiunium üäos, saith Paul [2 Thess. 3:2.]

On the other hand, it is dangerous because of the landgrave, because he is a restless man. If, as he did that time, he should attempt something, storm the monasteries and convents, without our will, we would have to follow and do, or have done, what he did. Likewise also the cities, Basel and Strasbourg, which the monasteries (which are not in their power) have closed and taken by their own force?) We would have to defend all this with our help. Because now the landgrave would like to bring us into such danger, we do against God, where we go into such danger, as it is written: "Thou shalt not tempt God" [Matth.4, 7.], and again: "He who loves danger will perish over it" [Sir.3,27.].

In the third place, it is suspicious and vexatious; for who can think that so many people do not seek therein drueüium oarnis, that is, more consolation and defiance in human help than in God; yea, very few would be so pure in faith, but if any were so pure, they would not charge their idol with such a covenant; for that would be dreadful. And even if two or three were pure, they would have given cause to the others, and would have set up such an idol for them, as Gideon says in Judges. 8, 3) 27. and Micha Richt. 17,5.

Fourth, it is unchristian for heresy against the sacrament; for we cannot have it in the covenant, we must help strengthen and defend such heresy, and if

Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. VII, p. III, remarks that "Nuremberg is probably to be deleted." - Augsburg, Schwäbisch-Hall and Nordhausen had signed the imperial treaty at Speier (No. 818); in Mühlhausen the Catholic party was still dominant, in Erfurt there was discord.

2) In Basel the council had seized the St. Peter's monastery on February 15, 1529, and in Strasbourg the council and aldermen abolished the Catholic service on February 20, 1529, even on the imperial monastery, the high monastery (the cathedral), over which they had no power.

3) At De Wette and in the Erlanger: Jud. 9.

If they were to be defended, they should become worse than they were before. For if they do not amend this matter, there is no hope that they will be just and firm in the other matters. Notice the example of Joshua 7, where, because of one Achan, all the holy people suffered misfortune until this sin was punished.

Whether any man would pretend: The cities are one with us in all things but one, and there is no great need of the one for the sake of the others.

Answer: There is too much in the one, as said above of Achan; for therefore all the rest also become unclean, as. Jacobus saith, Ollsnäens in uno, kaetns 68t omnium reus sJac. 2, 10.]. He is no less an unchristian who denies one article, than Arius or the one. Wherefore we may not escape judgment, kueiens 6t oonsentiens pari poenu pleetuntur, Rom. 1:32. and as the prophet saith to king Jehoshaphat 2 Chron. 19:2: Impio pru6t>68 uuxilium, 6t Ü8, gui ockerunt Dominuin amioitiu)uuZ6ri8 6to. Also, they complain too much about the things themselves, so that without any need they completely remove all ceremonies from the sacrament and make a bad collation out of it, which we cannot justify.

But if it be said again, This covenant is not for doctrine, but is against outward violence, which is done contrary to law, because they plead for knowledge.

Answer: It will not hold, for it is known that the adversary will not attack us for any cause but for doctrine. Therefore it cannot be believed that we make such a covenant against unjust authority. And the fact that they offer themselves in knowledge is of no help to us, for we know and hold that they are wrong, and may not put this into doubt or knowledge with them, for which reason we cannot in good conscience deal with them; we must also grant and confirm such their offer of knowledge, and so at once fall with them from our certain knowledge to their doubt or uncertain delusion. That would be more than half, if not denying our faith). The-

1) The following is missing from the above issues. !

half is our concern that one should let it remain with the articles that are placed on such action.

[2]) The emperor must be written to.

First of all, it would be good if our part, with the exclusion of the Zwinglian, were to write for itself alone.

Secondly, that the good deeds of the prince against the church and the common being be made great, well deleted 2c.

1) That he had Christ and his faith taught in the purest way, as it has not been taught anywhere, and not for a thousand years, in so many churches and parishes. And so many abuses and abominable things have been stopped, of which they themselves must confess that they have been exceedingly evil and harmful to the church and to the common people, as the fair of the masses, the abuse of indulgences, the violence with the ban, and the like, which was also intolerable with them; such things the nobility themselves brought up at Worms and insisted that they be stopped.

2) That he resisted the rioters, as he resisted the iconoclasts and the church rioters.

3) That the honor of the authorities and majesty has been gloriously displayed, praised, and restored, more than has been done for many centuries.

4) Against the rebels, like Münzer, we would have done and suffered the utmost to preserve majesty and public peace.

5) No one held down the Sacramentirans but us, the Papists would have been overrun.

6) We have put down the Anabaptists in like manner,

7) Moreover, 3) the evil seeds of exceedingly wicked doctrines of men, which are scattered in various places, of the Holy Trinity, of faith in Christ 2c. (as those of Erasmus, Egranus and the like).

2) The following is in the original Latin and translated by us into German.

3) *Per ea* in our submission seems to us to be read from kraetsrea. We have assumed the latter.

865 Directory of those who were present at the Convention at Rodach.

From Müller's History, eup. 16, s 8, p. 235.

1. Hans von Minkwitz, Knight, on account of Chursachsen and Duke Ernst of Lüneburg.

2. Caspar von Seckendorf, Marshal, on account of Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg.

3rd Sigmund von Bopneburg, Amtmann zu Schmalkalden; 4th Johann Nordeck, KammerSecretarius, on account of Landgrave Philippsen zu Hessen.

5. matches pastor, ammeister, because of the city of Strasbourg.

6th Christoph Kreß and 7th Christ. Tetzel, mayor; 8. Georg Hüpler, town clerk, because of the city of Nuremberg.

9th Bernhard Besserer, mayor; 10th Daniel Schleicher; 11th Conrad Aytinger, town clerk, on account of the town of Ulm.

866 Consöderationsnotel, of some Protestant estates to Rodach erected (the 7. June) 1529.

From Müller's History 1. e. p. 236.

By the Grace of God, we John, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire 2c, George, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse 2c, and we Mayors and Councillors of the Holy Roman Empire Cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, confess and declare by this letter that for the following moving Christian and good causes. Imperial cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg and Ulm, confess and declare with this letter that for the following movable Christian and good reasons, but first of all for the praise and honour due to God the Almighty, for the promotion and acceptance of his holy word and gospel, and so that we may remain with the Holy Empire, as obedient members of the same, and so that we may remain in the holy kingdom as obedient members thereof, and also that our subjects, who are commanded by God to govern and preside over us in a Christian manner, may be handled in a manner that is honorable, Christian and just, and also conducive to the salvation of their souls, and may be prevented from unjust unlawful rape and damage, have unanimously agreed, joined and committed themselves to this with one another. And in the name of the Almighty do so knowingly, by virtue of this letter, for ourselves, all our heirs and successors, as hereafter follows: Initially, our minds, wills, and opinions are in no way in the way, and this confidential and friendly understanding of ours

that we are not drawn by the same against the Roman Imperial Majesty as our most gracious rightful Lord and Superior. Majesty, as our most gracious rightful lord and sovereign, decreed to us by God, for which we also recognize their Imperial Majesty without means, against the Holy Roman Empire, its members or relatives, or their Imperial Majesty. Majesty, without any means, against the Holy Roman Empire, its members or relatives, or its Imperial Majesty. Majesty, the order of the Empire, or the unification of the union in the land of Swabia, to which we are partly related, to act in certain ways, to wage war against anyone for ourselves, to wage war against anyone, to overreach anyone, to violate the law, to break the common peace, or to arouse indignation or repugnance in the Holy Empire. Majesty. Rather, we want to use them to help us in the most faithful way to maintain the dignity, honor and majesty of the Holy Roman Empire, its welfare and prosperity, as well as public peace, justice and unity everywhere, and to prevent as much as possible the dangerous uprisings, outrages and repulsions that we have to worry about in the Empire, and to use only the means of defense and salvation that are permitted to every human being by human, natural and imperial rights, without any means. We are also to protect ours, to whom we are ordained as superiors and protectors by God, from unjust complaints and violent actions by those who might subject themselves to act against us and ours against God's command, the common peace of the land of the Empire, common law and all equity; and just as we, as Christian princes, sovereigns, cities, and governors, know ourselves to be guilty of such without means, by virtue of our commanded office, and are therefore obligated to account to God Almighty, as the Lord, Creator, and Sustainer of us all.

(2) And above all, the Roman Imperial Majesty, as our Lord Emperor and Superior, shall finally and without means be exempted from this friendly understanding and agreement. Majesty, as our Lord, Emperor and Superior, shall be excluded from this friendly understanding and agreement of ours, finally and without means, so that such our understanding shall in no way be drawn, placed or interpreted on Her Imperial Majesty's person, nor shall it be understood at all in certain articles on Her Majesty. In the same way, we also take from the common estates of the empire, as much as they are not included in this our understanding; as far as each one for himself, or next to other estates, with and in the same help, does not commit against us and ours some violent, dishonourable action, help, war exercise and insurrection, still for the sake of reported things.

(3) And although we Princes and Reigning Princes, as aforesaid, are in hereditary fraternity and hereditary union with others, the contents of the prescription and Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, be-lieu. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, Be-

The order and unification of the Union of Swabia, in which we aforementioned estates are for the most part included, can therefore, among others, have an article with the harmless content: that the covenant relatives may well enter into unification with princes, princely and other estates in the realm, also accept covenant and understanding with them, but that they freely exclude the unification of the same Union of Swabia 2c. Because of this, some might think that we, the estates, should exclude such hereditary brotherhood, hereditary alliance, and also alliance relatives, the others of our mutual union: This union of ours is not a common or such an agreement, which in all cases that may occur, or therefore hereditary brotherhoods, hereditary brotherhoods of the princes and princes, included therein, also the covenant relatives of Swabia may recognize, The only thing that is required is a confidential, friendly understanding of whether our one of the divine word, the holy gospel and our faith and what is dependent on it, and what is pending on the same, and therefore in a common case, where the relatives on both sides have not joined themselves to each other at all, in which they also do not have the power to make some discovery, relief, decision or help, and therefore may not be judges, would be attacked, overdrawn, feuded, violated or burdened against fairness, whether one should provide himself to the other in such a case, and what salvation, protection and defence he should rely on from them; So that, for such reasons, against all of them, as has been reported, there is no need at all to make any exceptions in this matter; Moreover, that our minds are not in any way, either altogether or in particular, as we also hereby expressly reserve, that we do not wish, by these our understandings, to draw ourselves out of the agreements indicated, but intend, to the same hereditary brotherhoods, hereditary unions, and the order of the covenant, as much as each of these concerns, all of their contents and in all articles, Therefore the same agreements have been made and established, and therein they are to be recognized as just, to be lived and complied with most faithfully, no less than if this understanding of ours, which, as has been reported, is based solely on a defense of the united case and things, and not on a move or physical helpful agreement, were not at all before our eyes. If also the same hereditary unions, hereditary unions
and order of the Covenant in all things, wherefore the same is established and therein admitted to be known to the same kinsmen, hereby freely excepted, and have not drawn our understanding thereon, in the undoubted confidence that every Christian mind, which is inclined to God's honor, common peace, and human respectability, will from this friendly understanding of ours, which we also bear no hesitation to reveal to Imperial Majesty, all Imperial Estates, and all men, so much that he will find nothing else than a Christian mind, faithful to God, obedient to our Lordship, and obedient to our Lordship. Majesty, all Imperial Estates, and all men, that he has no other reason to judge than a Christian mind, faithful to God, obedient to our authorities, and a responsible protection, pacification, and handling of our faithful subjects and common peace.

(4) We, the aforementioned princes, princes and cities, together with all and each of our subjects, relatives and dependents, together and in particular, shall mean, hold and support each other with good, right, true loyalty, for the sake of the matter in question, faithfully and safely. To this end, we, and all of us, shall not do or practise anything violent or unkind towards or against each other, but each of us shall be content with ordinary and equitable rights towards the other and his relatives, and shall not complain about them or allow his own to do so, nor shall any of us allow the other his secret or public enemies, Neither shall any of us knowingly keep, foster, subvert, or induce the other to keep, foster, subvert, or induce his secret or public enemies, plagiarists, and injurers in his sovereignties, authorities, and territories, or permit his officials and others to do so to his own, but each shall let the other and his dependents remain within the common peace and rights of the realm. And if any of our enemies, injurers, and such like public defenders enter our towns, territories, and courts, we shall, at the request of the injured party or on our own behalf, act against them by official authority, as the Holy Roman Empire's peace and common law and practice allow, and as each of us would like to have the other do in the same case. And after the recent Imperial Diet at Speier, the other imperial estates that were present at that time, in several articles, but especially in matters concerning the Holy Gospel, our faith and religion, our friendly and submissive requests, reminders, proposals and requests have been made in many ways and so difficult for us.

that we have publicly protested against this article, do not want to heal it, and have also appealed against it, as is proper. Likewise, that certain princes and estates of ours, in appearance of their spiritual jurisdiction, as they call it, of which they believe we have deprived them unreasonably and by force, have complained and have undertaken to defend us, or may henceforth complain and defend themselves, not to visit and examine the pastors and preachers in our authorities on account of their doctrine, conduct and character, not to change the unfit, infirm pastors and church servants, and not to make some improvement in that which is divine, Christian and honorable, and also in part necessary and beneficial to our subjects, to which every authority is obligated; From this, then, it is to be feared that the Word of God and our opponents might subject themselves to forcefully penetrate us and ours from the Word of God by all kinds of means, practices and ways, and to coerce us to re-establish the old un-Christian abuses, or to prevent by force in the future that which is in accordance with the Christian faith and the Word and command of God, for which reason they might also openly hostile us and ours, violently attack us or damage us in other ways. Whether anyone, whatever his status or nature, would like to or would subject himself in time to this our understanding, to attack our one or ours because of the holy divine word and gospel, also because of the same doctrine and attitude, or because of the above-mentioned ambivalent Speierian imperial treaty, as far as it affects our faith and religion, as well as the changed and abolished ceremonies and church customs, also on account of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and visitation reported beforehand, and what is pending on all of them straightforwardly and without means, and against our made appeal, so against the next Speierian decree of this ninth and twentieth year to the imperial majesty and the future council, whether the counterpart would bring and object to the imperial order or mandate to the cover, by too lenient a report, since we nevertheless request to inform imperial majesty again of the truth on our behalf. Majesty again to report the truth on our appeal; to overdraw, rape, secretly or publicly to feud, to damage and to complain, or that the imperial regiment and chamber court, or someone else, who would be, on the accusation and indictment of our repugnants, or for himself, from office and authority, should be

We do not want to act against us, either in particular or in whole, in the matters and articles now reported, one or more, with the eight or other burdensome findings and proceedings, also the subsequent physical execution and implementation of the same, which may cause public damage to us and ours, and which may cause us undue hardship: For all this, and nothing more, nor for any other case or matter which may otherwise occur against us and ours, we shall be obliged to save each other, to help each other faithfully, all and especially, according to the form and measure mentioned. However, in matters outside the above-mentioned cases, concerning the word of God and faith, as expressly stated, each of us shall and may use ordinary law or other measures, ways and means, as may be convenient to him in each case, to his own need and advantage, in which we shall not be obligated to render any assistance to one another.

(5) With our assistance, however, which we are obliged to render one another, as reported, it shall be held thus: If, at the time of this our understanding, one of the above-mentioned estates should be in danger and distress of unreasonable rape, violation, burden, or damage, either to ourselves or to ours, on account of our property and faith, so that the same should have certain information, notice, or suspicion of the same, or that we and ours have been attacked, overrun, warred against, feuded against or damaged, or that our or their land, people, castle, towns, villages or fortifications have been taken away by force, because of the aforementioned things: Then the same estate, being thus troubled, violated, invaded, or damaged, shall describe and require us, the others, to a place situated, which he shall have power to name, with a statement of his distress and concern; and then we, the princes above mentioned, send three of our wise councillors, and we, those of the cities, also three of our councillor friends or others of ours, who are related to us with duties, services or offices, and no more, to the named place and at the appointed time, according to the description, without any delay, delay and hindrance. The same six persons, who have been sent and discharged by us, as reported, shall also be discharged of their duty, so that they are related to us, in the matter reported, for which they have been sent, and for as long as it lasts, and shall herewith be obliged and bound to be equal and common to us of all parts, and to one as well as to the other among us the most faithful, best and most honorable, his

He shall advise and help us according to his understanding, and in our affairs, for which he is needed by us as his lordship, he shall act faithfully, diligently, and uprightly, and also not undertake, speak, act, and give advice in any other form for the settlement, rescue, and help of any grievance that may be before his eyes, except whether it concerns our, as his lordship, or his own affairs and concerns. If, however, any of us should wish to send more than the number of persons and councillors mentioned, and that is to say, one to two more, he shall have the power to do so; but that it shall always remain with the six votes, and that they shall not be increased, we shall therefore, according to the opportunity of the time, runs, and more persons whom we would take to us, compare ourselves with another. And when these six councillors come together, and the aforesaid case and the plight of the afflicted estate is brought before them: Then they shall diligently consider, consider, and deliberate upon the same matters in the most expedient manner and without delay, in what manner and by what proper means such complaints and objections are to be prevented, averted, or brought to an amelioration and way that will be agreeable to the aggrieved party, by proposing necessary legislation, sending our embassies or writings, attending and accepting amicable days, or in any other manner. If, however, one or more of the advised ways and means are not provided or accepted by the opposing party, or if the distress and damage should occur in such a hurried and unmistakable manner that no other than a public violent damage, assault or damage can be provided for, or if the distress and violence were present in the work, so that in such a case the help and salvation could not be obtained in any way: Then the said six of our dispatched councillors and envoys shall have the power to recognize and decide, at the time of the aforesaid their duties, according to the occasion of any complaints arising and incumbent upon them, also of the part of the country and fortune which is damaged, how and in what manner, also with what number, assistance, ordnance and armament on horseback or on foot, assistance is to be rendered to the damaged or damaged estate, be it for rescue, defence, garrisoning of towns, castles or other fortifications, for an addition or a patrol, as may be most conveniently effected, but that the number of the aforesaid aid, which has been determined and is in accordance with the same, shall not in each case exceed the sum of the aid on horseback and on foot, which we have united with each other as follows, or that it shall be possible, by the advice of the councillors, to obtain the same.

knowledge be increased. And what is at any time discussed, recognized, decided and complied with by the same our sent councils in the matter of our all incumbent emergencies and complaints, half of the above-mentioned cases and matters, or by the more part of the same, it shall remain so, and it shall be followed by us in all parts without refusal, and by no means be hindered or withdrawn by anyone from us or from ours. If, however, the attack and violence of our enemies should turn into a full-scale war or otherwise prove so burdensome that this assistance we have agreed to provide will not be sufficient, either in whole or in part, to avert this formidable obstruction, even if our appointed councillors and envoys, depending on the nature of the war, should deem it necessary to provide more assistance: They shall not have the power to recognize or moderate a greater or greater number of people on horseback and on foot by their own judgment, outside of the aid hereafter stipulated, but shall then send us, as their masters, their concerns and advice, with the necessary reasons for their movement, together with the designation of another convenient day and place, and we will then send our prudent councillors and embassies together on the named day and time at a convenient place, with necessary and perfect authority, to discuss and debate such important matters and the need at hand with their circumstances as diligently as possible, whether and how the aforementioned agreed assistance is to be increased, and also in what way the trade is to be carried out in the most useful and bearable way, and the least burdensome end is to be sought therein. And if one of the states, reported, to which the assistance, as mentioned above, is recognized, becomes necessary, the state in question shall have and decree such assistance for itself in its lands and territories. The same burdened part shall also maintain and use the reported ordnance without our, the other estates', cost and disadvantage for necessity.

6. And so that we may all and especially prevent ourselves and ours from such probable harassment, assault, violence and damage, keep the peace, and withstand the adverse authorities, in matters as mentioned above, the sooner and do necessary rescue and resistance: So we have voluntarily united and agreed to the following help and armament, thus: that we, the towns, declare to the said our most gracious and gracious lords, the Electors and

Princes, where their Electoral and Imperial Grace or theirs should be attacked, raped, damaged or encumbered as reported and assistance would be necessary, want to send three thousand fit, mustered footmen, with their armour and armour, as is due to rural use and necessity, at our, the cities', expense and maintenance. If, however, we, the towns, should encounter such a violation, encroachment, damage or burden: then we, the Elector and Princes, shall and will send to the city complained of fifteen hundred fit, mustered, armed horses, also at our, the Princes', expense and maintenance, to use the same aid on horseback and on foot, as long as necessity requires it after consideration of the councils sent together, for the counter-defence; but all this on the prior knowledge and moderation of the above-mentioned councils ordered by all of us. And we, the other estates, shall nevertheless send our due number on horseback or on foot, and the burdened part shall be equipped with its number in the same way, so that there will be no loss of such united help, and how it is to be provided each time. And if it will be necessary and the invasion will be in sight, the burdened estate shall occupy its spots for necessity, and be prepared with all its might to resist such invasion all the more handsomely, and to cover itself with emergency supplies. If, however, it should happen that, due to necessity or hindrance, the recognized aid on horseback and on foot cannot be brought to the state in need of it, and to which it has been recognized by the councillors, by any means: Then the money for such aid, as has been recognized and appropriate, and at the time of the recognized aid of the cavalry and footmen, also for their remuneration, shall be sent and delivered by us, the others, to whom the aid is due to be sent, without delay and hindrance, to pay others with it as necessary. The highest diligence shall be used in all cases to do and render the moderate aid with people, and not with money, where it is always possible to exist. And whichever part of us will send some aid on horseback and on foot to the other and weighed down, it shall dispatch its captains and men-at-arms with the same stately and serious command, nor shall the men-at-arms take any other form than such that they may act to the benefit of the overdrawn, violated or weighed-down part, promote their piety, and prevent harm to themselves.

also let them be used to the same burdened state's need and concern faithfully and without objection; also to be obedient and obedient to their sub-chiefs, likewise to the supreme captain who is assigned to them from time to time, also to the appointed our war councillors, whom we shall assign each time as hereinafter provided, and in no way to resist due honest duty, which would be held against them by the same supreme appointed captain, or the appointed war councillors, but to perform it obediently, and to want to live according to it. And if we, the Elector and Prince, are aided by the other estates: we all, or he to whom aid is thus given by the others, shall have a chief captain over all the people of war; If, however, assistance is sent to us, the cities, or to one of our most gracious and merciful lords, the princes, we, the cities, or all those to whom assistance is sent, shall have the power to appoint and decree a chief captain of the people of war; to this same captain all the people of war shall then be obedient and swear as hereinbefore safely reported. The said captain shall not, however, at any time undertake for himself any march, raid, assault, battle, pillaging, or any other proper action, but shall do such things as the necessity and occasion of the things and the exercise of war may at any time require, with the knowledge, order, and command of six of our councillors reported beforehand, and also of the other councillors of war whom we shall assign to the same, as follows, and shall live obediently to the same order and command. But so that in times of need we may act all the more fruitfully and stately: We, the princes, shall and will assign and appoint to the aforementioned six appointed councillors another two, and we, the cities, also two war councillors who are knowledgeable and experienced in war; with the knowledge and will of the councillors the supreme captain, as first mentioned, shall and may act in the field and otherwise, even if not otherwise, to whom all the people of war shall also be obedient and subject, and, as is proper, shall do homage and duty. The same six and their assigned councillors of war shall also have the power, where some field or other action will occur out of our distressed emergency and counter-defence, on which this agreement is also based, that they shall consult, act and consider the best for the sake of the muster, fire chief, booty and recovery, as it shall also be held with that which would be conquered each time; and what is thus consulted by them for the sake of such matters, is considered fair and decided, it shall remain so,

and that at last it shall be lived and obeyed. Likewise, it shall be in their power, with the knowledge, consent, and allowance of the party that has been overdrawn or damaged, at any time to make an amicable settlement of the pending war action; however, they shall not accept or decide on a final report, unless it has first reached all of us together and in particular, and has been approved by all of us. If some sum of money would be necessary for the daily exercise of war, the said six and their assigned councillors of war shall have the power to recognize, moderate, and reduce it, so that there may be no lack of it. The same sum shall then be laid out and distributed from us to both parts in the most equal manner, and according to the measure of each of our shells, and in such no part or estate shall be preferred before the other, and no part shall appear to be in default with the payment of such moderate money. And if the councils, as stated above, decide to give aid for a campaign, occupation and preservation of our cities, castles or fortifications, or for an addition or a patrol, it shall be in the power of the party to whom the aid is given, to be recognized and authorized to accept it in whole or in part. In particular, however, we have united and agreed with one another, both jointly and specially, that none of us shall undertake any campaign, war or siege for ourselves, on account of the above-mentioned agreed and expressed matters, or do anything from which a war exercise may be presumed to take place; But if any of the above-mentioned matters should become troublesome or necessary to one of us, he shall let it be communicated to us, the others, in the manner described above, and then, with the help of our councillors and their advice and moderation, he shall act as necessity requires. Our Elector, Prince and City, who are related to this alliance, shall also be obliged and bound in all ways what the several part of the appointed six Councils shall consider convenient and most useful in the above-mentioned matters and shall decide to live up to it without any refusal, and not to undertake or approach anything about it, even if he would be willing to do such for himself and on his own adventure, without our, the others', help: unless someone should be obliged to attack and damage one or more of us or ours, without warning and unawares, on account of the cases and things mentioned above; against whom or the same ours would have a pressing emergency or counteraction.

We are at liberty to defend ourselves, or to take appropriate action where we see fit; and then, after that, the goods shall nevertheless be brought to us, and therein, as is proper and has been stipulated above, shall be acted upon and the necessities considered. At the time of such acts of war, all our castles, towns and villages shall be open to those who have been violated and damaged, so that they may help themselves to the necessities of life against the violators and violators. To this end we shall and will also diligently order and be diligent that those who are sent to us for help shall be given supplies and other necessities for their money at the same reasonable price. Above all, however, we, the Elector, Princes, and cities, are to have our diligent inspection, attention, and experience at all times, whether it be against us in general or in particular, or against ours, in a hurry, or in any other difficult or dangerous matter; And what we thus learn each time, that each of us, to whom such things would come by notice, shall make known to the others, so that each of us may act accordingly, the more nobly and with better care and providence. And if thereupon it shall be necessary to name day and place, to send together and to consult, how such aforesaid complaints and coincidences, by means of divine grace, shall occur, or what else necessity shall require to be done, that shall be done and executed in the same manner and to the extent as aforesaid. And if afterwards any of the princes, counts, cities, or other estates should wish to enter into this confidential understanding and agreement of ours, they shall not be taken into it, nor shall any final promise be made to them, except with the knowledge and advice of all of us. And if then all of us, or the greater part of us, should decide to accept one or more estates into this alliance, it shall first be considered, consulted, and decided with and by us, or our six appointed councils and embassies, with what measure, assistance, or votes the estate or estates shall be accepted into it; so that in assistance and votes a right equality may be kept among us. And this understanding or agreement of ours shall be effective on the date, namely the ... day of the month ... of this present 1529th year, and for five years next succeeding, that is, until ... . Day of the said month, to be counted

would... The Lord's will is to be kept and carried out by all of us, especially in the most faithful way, and to be lived without any confusion or hindrance.

7. And if it should happen that, after the conclusion of this understanding and union of ours, someone, whoever he may be, should approach and ask one or more of us for matters concerning the word of God, our Christian faith, and the above-mentioned expressed cases and matters, pending on the same, which have gone and left during the time of our union: therein, according to the measure and content of this our union and prescription, we shall nevertheless advise and assist him, or them, to the end of the same matters, in like manner as if this union were still subsisting.

And all this for constant true testimony and witness, so we have 2c.

Hans von Minckwitz, Knight. Caspar von Seckendorf. Sigmundt of Boyneburg. Matthes Pfarrer, as envoy from Strasbourg.

Christoph Kreß.

Bernhard Besserer.

3. about the convention at Schlei; and the correspondence between Electoral Saxony and Hesse, as well as about the other conventions held at Schwabach, Schmalkalden, and Nuremberg.

867. letter of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse to the Elector of Saxony, in which he shows himself impatient that the Elector wants to express himself to the Confederation for the sake of the article of the Lord's Supper. July 18, 1529.

From Müller l. c. S. 256.

Our friendly service, and what we are able to do dear and good, always before, highborn prince, friendly dear uncle, brother-in-law and godfather ! We have taken the leave, so of your love, Margrave George of Brandenburg, our friendly dear uncle and brother, and our counsellors, next Thursday after Ulrici [July 8] at Salfeld 1) with, from

1) Saatfeld, in the Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen, is five German miles south of Weimar.

received from our councillors, all the contents read out. And we do not want to leave it undisclosed to your dear friends that our councillors had no order from us to consent to this; but after the others had decided on it, they had to consent to it as well. For we have so instructed our councillors on all and every point and article, on account of which there might have been speech or consideration (as we have provided that your beloved has also done), that also by them everything necessary might finally have been negotiated, and our own personal meeting and this taking into consideration would have been without necessity. As we again therefore consider our personal meeting quite unnecessary; For the reason that our meeting might be considered necessary, and especially those of Strasbourg, Ulm, and others, who might be suspected of the discord of the sacrament, we are completely resolved, since there is not so much in the article that is so highly excellent, than that our faith and salvation would finally be interested in it, and in addition, Strasbourg is not at all in disagreement with us about the article, but also confesses Christ in the Last Supper just as we do, that for this reason and for other reasons that follow, we do not disassociate ourselves from Strasbourg. In case, however, they were in dispute with us in certain matters, it is not necessary (according to Scripture) to cast down or despise the erring person, and especially those who may receive instruction and teaching, in whom it is to be presumed that they will be corrected, since those from whom they receive such teaching and instruction are obliged to come to their doctrine for friendly consultation and instruction. Therefore we are confident, where your love continues, that Doctor Martin Luther, and the others (as we have written E. L. have come together, and your beloved desire them to compare themselves with each other in a Christian brotherly manner, regardless of their own honor or glory, to the good benefit of all Christians and to avoid annoyance, they will, with the gracious grant of the Almighty, amicably report their opinions and reasons to each other, and therefore compare themselves, and those who adhere to them as their leaders in the Word of God will also be united for this reason. If we were to separate Strasbourg, we would also have to worry that the other cities would not come to an understanding with us. In addition, Ulm is as committed to these matters as Strasbourg, and will therefore by no means separate itself from Strasbourg.

nor perhaps those of Nuremberg would then join us in the understanding; and whether we already had those of Nuremberg without Strasbourg and Ulm would be of little help to us. It is also necessary that we do not allow ourselves to be separated from one another in such an unethical manner, even if our scholars are divided for the sake of easy or otherwise disputatious matters, in which our faith and salvation do not depend. For if this were so, it would give birth to new disputes every year; for from day to day and year to year much unnecessary and disputatious division in the Scriptures occurs now and then between the scholars. And in addition our scholars agree on the main articles concerning faith and our salvation. Now if on these matters we should be divided from one another, if our scholars should be divided: How often would your love and we have had to part company, and especially for the reasons that Luther and his followers must confess that they have done wrong by attacking our uncle and cousin, Duke George of Saxony, with such invective; just as Eisleben, in his book called The Sayings, which he recently let go out, has harshly attacked the good Duke Ulrich of Würtenberg, who was driven out, with some invective and untruth. And if it had already been so, as he writes, he (as a Protestant) should have kept silent and covered up his neighbor's disgrace, as they teach us, and not have raised it so publicly before the whole world as has already happened. Whether all this your love, as the highly intelligent, can easily judge that in this case we have no cause to differ from each other. Therefore, for the above-mentioned reasons, and after the Strasbourg city has sat with us as one of the three cities, we have finally decided that no cause for separation or segregation should be proposed or sought. As for the other articles, however, namely the exclusion of Imperial Majesty, our Allies, and the separation of the towns, we have decided that no cause for separation or secession will be sought. Majesty, our most gracious lord, the others, in which we are all ready in agreement and understanding; item, that this agreement is based on the gospel alone, and what is attached to it, the Swabian union and other of our alliance relatives are excluded from this understanding, but provided that they do not complain for the sake of the gospel; item, the assistance that we are to render one another, whether equal or unequal, too little or too much 2c., the chief captain, the sending together of the six councils, and other things that are needful to be put in the note: all this is thus done, that it may be based upon perfect instruction and

We are therefore confident that our instructions can be carried out by our councillors, and that our personal agreement is not necessary; as we have also given our councillors a sufficient report and order in our instructions for this reason, so that they can finally act and conclude on our behalf. Therefore we are sure that if your beloved and our dear grandfather and brother, Margrave George, give their councillors such a report and order, and our councillors on all sides come together in this way, they will compare notes and save us the trouble. We have also appointed the time for our meeting, namely on Bartholomew's Day [24. August, for the sake of our marital, faithful, heavy obligations, several other of our lords and friends have said that we can by no means appear on such a day; it would be not a little shameful, nor do we know what it would be regarded as by the cities, since at your dear request we have first of all approached the cities, on your dear and our account, that they might want to come to an understanding with us: If it has now come to such a point that it has come to days and actions that now causes should be made for special arrangements, or perhaps, as they might consider it, for evasion and refusal of that which we before desired and sought from them. Your beloved may also consider that it would be almost burdensome and displeasing to us, as we have done the action with the cities, that we would not so easily engage in some more action hereafter either, for the sake of your beloved. For this reason we consider it good and advisable and do not want to agree otherwise than that the day at Schwabach is not announced to the cities, but that its continuation is left to them, kindly requesting that your beloved not take note of this report of ours in any other way than in a friendly good opinion, and to consider the matter; and since, for the above-mentioned reasons, our personal assistance is unnecessary, we will leave it at the discretion of our advisors, will not seek a separation, and will allow the day at Schwabach to proceed as we see fit, so that your love will also be pleased. This we deserve for your love. Date Cassel, Sunday after Margaret [18 July] Anno 1529.

Philip by the Grace of God Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen 2c.

Philip L. of Hesse.

868. the Elector John's answer to the Landgrave Philip, in which he insists that an oral conference must take place before the Schwabach Convention. July 26, 1529.

In Müller I. c. Cap. 18 immediately after the previous letter.

Our friendly services, and what we are able to do dear and good, always before. Highborn Prince, friendly dear uncle, brother-in-law and godfather ! Now on Sunday, St. James' Day [July 25], we have received from your beloved a document dated Cassel, Sunday after Margaretha, concerning the union and understanding with several imperial cities, and the parting which our uncle, Margrave George of Brandenburg, your beloved, and our councillors, next to Salfeld, have taken with each other for this reason.

And as your beloved indicate first of all that their councillors, who were next to Salfeld, had no other order than that all and every point on which, for the sake of the aforementioned understanding, speech and concerns might have arisen, might finally have been negotiated, and that our own personal meeting and the taking of evidence had been without necessity: So we do not want to leave your dear ones undisclosed that our council, namely Hans von Minkwitz, knight, has brought us a recorded parting of the said action at Salfeld, in which they expressed that they found that in the matter in question, without the personal meeting of all three of us, their submissive consideration, nothing could be done fruitfully or properly, for reasons that each of them would have to report to his lord; Therefore, they had agreed that we should meet in person on St. Bartholomew's Day in the near future, and that as much as possible of our minds should be united. And after, by virtue of the farewell at Rodach, a day for further action to Schwabach has been appointed, also on St. Bartholomew's Day, where then our grandfather, Margrave George, and your beloved would like their agreement; which both your beloved should ascribe to us between then and St. Jacob's Day, then it shall be written to Nuremberg, and the day at Schwabach shall be extended until Galli [Oct. 16]. Since the extension of the Schwabach day in question, and that we ourselves should personally meet beforehand, has now been considered necessary and good by our counsels on all sides, for reasons of their deliberation, which your beloved has no doubt, due to the above-mentioned farewell, no less than we have been reported by ours, we would not have considered it necessary and good. that your love would have so attracted the same extension on our part. But nevertheless we know your kind opinion, and not to rely on their avoidance, that we ourselves consider it quite good, useful and necessary, from the same of the councils' movements, as well as the following causes, that our personal meeting, before and before further action is taken with the cities, is not omitted, as we are also in our part completely inclined to it, and do not want to let anything happen to us. And so our grandfather, Margrave George, has written to us, where the day might be more convenient than towards Naumburg, and especially towards Schleiz, that he would then, by divine help, appear in his own person; whereupon we have written to his love again, that the indicated place should not be displeasing to us. Although your beloved, we, and the cities, have had talks with each other next to Speier about the above-mentioned union and understanding, also about articles on which the same should stand safely, and have let talk of the day and place for further action: nevertheless, also next to Rodach, all kinds of things have been brought for and into the notel, which has been set up there, and further the negotiations have arisen, as we meant. And although we note from your love's letter that these articles and matters have no complaint at all with your love, we nevertheless hope that our opportunity and what we, and indeed all of us, want to do in it, will also be kindly considered by your love; which, however, will not be indicated or acted upon in writings according to necessity. Should our grandfather, the Margrave, your beloved and we not be completely unanimous in our decision on this and the above Rodachian matter before the day and the gathering of the councillors to Schwabach, but our councillors and the people there stand and act in a special way: May your beloved consider how fruitful, useful, or beneficial such action would be; and that it would be altogether less objectionable to us if our councils on all sides were to take unanimous action, than if they were to be scattered and go against the cities in threes. Although we also want to hope comfortingly to God Almighty that he will grant his grace, so that we may compare ourselves on all sides of the understanding, also in all other respects Christianly. However, if there should be a lack of this, as we do not want to provide for ourselves, then our mind, will or opinion is not at all to be taken away from us by our grandfather, the Margrave, and your love, as our friends.

because we are already in hereditary and other friendly contracts with each other, but to show ourselves friendly to your love in all respects, and graciously and favorably to the cities. Likewise, we provide ourselves to your love again in desperation. In addition, we do not know by the grace of God that our grandfather, Margrave Georgen, your beloved and our beloved have ever met in matters concerning the faith; we also hope and pray to God that he will more graciously keep them and us in Christian unity of faith, and for the sake of the sacraments he has instituted, for his praise and glory. And although we have never accepted to represent Doctor Martin Luther and Eisleben, or other things of which your beloved further reports, as we also place them at their own responsibility, without doubt they will know how to inform, instruct, and answer them; moreover, we cannot respect what your beloved causes to attract such things and the like of Doctor Luther and Eisleben against us in their letter: nevertheless, they are things that touch history and not doctrine. For your beloved know how we both were condemned against our cousins, and your beloved sisters-in-law, and how we ourselves were partly condemned, and we are all sinners and human beings; but in no way do we hope that your beloved will consider both of them, and especially Luther's doctrine, as wrong; as we have not noted the same from your beloved until now. After the aforementioned our personal meeting by the councillors at Salfeld, the content of their recorded departure, was considered to be a stately, also more fruitful promotion of the Rodachian trade, for which, for the above-mentioned and such other reasons, we cannot consider or consider it otherwise: so once again to your love is our quite friendly request, which is to the things to good and our all-side Nothdurft after with our Oheimen, the Markgrafen, and us on appointed time and Malstatt against Schleiz, personally and friendly conversed, to come together, and to sign the writ, which the aforementioned councillors placed next to Salfeld to the councillors of Nuremberg, and which we send to your beloved besides our part, their part, and not to complain about sending it to our uncle, the margrave; as we are in your love's friendly confidence that she will not refuse the same out of foreknowledge. For where your beloved, for the sake of these important matters, is to meet with us personally at the time and place indicated

If we were to refuse and refuse to come together, we would have to make the same known to our uncle, the Margrave, and on our part let the matter remain so. And so that we may know your love's mind on it, we ask your love's immediate answer. This we do not want to do to your love's friendly opinion, which we are kindly inclined and willing to serve. Date Torgau, Monday after Jacobi [26 July] Anno Domini 1529.

Johann.

869 Landgrave Philip's replica to the Elector, August 1, 1529.

This letter together with the following ones up to No. 872 is found in Müller's History, Cap. 18, p. 261 ff.

Our friendly services, and what we are able of love and good, before. Highborn Prince, kind, dear grandfather, brother-in-law and godfather! We have received your love's answer to our next letter, to the farewell recently taken by our councillors at Rodach, to our own personal meeting next Bartholomew and to the announcement of the day at Schwabach, the understanding in which your love, our kindly dear uncle and brother, Margrave George of Brandenburg, and we, together with some of the towns we want to leave, are concerned, and we have read all the contents at length. And we do not want to be too polite to your love for a requested answer to this, that not less, as we have indicated to your love in our previous writing, we had dispatched our councillors to Rodach on such a day with sufficient instruction and perfect authority, also for all things for which speech or action could have occurred, so that such a parting or joint consideration could have been without any necessity at all, and ours could finally have acted and concluded in it, that we refer to the same our instruction, which is still present. And we cannot report on this or any other matter for which they have not had sufficient and perfect instruction and command, neither from the parting nor from our councils, who, after having discussed such parting with us and been present at the action, should have helped to discuss such causes at our own meeting, and should have known of them: why, for the aforementioned reasons, we have left it at our discretion for this reason, and by no means know how to grant that the appointed day should be set aside.

Schwabach be announced to the cities, but that we let it continue its straight course and let our councils visit it. For it is no less burdensome to us than it is disgraceful, as reported before, that we, who before sought and intended to seek such things from the cities, now want to reject this and seek a back way. But if your love persists in its opinion, for the sake of our meeting, so that in this as in other things we may comply with your love as much as possible and not suffer anything to be done to us: Although this is most burdensome for us, if your love and Margrave George want to meet in person at Schleiz one day seven or eight before the day at Schwabach, and attend the day at Schwabach as it stands, we will send our councillors there to your two loves with perfect authority and all necessary report, so that they may act and decide for the best in everything that is useful to decide and that we ourselves could do and act in person; For it is not only insecurity and inconvenience for us to come to this in person, because we do not want to pay much attention to this, it is difficult, but also because of other marital matters, which are as much and more important to us and our lands and people, because of which we have summoned other lords and friends to us at this time, it is impossible. To this end, your love and Margrave George can act with our councilors, who will have such a perfect command, without our own presence, and immediately both eight days before and on St. Bartholomew's Day (for which reason it is not necessary to extend the day to Schwabach). And we do not doubt that your love will consider this, please it, and allow the day of Schwabach to proceed, and also provide it with its representatives. For this is what your love will propose: namely, that our councillors, if we do not first meet in person and the deal is decided unanimously among us, go to the day in three groups and each act for himself; so that, however useful and fruitful or helpful it would be, we could consider 2c., prevented, and on the appointed day may be acted upon fruitfully, unanimously and without reference. Accordingly, for your love's sake, we will not provide for anything else, except that the visitation of the day at Schleiz, as we have indicated, will please her, and that the cities will not be charged with the appointed day at Schwabach. If, however, such a day should ever be extended, and should have to be extended, may your dear ones have the proclamation of the

The same (which we herewith send to your love again) for themselves, also to Margrave Georgen, and report therein that both your loves therefore have authority from us. Thus our seal, which would perhaps prolong the matter, is without necessity, and the notice can come to the cities all the sooner. And then, if your beloved will give us further notice, we will send our councillors with complete authority, as stated above, on St. Bartholomew's Day to your beloved and Margrave George to Schleiz. As your dear ones also report that they do not know of the graces of God that your dear ones, Margrave Georgen and our scholars have ever met before in matters of faith, we have not stated this in our letter, and if your dear ones have reported this, our writing has not been properly read to them. For we have set it thus: if we should be divided, if our scholars should be divided 2c., that is future, and not past. As then your love confesseth in their own writing, that we are all men: so it may also easily come to pass, as we have truly experienced b^her in other many things with history, and may well yet come to pass in cases 1) before which also we with faithful diligence will diligently beseech the Almighty; and we hope to God Almighty, through His divine grace and mercy, that those who are divided over the sacrament will soon meet in Marburg, as they have attributed to us from all parts, and that they will amicably settle the dispute. In addition, we hold, as your love suggests, D. Martin Luther's doctrine, concerning salvation, in no other way than Christian, honorable and righteous, in which and the holy Gospel, God willing, we want to remain steadfast. But as for the other subsidiary books, which have been written and issued from time to time, we leave that to himself, and let the work bear witness to its master. But what are similar, and which Eisleben has let go out several times, called the German proverbs, that is and should be nothing. We are also opposed to this, and we rightly condemn it as a Christian offense, and with us every pious Christian who is tired of cutting off, persecuting, and afflicting his neighbor's honor. For he, Eisleben, has publicly acted unjustly in this and against brotherly love; as your love can see from the confession of his own handwriting, of which we have told your

1) "beschehen" put by us instead of: "bestehen".

Love herewith send copies, will hear. So your love has recently heard from us what our mind, will and opinion is in all of this; kindly asking that your love may understand such things from us kindly and in the best way. This we kindly ask for your love with will. Dat. Liechtenau, Sunday Vincula Petri [1 Aug.] Anno 1529. Philipps L. z. Hessen.

870 The Elector's answer to this of August 9, 1529.

This writing follows the previous one at Müller 1. e.

Our friendly services, and what we are able of love and good, always before. Highborn Prince, friendly dear uncle, brother-in-law and godfather ! We have read all contents of E. L.'s letter to our next given answer, concerning our councillors' farewell recently taken at Rodach, also our personal meeting on St. Bartholomew's Day and the announcement of the day at Schwabach, which your love's letter holds on the date at Lichtenau on Sunday, St. Peter's Day, and was handed over to us here yesterday by a messenger delivered by our sheriff at Eisenach. And there is no doubt that your love has been told by her counsellors, whom she recently had there in Rodach, for what reasons it was considered necessary and good that your love, such as our grandfather and brother, Margrave George of Brandenburg, and we, should meet in our own person before the day in Schwabach. However, we note that your love is once again inconvenienced for reasons indicated by E. L. in her letter. in her letter, it will again not be convenient to attend the same day in Schleiz in person, but otherwise to dispatch her counsellors there with full force: So we have now written the same to his love by a hurried messenger, and besides this have sent the announcement of the day at Schwabach, made in his love's and our name, with notice that your love has sent it to both of us in the power of attorney, and sent it in part to his love; with a friendly request that his love may send the same letter, if his love also has it sent, to those of Nuremberg without delay, so that they and those sent to the other cities may not travel in vain. That we have also indicated in our next reply how we do not know by the grace of God that our grandfather and brother, the Margrave, your love and our scholars, in matters touching the faith, have ever been in contact with each other until now, has come to pass from this,

that we have heard the words which follow next after those which your love repeat in the present letter, at that time from the past, as namely these: How often then would your love and we have had to do with each other 2c. But our opinion is not at all to interpret such or other of your love's letters differently than your love's mind is, but rather to note your love's indication in that, also what your love reports on account of Luther's teaching, which concerns salvation, quite kindly, and also want to hope comfortingly for the Almighty, because those who, because of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Savior JEsu Christ, are divided [come together, as they are attributed by all parts] 1) God would grant His grace that they may compare themselves with one another in Christianity because of this same division. We do not want to let this go unreported to your love, as our friendly dear grandfather, in our friendly opinion, and we are inclined to your love for friendly service. Date Torgau, 9 Aug. Anno Domini 1529.

Johannes, Churfürst.

871: The Landgrave of Hesse's own handwritten letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he urges an answer as to what he has to provide for himself from the Elector. September 14, 1529.

This letter and also the following one are found in Müller's Historie, Cap. 18, p. 261 ff.

Dear grandfather, brother-in-law and godfather! I have now written more than once to E. L. that such credible opinions have come to me that Imperial Maj. Maj., after she has now brought her things to a treaty, wants to bring the Lutherans to the obedience of the papal church, which I, as I would like to see good for E. L. and for all of us, should not behave otherwise. If now is the time to warn, to advise, or to ask, then now is the time: for truly, I receive such credible warnings from princes, lords, cities, counts, and nobles that I now know not to despise it. Therefore my friendly request to E. L. is, let him think about the things, while it can still be done. I have no doubt that if one wants to get a little involved in the matter, then advice and help can be found from many, since one cannot afford to do so; but if one forgets that our enemies have the advantage over us, then we will not be able to help them.

1) Supplemented by us from the previous letter.

then God help us, as they say, it is truly half lost. One may well send an embassy now to Imperial Maj. Maj. and ask for an honest peace or for discord; that would be the next way. For my part, E. L. must not think that I fear so badly; for if I see that no one wants to help, and it will not be otherwise, then I also want to get a hole or a treaty as well as another. But if E. L. and others will seek, do, and consider the time of their children, their subjects, and also the benefit of all of us, and the highest, our salvation and God's word, even if we do not become eternally our own, then my body and my goods shall not be lacking. It is good to find counsel in these matters, if we ourselves do not otherwise *) beat out the people who are eager to help us. Therefore, in summary: I know so much that, God willing, or so many princes, noble and ignoble, must lie and all suspicion must be lacking, your love, I and others who adhere to the Gospel, will be forced away again by force. And if your love wants to know where such warnings come from, send your love a confidant to me, and I will tell him as much as is due me. Now if your love will defend itself against Caesar, if he will force us from it, let your love write it to me; if you will not defend yourselves and suffer, or fall away from it, as I hope to God you will not, let your love write it to me, and what I shall put off to your love, if I be overdrawn. For necessity requireth that one know what he knoweth to put off to another. And please, let your love tell its writers to leave the polite answers, and in your love's name, if your love does not want to write to me itself, let them finally give me the right answer, what your love's mind is in it. For I would gladly serve your love with my body and my goods, as one to whom I heartily wish good things, which God knows best. But if nothing helps, and we all become so despondent that we do not want to defend ourselves, and leave one another and watch one another, then God have mercy, it is nothing but a plague from God on us despondent Germans. And your love will never let itself be persuaded, if I and others go down, that your love will be spared; and whoever tells E. L., he advises E. L. unfaithfully, or does not understand it; and even if E. L. were already in written communication with the King of Bohemia, it will not help. Now what E. L. is inclined to do in the above, and I know myself to be

1) Here we have erased "not" because it is too much.

E. L., let E. L. know that, and what is E. L.'s concern, how to get rid of this burden and burden. And E. L. take my letter in good part, for it is certainly done in good opinion, to E. L. and to all who cling to God's word. I am inclined to serve E. L.. Date Tambach, Tuesday after Nativity of Mary [Sept. 14] 1529. Philip, L. of Hesse.

872 The Elector's answer to the previous letter, September 23, 1529.

See No. 871.

Reverend Prince, kind dear uncle, brother-in-law and godfather! I have received E. L.'s letter, which she has now addressed to me with her own hand, for the sake of her careful plea and warning, and I do not note this and E. L.'s plea and warning in any other way than very kindly. L.'s request and warning in no other way than in a very friendly manner, and I want to earn it for E. L. in a friendly way again, as I can and may do it. And when E. L., in addition to others, asks me to make my mind known to her, whether in such a case, of which E. L. writes, I also want to defend myself or suffer, or fall away from the word, as E. L. did not hope, also what E. L. should provide for me, if she is overdrawn: then E. L. shall, if God wills, not find anything else, if God wills it, shall not decide otherwise than that I, through the bestowal of his grace, shall recover and remain by his word, at the cost of body, honor and goods, or whatever it may be, on this earth. But what E. L. wants to do for me and others who cling to the word, and also wants to agree with God, if Imperial Majesty wants to oppose us to the same. Majesty would allow himself to be moved against us on account of the same things: that, as the most important thing that can happen to E. L., me, and the others at this time, must be considered and discussed. For if ever a matter has come to E. L. or to me that has needed conversation and good faithful counsel, I am sure that it is this one. I hope also that the practices are before, as they always want, so they cannot be spent now before the winter against E. L. or me. However, I understand that our message, which is sent to Imperial Majesty for the sake of the next Speier farewell, will also be returned. Majesty, will also return, and then be heard, what has been the Emperor's answer: according to this, one can proceed, and also consider what is to be indicated to Her Majesty again by another message. And, God willing, we have the whole winter before us, and can move and send our things with all necessity. For E. L. shall not

I am obliged to do in this matter before God, myself, my lands and people, and others, as my neighbors, especially E. L., according to our agreements, or it agrees with God and my conscience that I want to do the same and not be the last one with the help of God; only that this be well considered beforehand and decided beforehand, what E. L., I, and others, can and will be able to do with God in such a case, which concerns the Emperor, so that we do not fall into God's judgment because of the word against the same word, and the punishment comes upon us with scorn and ridicule, and with danger to our souls, since the Almighty will protect E. L. and me from it. And that we would like to talk about it ourselves personally without delay: so I ask most kindly that E. L. should come to Margrave Georgen [Oct. 3] against Schleiz. As I then write to E. L. from my office about this, and other things cannot be prevented, I ask most kindly that E. L. will do it at least for the sake of this matter. So Margrave George, whom the matters concern as well as both of us, is then also at hand, and we can then talk to each other confidentially on E. L.'s report, as much as E. L. wants to report, what has reached E. L.: so E. L. shall then be well informed of my mind by me, since I cannot write to E. L. now, before we talk to each other, nor do I want to write about land. And E. L. shall not be burdened with this answer of mine, as I want to provide myself to E. L.. I will earn this for E. L. in a very friendly way. Date at Lochau, Thursday after Mauritius [Sept. 23] Anno Domini 1529.

873 The instruction agreed between the Elector of Saxony John and the Margrave George of Brandenburg at Schleiz for their envoys to the Schwabach Convention arranged for October 16, 1529.

From Müller's History, cap. 19, p. 281.

1st Instruction, what by the grace of God ours, Johannsen, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., and ours, Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., Councillors, decreed on St. Gall's Day [Oct. 16] at Schwabach, on their riding there, first at Nuremberg with the elders there, and then.

shall act at Schwabach, at and besides all other messages sent, in matters concerning the confidential understanding.

(2) First of all, on the Thursday before St. Gall's [Oct. 14], our councilors are to arrive in Nuremberg at the earliest in the evening, and there advertise to the councilors of the Council of the Elders who have knowledge of the matter, according to the announcement of our gracious offer, as follows: After the reason for the understanding has been established, as well as the necessity: If anyone of the covenanting relatives wants to be attacked, damaged, or overdrawn on account of the divine word, the holy gospel, and faith, and what is pending on the same, that the covenanting relatives should save and help each other, and also in such a way cordially and faithfully put together their body, goods, and all property. So that we do not enter into such a union with anyone who is not of the same true Christian faith as us and other relatives, and who also holds the same baptism and sacrament with us now and in the future: Let it be necessary that the articles on which the unity of our faith and Christianity rests be first confessed to one another, and that the same confession 1) be placed in the prescription of the agreement of articles to articles; and whichever state would not be in agreement with us in one or more articles, with him no understanding shall be entered into. If, in the future, any of us who are related to us in unity should credibly feel and discover that a state has fallen away from one or more of the articles of our faith and Christianity, he should, if he persists in his apostasy and does not again unite with us without delay, then he should no longer be able to share in or receive this understanding, and whatever else is due him from us, the other united states, on that account.

(3) Secondly, for the sake of His Imperial Majesty the Roman Emperor. Majesty's exclusion, we have considered: Since this understanding is to be based solely on rescue and resistance (which is permitted by natural and imperial rights), the highest temporal authority has neither the right nor the justification to deprive someone of this natural protection. Since this understanding is to be based solely on rescue and resistance (which is permitted by natural and imperial rights, so that even the highest temporal authority does not have the right to deprive anyone of the same natural protection, neither by itself without means, nor by its business), the reported exception should be made with such a measure, so that one does not commit more in this than one owes before God and rightly, so that the understanding is not unjustified.

1) This refers to the 17 Schwabach Articles, Document No. 874.

fruitful and in vain, and be found more a comforting salvation and handling than a useless pretence, since most of the danger now wants to lie in the place 1); but otherwise and outside of this we and others of our kinsmen would know how to hold ourselves in all ways to Imperial Majesty's obedience. Majesty to all owed obedience.

4. And since there is no doubt that the mind and opinion of an honorable council at Nuremberg is no different than to enter into understanding only with those who are of a right Christian faith, and also to hold one baptism and sacrament with them, and that in such understanding no one is excluded further than as much as one is justly owed before God: So we would not have wanted to conceal such our concerns and resolutions from them in a gracious and good opinion, confident that they would agree with us and send their message to Schwabach on the appointed day, along with others, to act in the same way with the other states, and to compare us all to a unanimous Christian understanding.

(5) What then our councilors encounter with those of Nuremberg, they know how to act well before and after, according to the instruction mentioned, and also with the other estates at Schwabach.

6th And when the said counsellors come to Schwabach, they shall first of all speak that we confess the ground of this understanding, that is, our holy faith, and also what we hold of the holy sacraments of baptism and of the body and blood of Christ, to one another, and forthwith declare the articles of our confession 2) as the same are delivered unto them beside this instruction; and also say on our account, which of such of our faith and holding of the holy sacraments and other Christian ordinances are not in agreement with us, and remain so, but now or hereafter hold or perform another, that we will not enter into any helpful understanding with one or the other. We also declare on our behalf that those who do not agree with us on such matters of faith and the observance of the holy sacraments and other Christian ordinances, but who now or in the future hold or would hold a different one, that we could not or would not enter into any helpful understanding with them. Our councillors, the councillors of the other estates, and the embassies shall hear and take note of this in their minds and opinions (before they further speak of other articles and the substance of the agreements made). And if there are any among them who are not of the mind to confess our faith with us, and to keep the holy sacraments as we do, with him or them our councils shall hear of this.

1) That is, with the emperor.

2) No. 874.

We do not want any further understanding, but only deal with those who have and confess one faith, one baptism, and one sacrament with us, and who subsequently report our reservations to Imperial Majesty. for the sake of exception.

(7) Thirdly, let our counsellors report to the other estates in agreement with us, as we have considered, since matters now rest on it, where something of the divine word and of our faith should be done against us and them, and the others, our kinsmen, that it might be subdued by the imperial Majesty himself or his decreed commanders with the greatest power, and in about a year's time, which the Almighty graciously wishes to avert. If this understanding should be fruitful, useful, and conducive to the salvation of all our people, lands, and kinsmen, that such understanding be thoroughly and heartily intended and directed, so that it may be comforting and conducive to salvation even in the face of great valiant force. For if some of the members of this union, be they the greatest or the least, should be precipitated and drawn in by such things, because they do not receive powerful support and help from the other members, it is to be feared that it might make the adversaries more hearty and give them all the more incentive to act in the same way against the other; Otherwise, if they saw or knew of a valiant resistance, things would be turned to peace, or to other convenient ways, and one sword would keep the other in the scabbard. Therefore, let it be highly necessary and good that the relatives of this settlement do not consider any temporal opportunity or inconvenience, nor neither body nor goods, but consider and reflect with right earnest and Christian hearts what will be in store for us all in the end, for the sake of all eternal and temporal welfare. Namely, if someone among us, as touched upon above, overreaches, and we should be so divided that one would thereby have to fall away from the holy and only saving Word of God to eternal damnation, or at least lose and forsake, not only that which we, the united kinsmen, have been burdened to turn to for salvation and help, or have had theurge, but also all that we would have and are able to do. We would also hardly have to give an account before God that we would have considered a lesser temporal disadvantage more than preserving our subjects and relatives in the eternal Word with God's grace and help.

008 And for this cause the haste of help, whereof

to Rodach, almost careless, also not sufficient for some constant rescue and handling, and especially half of the following points:

9th First, that the reported haste of help at Rodach is not greater than fifteen hundred on horseback and three thousand on foot, which is a small thing compared with the might and power of our adversaries, and is to be regarded as nothing.

(10) Secondly, it is understood in the Rodachian Charter that any prince, duke, or imperial city that is overrun shall provide itself with the necessary ordnance and ammunition for rescue and assistance. Now, however, if a kinsman were to be overrun who did not have the means to provide and maintain himself with guns and ammunition for the necessities of war, then if he were not helped in this way, the hurried help on horseback and on foot would also be fruitless, since no righteous warriors would go on such a campaign, since they know that the warlord is provided with guns for the necessities of war.

(11) Thirdly, by virtue of the Rodachian Act, where a relative is in need of urgent assistance, that the same, whether it is done in whole or in part, is to be recognized by the appointed councillors. Which, however, would also be troublesome and burdensome. For if it were to remain with the opinion, and a state of this agreement were to be overdrawn, then it could easily happen that the councils, especially if it were to remain with the matters of set opinion, would come together slowly, or would not agree on the matters at all, and thus the urgent assistance would be recognized too late or not at all, or would not be granted, and be of little or no use to him who needs it, though it is to be presumed and feared that if, for the sake of these matters, something mighty is done against someone related to this understanding, it will be done with all haste and with all possible advantage; Therefore all delay, as much as possible, in preventing this part of the union, shall be necessary, useful, and good.

12. Fourthly, although it has not been granted or finally rejected by the embassies of the honorable imperial cities at the meeting in Rodach, we, the Elector of Saxony, as well as the Dukes of Lüneburg, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Count Albrechten and Count Gebhard of Mansfeld, would like to enter into a preliminary understanding with the city of Magdeburg, Count Albrechten and Count Gebharden of Mansfeld, with the city of Magdeburg, would be considered, although our highest consolation of Christian unity is to be placed in God alone, and not in any temporal power, that we should nevertheless use the ways and means, so
the almighty, benevolent God sends to us for our abstention, as His benevolent instrument, should not be despised. And because the power of the adversary is so valiant and great, it can do no harm to strengthen us with those who are also Christians and of our faith, so that all of us may be saved and helped in a more noble and comforting way: Our councillors should therefore continue to urge and act with the other estates, councils and embassies, so that not only the other princes, counts and the city of Magdeburg, but also other potentates and cities in the lands of Saxony, Brunswick, Lüneburg, on the sea and elsewhere out here in the Holy Roman Empire, who are of our faith and hold the holy sacraments, are taken and drawn into this understanding, and so that it is absolutely a unanimous union. Which then may be not a little frightening to the adversaries, and move or urge them the more to keep peace with us on account of the divine word. Thus the princes, counts, and cities of Saxony, Brunswick, Lüneburg, and the sea, 1) which are now thought of, are of such power that they may help us bravely, or, at least, endure so much for us, the other allies, against others who oppose us and God's word, that we may do the more noble and mighty salvation and help to one another.

13. Fifth, necessity requires that the article, which is set at Rodach because of the opening, be further explained and extended; So that it does not apply to a common opening, but also to a situation in which the allies lose a battle, or someone else from among them is so over-hurried that they cannot make a stand, that they then flee to the nearest castles and cities of the other allies, and have an opening with their soldiers, guns, and supplies as long as their opportunity and need requires; But that the state, which has need of such an opening, shall keep and show itself with its men-at-arms in the same manner as the open city's own men-at-arms.

014 Sixthly, in the agreement at Rodach it is stipulated which part of us kinsmen shall be helped to choose a chief captain over all the people of war; therein we consider, if it should happen that a city is helped and that the same has a chief captain over all the people of war.

1) "See" put by us instead of: "See". Meant with it, as follows from Z19, primarily the king of Denmark .

I would like you to know from yours that it would result in the counts, lords, knights and others of the nobility, sent by us electors and princes, complaining of being of lesser status with so many people under such a supreme captain, and perhaps for this reason, even if it does not please their lords, they would want to withdraw, which would lead to a great burden and irreparable harm. Item, if it should ever come to the mighty or persevering help and pressure in time, then this mighty help must without doubt follow the hurrying sleeve. And that the Electors and Princes would march with their own would be even more diminishing to them to have a captain of cities over them. The salvation on which the union is to stand, according to the form and occasion of all things, does not want to burden the city with which it is begun alone, but all the allies in common, therefore the cities, to suffer change for the sake of the captaincy, do not bear any burden; and grant that, for the sake of more prestige, also for the sake of a stately salvation of peace and unity, a prince or prince, or where one would not have one, an earl or lord, shall be the supreme captain of these allies. Just as the union of the Swabian Confederation requires that, despite the fact that most of its members are cities, a prince should be the captain in times of war, and if there is a lack of one, an earl or baron should generally be appointed captain.

(15) The seventh is the agreement at Rodach that the cities are as many as the princes and rulers have; that the votes should also be the same number, namely six, from which all kinds of division, confusion, neglect, harm and damage arise, and at times no majority can be made, or could not have been decided.

(16) Eighthly, the agreement at Rodach states: If the force were so great that the matter wanted to turn into a whole main war, how then, upon the return of the aforementioned councils, another meeting would take place, and the matters should be discussed. Now, however, such another summons would and would bring about a long delay, and would result in the overreaching state becoming despondent, and the urgent aid being defeated, before further or more aid could be agreed upon, or before the same could be brought together; from this, then, this part would be weakened, and the opposing part strengthened. For, as mentioned above, there is no other
than, if anything should be done against us who are of the same faith, it must be done and written beforehand in such a way that our salvation will not suffer a long day.

(17) Therefore let us consider that, for the sake of speedy help and mighty pressure, the deficiencies which have been pointed out are to be corrected in the following ways for the comfort, benefit, and good of all those who are united with us, so that it may indeed be found to be a true salvation, and not a pseudo-covenant or union in vain.

018 And first, that after the words of the present bill, that as long as this agreement endureth, the united kinsmen shall mean one another kindly, faithfully, and of a right heart, this opinion shall be set forth: Which of the Uniting Relatives, for the sake of the articles concerning our holy faith and what is pending concerning it, which we now confess against each other and are to be placed in the Uniting Covenant, would or would be feuded against, attacked, attacked or harmed by anyone, whoever he or they might be, that for the rescue, protection, and defense of the same, the other members of the Union shall faithfully assemble their bodies, goods, and chattels, and shall with all their might draw upon him that is so assaulted, or that is in some danger thereof, without any evasion or rebuttal, as follows. Accordingly, it shall also be expressly stipulated in the charter of agreement what princes, lords, counts, lords, cities, spiritual and secular, will in time accept the holy pure gospel, also hold the many-named articles equal to us, and request that they be taken into this agreement, that they shall at all times, for the greater planting and spreading of the gospel and divine word, be taken into such our union by necessary letters of support and reversal:

(19) First, when, or as often as, the united ones come together, and wish to discuss the matters on which this understanding is based, all the united ones, or their skilful ones, shall be heard, since God often gives to the last that which he hides from the first. But nevertheless, as is set forth hereafter, there shall be no more than seven votes, which shall finally have to decide in the matters in question; also the said votes shall be distributed, as follows: namely, the Royal Duke of Denmark, one; the Elector or Electors, as much as at this time or in the future is related to the agreement, one; likewise all the Princes, two votes; the Counts and Lords, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, one vote, and one vote.

One; and the free imperial and commercial cities, two votes, namely, the Upper Lands, one, and the Saxon or Dutch, the other. And each estate shall compare which persons shall have the votes. In order that order be kept in the votes, and also with the questioning in the indicated assembly of the unification relatives, the Elector of Saxony, as he is also otherwise entitled to the questioning in the Empire, shall have to inquire.

020 And if all the estates of the agreement or of their delegates shall be heard, then the same estates or their delegates, if they be of the seven voices, shall meet together every part with them that are of the voice; and what shall be decided by the seven voices, and considered in the council for the best, it shall be so. But if the seven voices do not agree on a unanimous opinion, the greater part of them shall decide.

21 Secondly: Because two kinds of help, one urgent and one persistent, are considered highly necessary in this action, the urgent help, so that it may be comforting and useful to all allies, shall be ordered to two thousand on horseback and ten thousand on foot, Also, for the preservation of such warriors, two months' pay shall be deposited at a certain time at one or more locations, as may be and should be compared at the present time, without danger, for this purpose, according to the order, as each one and his ancestors have commonly been assigned and posted one against the other in the aid of the empire.

22 Thirdly: But after we George, Margrave of Brandenburg, for ourselves and in place of our young cousin, have reported our concern to our dear grandfather and brother, the Elector of Saxony, and that we are not able to support our parents in the realm; as our grandfather and brother, the Landgrave of Hesse, recently considered the same against ourselves at Speier, and gave us Imperial Majesty the right to demand that we be allowed to go on with our work. Majest. We cannot submit to the old demands, nor can we allow ourselves to be ordered to help in a hurry, other than according to our own safe ability, which we also want to take care of with the other states.

023 But whatsoever, fourthly, of earls, lords, and cities, in this Christian understanding, or would yet come into it by the grace of God, who without means are not attached to the kingdom, with the same shall their help and support be taken. For the sake of exposition compare. If it should come about, as follows, that in a hurry one of the covenanting parties should draw comfort from among us to the other, who is being harassed, in the common consolation of all estates, then one traveler shall be counted for three and a half footmen. And in order that the aforementioned money may be used righteously and for necessity for urgent assistance where the need arises, since God is present, the captain shall, as aforementioned, be a prince, or, if no prince is available, then an earl or lord, who is also skilled in such a matter, who has understanding, and who is not too hasty or polterical; who shall also now be ordered to attack such deposited money with the advice, knowledge and will of the assigned war councils, and to order a certain number of warriors on horseback and on foot as quickly and as best they can, and also to use them more effectively for the rescue and help of the person or persons harassed, as this union is able to do. It should also be discussed and decided now what the appointment and salary of such a supreme captain, who is a prince, should be, so that he can maintain himself and receive necessary support; but if the supreme captain has made the agreement with the subordinate captains, he should have this passed on to the other united relatives, who should be more willing to do so and know how to order their salary. And what all our councils and embassies decide with each other in such and other matters, that shall then be dealt with as conducively as it can be done with the prince who is elected to the captaincy, and his mind shall also be heard therein, and now at Schwabach, in addition to other things, it shall be decreed by whom such action shall be done with the prince elected to the captaincy. For it is comforting to God to hope that nothing will be started before or during the winter and before spring with a mighty deed against us united kinsmen, so that there is convenient time for action and regulation of all necessities. The supreme captain, who has now been appointed, should not be appointed for longer than one year, and the relatives should allow him to stay longer, or then appoint another one.

(24) Fifth, six councillors of war shall be assigned to the captain; namely, three from the princes, counts, and lords, and three from the honorable free, imperial, and commercial cities; with which six assigned councillors of war the captain shall discuss all matters, and what the councillors of war unanimously decide, the captain shall be obliged to comply with. But where the councils of war meet in

If the four councillors are of the same opinion, and the same number disagree, the captain shall diligently consider the matter, give a chance, and with his vote make the majority and conclude it. Otherwise, if four councillors of war are of one mind, the captain shall, as if they were all of one mind, follow the advice of the four councillors. And the captain shall not do anything for himself or herself outside of the councils of war, even if they are of a different opinion.

25. The sixth: And for greater prudence the estates shall, each for himself, have and make good inquiries, even as he knows how to do this most easily and conveniently; And what each estate inquires about (which would be practiced or done to the disadvantage of the united confederates by the adversaries), these same estates shall make known to the captain, and also one estate to the other without delay; as is also to be done by the captain himself for the half of the office, and thus good counsel shall be appointed everywhere within and outside the realm. And if the captain receives such reports, which are dangerous and worrying, and should not be despised, so that the things against us united kinsmen may all or especially turn to rebellion, insurrection, invasion, damage, or such acts of war, then the captain shall require the six councillors of war to come to him from hour one, hold the reports before them, and hear their advice on them. If the captain finds in the council of the councillors of war that the reports are so considerable that a counterattack must be initiated without delay, the captain, together with the councillors of war, shall have the power to attack the deposited money for urgent aid, and to order the troops on horseback and on foot, and to use them for the rescue and good of our allies. The captain shall also be ordered to seek, as much as possible, such cavalry and infantry as are not related to the allies or to him, if he were to be a prince of the union, so that the allies may use their cavalry and infantry for persistent help or, furthermore, use them in a mighty assault and be all the stronger, and also cut off such foreign cavalry and infantry from the enemy. If, however, the captain and the councillors of war find and judge that the sum of cavalrymen and footmen ordered for urgent assistance is too small in view of the emergency, they shall be allowed to leave.

The captain, after the council of the councillors of war, shall have the power to demand a further addition from the confederates in general, or from the nearest seated one, at the expense of all of us, as much as he and the councillors of war deem necessary and good; so that the urgent help against the adversaries may persist until the confederates arise with their further insistence and power. And as the captain, according to the advice of the ordered councillors of war and several votes, requires each one to such urgent help, he shall be obliged to show himself obedient.

26. For the seventh time, the Captain and the Councillors of War shall, in addition to requesting and summoning the men of war for urgent assistance, confine us, the Electors, Princes, Counts, Lords and Councillors, to a special, peacefully situated place, where to deliberate and decide, if and where necessity will require it, to undertake the great and persevering resistance, how such will be done, and each united person to move in with body and goods, also what and how the most fruitful and useful action should be taken with the urgent help. If, however, the captain and the councillors of war find that things will immediately move and be sent to a main war, and that the urgent aid determined, nor a common supplement, would not be enough to resist the advance, then, without a prior meeting or sending and consultation, all allies shall, at the request of the captain and the councillors of war, give notice of and request for the urgent aid. Especially those who have been sitting closest to each other, shall, without delay or common knowledge of the further help, approach each other on horseback and on foot, with artillery and all property, to the land and to the people, and render help; each in such a manner and not otherwise than as if it were up to him without means; as it is in truth, and would not be otherwise. But with the difference that those among the estates who are in a hurry to help one another shall do so, as before, at the expense and damage of the others, so that no part is burdened before the other, and in this case, as in the like, one traveler shall be counted as three and a half on foot. And since the Christian union and constitution does not mean anything else for the counter-defense, but to precede it by the bestowal of divine grace, so that those who are united, and against the word of God, also right and equity [would be overdrawn, protected]: the captain and his assigned warriors are to be protected by the law.

If the captain and the councillors of war have not considered the certain knowledge and experience of the countermeasures and attacks, or other events, in such a way that urgent and persistent help is still needed, then the captain and the councillors of war shall consult with each other as to how the aforementioned and anxious trouble may occur and be averted with the least harm and damage, either by action for peace or by other suitable means. But where peace is not to be obtained, it will be sought by us, if things will suffer it; that then the resistance, as necessity requires, may be made in the name of the Lord, with heart and all faithfulness.

27 Eighthly: If it were to happen that our adversaries would attack us united kinsmen in many places, as they easily and undoubtedly intend to do, they would be of the opinion that each of the allies or the more parts of them should have so much to do with themselves that one could not come to the aid of the other, so that they would soon be divided and the adversaries would have their way, take over our Christian lands in whole or in part, drive out the Word of God, and re-establish the papacy, which the Almighty God graciously wants to happen, and re-establish the papacy, which the almighty God will graciously allow, it will be highly necessary if the attack or invasion were to occur in more than one place against us united kinsmen, that in the captain's and war councils, ordered to the urgent help, diligent and faithful consideration and decision shall stand, at which place they consider the most necessary, fruitful and best, to watch with the urgent help and to do rescue, that it happens. But in order that the pressure and the persistent help, if the necessity requires it, may also take place in this case, the captain together with the councils of war (as far as it can and may suffer such a delay without harm and damage to the united relatives) shall immediately describe to another place the churons and princes, together with all other states of this union, as reported before, and require it, by which it may then be diligently considered and decided at what place or how the assistance shall further be rendered, so that no one may be charged as if he had not kept his part properly with the assistance, but shall know how to show himself and keep himself in all respects, as has been discussed and decided before.

28. to the ninth: But will attacking

Many places in a hurry with such advantage or power that it could not be delayed without danger, harm, and damage to the preceding gathering or sending, and that the cause of the Gospel, as well as the country and its people, could not be saved in any other way, because the confederates would have to gather together in one group with all their might: Then each member of the confederation shall, at the request of the captain who has been notified, be ordered to render urgent assistance, but with the prior consultation and further decision of the councillors of war, to do so, and be obliged and obligated to assemble with all his might, horse and foot, into one group. They must also do so faithfully, without any opposition, and nothing must be considered in this, except that the word, and subsequently the temporal, as land and people, may be preserved and saved, even if it must happen with temporal damage to us and our subjects. Because the minds and intentions of the adversaries are finally focused on two things: one, that they bring to themselves the land and people of all of us who love the word of God; and the other, that they drive us and ours from the word of God, drive out all Christian preachers with us, and replant and establish the papacy with all its ungodly abuses.

Twenty-ninth, the tenth: Since not all cases that may arise in the future according to God's will can be provided for this time, the reason, beginning and resolution of this understanding must finally rest on the fact that above all things God's glory and His holy word are to be considered, and for this reason, each one of us should treat the other, and all of us together, with a right heart and faithfulness in these matters, and should not consider or want to consider anything in this matter other than what we owe to God, and what each of us would like the other to do or have done.

(30) Eleventhly: If it comes to a persistent or great help, and especially if the same should be divided or rescue should be done more than in one place, that the necessity should require and be good, to order from the electors and princes of the union still a supreme captain with six war councils over the persistent help, as is set before, for the sake of the urgent help. These, together with the other captain, must also be those who otherwise hold the seven votes of all the estates over the whole war business and have the power to command all things: however, the captain over the urgent assistance and his assigned gun, with his war councils, should have their own

The only thing is that he must be obedient to the other highest captain over the mighty shell and his assigned councillors, as the seven main voices, in everything that is created and commanded by them for the sake of the common estates. However, the captain of the urgent aid, together with his soldiers, shall also be heard in the council of the supreme captain and his war councillors, where the troops are together; however, only the supreme captain with his councillors, as the seven voices, shall finally decide.

31 Twelfth: The supreme captain of the persevering help, together with his assigned men-of-war, shall be given their usual maintenance, so that they may be able to keep themselves in good condition for their need, understanding that also the captain in this business, as his own business, will be satisfied with a fair amount. But in all other use or profit, no more than, according to the number of his own people, the due part shall follow them, and everything else shall be drawn and used in the common use of all united relatives; in the same way it shall be held with the captain, ordered to the urgent help, also in the same cases.

Thirty-two: The thirteenth: He who has now been appointed captain of the urgent assistance, together with his warriors, shall from that time on provide an emergency regiment of war, and so keep it in his hands until it is needed, so that then there will be no lack of it.

33 Fourteenth: Where and how the ordnance, together with its ammunition, is to be most conveniently obtained and preserved for urgent assistance, shall be a matter of concern to the captains and councils of war, and such shall be previously discussed and decreed in their rules of war; however, equality shall be maintained in such and other matters, so that no rank shall be burdened more than the other, according to its opportunity.

34 To the fifteenth: The united kinsmen, or the captain and the councillors of war, which is now considered the most convenient and best thing to do at the meeting in Schwabach, shall also appoint rottmasters and captains over the routers and footmen, and give them a waiting allowance to promise and hold up for a time as many as two thousand routers and ten thousand footmen, so that they may get them in a hurry. In addition to this, some of them are to be dealt with, so that they do not have anyone appointed for them.

in their order this unification freely; and so against us unification relatives wanted to be acted, that they may withdraw, also warn us of the same.

35. sixteenth: If it should happen that one or more of the united kinsmen should be in need of an opening in one or more of the other's castles, cities, lands, and territories, the opening shall be arranged and given to the united kinsman or kinsmen, whatever his or their status may be, with their warband, possessions, and goods, in one or more of the other's lands, principalities, dominions, and territories, castles, cities, and other towns, as long as this union lasts. Those who seek and use the opening for their own needs shall be held, defended, and handled with kindness and goodwill by those who permit and give the opening, as if it applied to each of them. In turn, those who seek the opening shall also use it at their own cost and expense, and shall also hold themselves in the same place under siege and otherwise, as the opening's sovereignty's own people of war, helping to guard, protect, and protect the place, nothing less than is due to the one or ones who seek and use the opening.

36 To the seventeenth: What has not been changed and improved by this concern of ours, understood in the Notel at Rodach, we allow to be and remain, thus set.

37 And for resolution: Since we and other Christian estates, because of the matters touched upon and the recent unpleasant departure from Speier, have dispatched our embassy to Imperial Majesty, it will be good and necessary to advertise and act there according to the instructions given. Maj. to advertise and act there, according to the instructions given, it will be good and necessary, when the reported embassy returns, and we receive other than a gracious, good answer, that we then meet again without delay at the appropriate place, or send our fully authorized embassy, to discuss further what can be done by a new sending to Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty, to show owed obedience and attain Christian peace. Where then Her Imperial Maj. Maj. should ever insist on disgrace and offence or complaint against us united kinsmen, we are not at liberty to say what her Imperial Maj. would say about this union of ours. Maj. of this our union, or of others, should or may be reported with the best of grace and good grace. May God the Almighty and Lord of Peace send it all for His praise and the salvation of our souls, through Christ, His dear Son, Amen.

874 The seventeen so-called 1) Schwabach Articles, presented and adopted at the second Schwabach Convention, October 16, 1529.

About this writing J. T. Müller says in his historical-theological introduction to "Die symbolischen Bücher der eoanaelisch-lutherischen Kirche", p. LVI: The first part of the Augsburg Confession, 'Articles of Faith and Doctrine', was based on those 15 articles which Luther had written at the religious discussion held with Zwingli in Marburg [Oct. 14] 1529. These were redacted by Luther and the other theologians who were with him, at the request of Elector John of Saxony, so that the original 15 became 17, then presented at Schleiz in Voigtland to the Elector and Margrave George of Brandenburg, who there reported on the alliance to be established with Landgrave Philip of Dessia, and finally presented and accepted at the second Schwabach Convention (Oct. 16, 1529)." Elias Frick found in the Ulm Archives the original of our step, the second Schwabach Articles "not to be confused with the 23 Articles of the first Schwabach Con- venis, June 14, 1528), and had them printed in the German Seckendorf, p. 968. Thereafter our text. Without Luther's amen and will, "probably in May 153") the Coburg printer Hans Bern had these articles printed under the title: "Die bekenntnus Martini Luthers aufs dem jtzigen angestciren Reichstag zu Augspurgk eynlegen, In siebentzeben Artickel verfasset. In the XXX. Jar." At the end: "Printed at Loburgk by Hans Bern." 1 sheet in 4. Against this, the papal theologians present at Augsburg, Wimpina, Mensing, Redörfer, and Rupert El- gersma, wrote a counter-script. Luther responded by printing these articles himself and adding a preface under the title: "Auff das schreien etlicher Papisten, vber die sieben- yehen Artickel. Answer of Martin Luther. Wittemberg. In the M.D.X.X. Jar." No place. 14 sheets in 4. With the printer's mark of Hans Bern of Coburg. - The 17 articles are printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 490; in the Jena < 1566), vol. V, p. 14; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 14; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, 2. 1; in Walch, vol. XVI, 681; in the Erlangen, 1st ed, Vol. 24, p. 322 and 2nd Anst., Vol. 24, p. 338; in Chyträus, Historie der Augsburgischen Confession, 2. 45; in Müller's Historie 2c., p. 442, and in Cyprian's Historie der Augsburgischen Confession, Beilagen, A. 159. - Luther's preface is found in the .Hallischen Theil, p. 345; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 8; in Walch, vol. XVI, 778 (No. 901 in this volume); in the Erlanger, 1st ed. vol. 24, p. 321, and 2nd ed. vol. 24, p. 337, and in Cyprian l. c. , Supp., p. 159.- The papist counter-script is found in the Wittenberger, vol. IX, p. 402; in the Jenaer, vol. V, p. 16b, and in Walch, vol. XVI, 766 (in this volume No. 900.)

1) The variants given are found in the edition organized by Luther himself: "Aus das Schreien etlicher Papisten" 2c. What is enclosed in brackets is only in the original concept. About the relation of the Schwabach and the Torgau articles see No. 899.

Article from the Elector of Saxony, for the sake of faith.

I. That it may be firmly and unanimously held and taught that there is only one true God, Creator of heaven and earth; that in the one true Divine Being there are three distinct Persons, namely, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. That the Son is born of the Father, is from eternity to eternity true natural God with the Father; and that the Holy Spirit is both of the Father and the Son, is also from eternity to eternity true natural God with the Father and the Son, as all this may be clearly and powerfully proven by the [Holy] Scriptures, as John I, 1-3. I, 1-3: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word, all things were made through the same [, and without the same nothing was made that was made] " 2c., and Matthew 28:19: "Go ye, teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"; and similar sayings more especially in the Gospel of John.

*) of the Son**) of the Holy Spirit.

II. That only the Son of God became truly man, born of the pure virgin Mary, perfect in body and soul, and not the Father or the Holy Spirit, as the heretics of the *Patripassians* have taught; nor that the Son alone assumed the body without the soul, as the Pharisees have erred; for He Himself often speaks of His soul in the Gospel, when He says: "My soul is sorrowful unto death" 2c. [But that God the Son became man is clearly stated in John 1:14: "And the Word became flesh"; and Galatians 4:4: "When the time was fulfilled, God found His Son, born of a woman, and given under the Law."

*) received from the H. Spirit, from the rc.

That the same Son of God, true God and man, Jesus Christ, is one inseparable person, suffered for us men, was crucified, died, was buried, rose from the dead on the third day, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of God, Lord over all creatures, and so on. So that it is not to be believed, *) nor taught, that Jesus Christ, as man, or mankind, suffered for us; but therefore, because God and man are here not two Persons, but One inseparable Person, it is to be held and taught that God and man, or the Son of God, did truly suffer for us; as

Paul Rom. 8, 32. says: "God did not spare His only Son, but gave Him for us all." 1 Cor. 2:8: "If they had known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory," and such like sayings more.

*) or can or should teach 2c.

IV. That original sin is a true sin, not only a defect or infirmity, but such a sin as condemns all men that come from Adam, and separates them eternally from God, unless Jesus Christ had represented us, and taken upon himself such sin, with all the sins that follow therefrom, and by his suffering had sufficed for it, and so entirely abolished and destroyed it in himself; as then Psalm 51 and Romans 5 are clearly written of such sin.

*) right trueand not 2c.

V. Now that all men are sinners, subject to sin and death, and also to the devil, it is impossible for a man to work himself out of it by his own strength, or by his good works, so that he may again become righteous and godly, nor can he prepare or send himself to righteousness, but the more he undertakes to work himself out, the worse it becomes with him. But this is the only way to righteousness and salvation from sin and death, if one, without all merit or works, believes in the Son of God, suffered for us 2c. As said, such faith is our righteousness, f)which God will accept and hold as right, pious and holy, having forgiven all sin and given eternal life, that they may be received into grace for His Son's sake, and be children in His kingdom 2c. As all this St. Paul and John 1 "f)abundantly teach in his Gospel, as Rom. 10, 10.: "With the heart believing one is justified" 2c. Rom. 4, 5. "Their faith is counted to them for righteousness"^; John 3, 15. "All that believe on the Son shall not perish, but have everlasting life."

*) out -^) he can 2c.
l) For God will count and hold them righteous, pious and holy, having forgiven all sin and given eternal life to all who have such faith in His Son, that they may be saved for 2c.
14) in their writings abundant 2c.

VI. That such faith is not a human work, nor even possible by our own powers, but is a work and gift of God, which the Holy Spirit, given through Christ, works in us;
and such faith, because it is not a *) mere delusion or conceit of the heart, as the false believers have, but a strong, new, living will, it bears much **)fruit, always does good to God with praising, thanking, f) praying, preaching, and teaching, s-f) giving to the neighbor with love, serving, helping, counseling, giving, *f)and suffering all kinds of evil even unto death.

*) loosefruit t) requests
14) vs '4) and borrow and suffer 2c.

(VII) To obtain such faith, or to give it to us men, God has instituted the ministry of preaching, or the oral word, namely, the gospel, by which he has his faith and his power proclaimed for the benefit of and to the pious, and through it, as a means, he gives faith with his Holy Spirit, as and where he wills; otherwise there is no other means or way, neither way nor footbridge, to obtain faith. For thoughts apart from or before the oral word, however holy and good they may seem, are nevertheless vain lies and error.

*) suchfruit

VIII. In addition to such oral words, God has also instituted outward signs, namely, baptism and the Eucharist, by which, besides the Word, God also inspires and gives faith and His Spirit, and strengthens all who desire Him.

'4 Which are called Sacrament, viz. 2c.

IX. That baptism, the first sign or sacrament, is in two parts, namely, in water and the word of God, or that one baptizes with *) water, and speaks the word of God, and is not merely bad water and**) sprinkling, as the blasphemers now teach, but because the word of God is with it, and it is founded on the word of God, it is a holy, living, powerful thing, and as Paul says Tit. 3, 5. and Eph. 5,26.: "a bath of regeneration and renewing of the H. Spirit" 2c., and that such baptism is also to be administered and communicated to infants. God's words, however, on which it stands, are these: "Go and baptize, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," Matth. 28:19. f^and Marc. 16:16: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," where one must believe.

(*) the water or
l) and of the Son, and of the Saviour.

X. The Eucharistia, or Sacrament of the Altar, is also in two parts, namely, that it is truly present in the bread and wine of the Lord.

true body and blood of Christ, according to the words of Christ: "This is my body, this is my blood"; and not only bread and wine, as now the devotional pretends. These words also promote and bring about faith, and exercise the same in all those who desire such a sacrament, and do not act contrary to it, just as baptism also brings and gives faith when it is desired.

-) in the wine **) the blood

XI. That the secret confession should not be enforced by laws, as little as baptism, sacrament, and gospel should be enforced, but should be free; But that it be known how very consoling and wholesome, useful and good, it is to the afflicted or erroneous conscience, because in it absolution, that is, God's word and judgment, is pronounced, by which the conscience is loosed and satisfied from its affliction; nor is it necessary to tell all sin; but one may denounce those which bite the heart and make it uneasy.

XII. That there be no doubt, there *) shall remain and be on earth a holy Christian church unto the end of the world, as Christ saith Matt. 28:20, "Behold, I am with you unto the end of the world." Such a church is nothing else than the believers in Christ, who believe and teach the above articles and parts, and are therefore persecuted and martyred in the world; for where the gospel is preached, and the sacraments rightly used, there is the holy Christian church; and it is not bound with laws and outward splendor to place and time, to persons and earth.

2) be and remain hold, believe l) about it

XIII That our Lord Jesus Christ shall come at the last day to judge the living and the dead, and to deliver his faithful from all evil, and bring them into everlasting life, and to punish the unbelieving and ungodly, and to damn them with the devils into hell for ever. 2c.

(XIV) But until the Lord come to judgment, and put away all power and dominion, let temporal authority and dominion be held in honour,*) and let them be obedient, as a state ordained of God, to protect the pious, and to control the**) wicked. That such a state a Christian, where he is duly called to it, may well lead or serve in it without harm and peril to his faith and salvation. s^Rom. 13. 1 Petr. 2Z

*) have the f) blessedness of his soul 2c.

XV. From all this it follows that the doctrine which prescribes marriage to priests and clergy, and in general meat and food, together with all kinds of monastic life and vows, because one thereby seeks and thinks of grace and *) blessedness, and does not leave it free, is vainly condemned and the doctrine of the devil, as St. Paul calls it 1 Tim. 4:3, when Christ alone is the only way to grace and l) blessedness.

") Souls Bliss 2c. damn devil doctrine 2c. f) Souls Bliss.

XVI. that before all abominations the mass, hitherto held to be a sacrifice or work, in order that one might acquire grace for another, should be abolished, and f) that instead of such mass a divine order should be kept, that the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ should be administered in both forms, to each in his faith, and for his own need.

well work 2c. has want 2c. f) but

XVII That the ceremonies of the church, which are contrary to the word of God, may also be discontinued, but that others may be free to use them*) or not, according to love, lest one give frivolous annoyance**) without cause, or deceive the common peace without necessity.

") of the same **) annoyance

875 Instruction of the Landgravial Hessian Envoy, Siegmund von Boyneburg, what he should present to the Elector of Saxony, together with appendix. The 29th of October 1529.

From Müller's Historie, Book II, Cap. 21, pp. 312 and 314.

Instruction, what to the Highborn Prince, Mr. Johannsen, Duke of Saxony, of the H.Roman. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürsten 2c., by our, Philipps von GOttes Gnaden, Landgrafen zu Hessen, Grafen zu Katzenelnbogen 2c., because of, our Amtmann zu Schmalkalden, Rath und lieber Getreuer, Siegmund von Boyneburg.

First, to offer our friendly service to his love, and that we are eager to hear of their welfare everywhere. And subsequently indicate to them that our councillors, ordered on the day recently held at Schwabach, have reported to us on their return, the actions now taken there, on which also the abandonment has been and is now based. Which we then noted and recorded everything according to length.

would now have no doubt, such would have been opened to his love by their councilors ordered there. But among other things, they understood in particular what trouble they had and had all of the cities in the list of some questions, so much that from it their unanimous and final mind and opinions could not be taken, that they did not think to let themselves be divided in these actions, means or means. Also that it has been farewell requested to our skilful councillors, if they want to persist in such a pretence of questioning and separation, to compare the same among us, together with our uncle, Margrave Jörgen of Brandenburg, and if it would be on the opinion, then it would be necessary to inform them of this by us, Landgrave Philipsen, before the appointed day, and then to request further action and the appointed day.

(2) And therefore dispatched him to his love to do further kind remembrance and request. Now do not doubt us, his love would know himself out of high understanding to modestly and admonish to our previous manifold writings, what it and all of us would be interested in this doing; how burdensome, shameful and disadvantageous it would be, if it should be destroyed in such a way and go backwards: it would be better that this would have been considered before, would not have been pushed so far, and would not have been let in with the people at all. And we could consider his love, if such a thing were to be made known (as it would hardly remain hidden), what reflection, consolation, comfort, and strengthening it would bring to our opponents, and waste to us all.

(3) Because it is not hidden from his love that, praise God! the highest discord between the most distinguished scholars and preachers of our Christian faith, held at this time in our convocation in Marburg, has come and grown to the point that now D. Martin Luther and his followers understand each other better and agree more closely than before. Martin Luther and his followers, and those who are of the other part, understand each other better and agree more closely than before; for they are one in the main articles, and not yet compared in the one thing alone, namely, that Christ is in the Sacrament; wherein God could in time bestow his grace, and, as we hoped, would bestow it; that even the scholars write of themselves that they want to show Christian love to one another; and in addition it is not yet certain what faith, Luther's or Zwingelin's opinion, in the 1)

1) Jn the old edition: "was Glaubens des Luthers oder Zwingelins Meinung, indem" 2c.

every person of the council and the community of Strasbourg and Ulm, and thus in his love and our lands, is also common 'almost everywhere: so we considered it, if his love because of this in these intended matters and dealings had some displeasure, difficulty and misgivings, such should now be mitigated and fallen with her, and his love to the separation the less cause.

4. Accordingly our friendly request, with good faithful diligence exhorting, his love to keep this trade in mind at all times, the circumstances and succession, and to take into consideration not to let this separation happen for himself; to promote the same with Margrave George for the best; and besides to consider how careful, dishonest, scornful and disadvantageous it would be to let these people out of hand, who would be glad to be with us, after all, according to form and convenient things; For not a little to be driven on, where the cities of the upper countries are dampened with the noticeable brave warrior people, who are in them and their lands and are well evangelical, that such a thing would be to us others, who would gladly stay with the word of God, to inevitable and irretrievable ruin and disaster; we alone, who otherwise would have fifty or sixty thousand men more, would then have to defend ourselves. And are we ever sure what would be in this matter for all of us, and his love of us written here before several times, what much more credible warnings reached us, that imperial majesty is of the final will and intention to punish the princes and estates, so dependent on the Gospel. About this he, Siegmund, has received special orders from us to report to his beloved in confidence that we have received credible and certain information from the Dukes of Lorraine and Guelders, from the Court of Cologne, and from many other sovereigns whom we are not allowed to name to his beloved that Imperial Majesty does not want to punish the princes and estates who are dependent on the Gospel. Majesty does not want anything to be done to their bodies, goods and all property, that she wants to bring it back into the old use, order and statute of the Roman Church, and to punish the Lutherans.

Item 5: His love may well find and notice this without that from the concept of the mandate which Imperial Majesty intended to issue and which Christoph Gross brought with him; which might also have been executed if the Turkish attack had not occurred. Majesty intended to issue, and Christoph Groß brought with him; which might also have been executed, if the Turkish attack had not occurred, and is to be suspected even more daily since then.

(6) Further, let his beloved feel what a severe, unheard-of inquisition Imperial Majesty has made against those who have been in prison. Majesty against the,

so one calls Lutheran, left, and as that has decreed; besides which providently the above-mentioned Christoph Groß will therefore report his love everything further. Herewith we send to his love copyi of a writing from kaiserl. Majesty to us, in which his beloved, if they pay attention to the incorporated words "according to the old laudable usage", may again note what the mind of the Imperial Majesty is. Majesty is. He shall also report his love in particular that those of Nuremberg will not step aside from the cities, nor will they enter into or establish a special agreement without the others, as such is actually understood by their deputies. And so that in the near future they may not be sent again in vain and in an unprofitable manner, we ask that they do not doubt this to his love, but have good hope that they will promote such a thing with Margrave George, so that it may continue for the sake of his love and not be delayed or delayed any longer, and that they may demand a friendly and confident answer from his love. Date Cassel, under our own signed handwriting, and printed secretes, on Friday the ninth and twentieth day of Octobris Anno 1529.

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, . Manuscript.

Appendix to the Hessian Instruction.

He is also to inform the Elector on our behalf that this morning we have received writings from the Nuremberg City Council concerning our affairs, which we and the others have with the Imperial Majesty for the sake of the Gospel. This is shown by the copies we have had sent to him for this purpose, and his love has also come to know of those of Nuremberg without doubt. Therefore his beloved can now not hardly judge, accept and understand what the Imperial Majesty's mind is in this matter. His Majesty's mind in this matter, and that she meant either to reject the Word of God with the evangelical ordinances, to force us away from them, and to subject us again to the old papist abuses; or that we have nothing else to expect from her Majesty but disfavor, conquest, and rape, and that we have to go through it every day. For such an act, done against the person sent, has not only brought scorn, ridicule, and contempt upon us, who have dispatched and sent them, but has also brought certain charges of the Emperor's disfavor and disgrace upon us. Majesty's displeasure, and a testimony of her intended ungracious will. Therefore let his love pursue the matters with serious diligence, what is in it for all of us, our lands and people, and promote it with diligence, also for himself.
all estates, of princes, counts and of cities of the upper countries, none who accept the gospel, separated, and describe ourselves together on named time and aim, to think about the things with council further, and therefore to compare and decide unanimously what should be done here according to the high unavoidable necessity, and that his love wants to give us to understand its mind in this conducive again. Date ut supra.

876 D. Mart. Luther's writing to the Elector of Saxony, concerning the opposition. November 18, 1529.

See Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 552.

877: The parting made at the convention of Schmalkalden the 4th of Dec. 1529.

From Müller's History, Book II, Cap. 22, S. 330.

As the most illustrious, and the most illustrious, highborn princes and lords, Mr. Johann, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; Mr. Ernst and Mr. Franciscus, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, brothers, and Mr. Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse 2c., of their own persons; also of the most illustrious, highborn princes and lords, Mr. Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., Councillors, Georg Vogler, Chancellor, and Wolf Christoph von Wiesenthau; and then of the honourable, free and imperial cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Costnitz, Reutlingen, Heilbronn, Memmingen, Lindau and Kempten, embassies, on Sunday after Catharina [28 Nov.], next to each other, have arrived here at Schmalkalden, from which, of all their electoral and princely graces and favours, embassies have been received. and favorable messages, in matters of protestation and appeal of the recent Speierian imperial treaty, as far as faith is concerned, to the Roman Imperial Majesty. Majesty, to confer with each other and to decide what further action is to be taken before the Reverend Imperial Majesty. Majesty should further act on this matter.

And now the reported message of Imperial Majesty. Majesty have come here on this day, heard them first in their oral and written relation 1), of which also all the above-mentioned Electors, Princes and Estates have taken copies.

1) Document No. 863.

have. But because in the Articles of our Holy Faith, recently brought forward at the Diet of Schwabach, 1) some disagreement has arisen, and the aforementioned Elector and Prince of Saxony 2c., Margrave George of Brandenburg 2c., and the Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, for many brave causes and movements, are not of mind or opinion to enter into such or such an action with anyone who is not in agreement with their Electoral and Princely Grace, and thus of a unanimous faith and sacrament. Their electoral and princely graces have this time given the embassies of the cities, especially to those who before had no knowledge of the articles of our holy faith, and therefore could not have been dispatched on this day, that they bring such articles behind them to their magistrates, and herewith another day is to be appointed, namely on the holy three King's day ^6. Jan. 1530^, in the near future, at Nuremberg, and thus: Which cities of the recorded articles of our holy faith want to be unanimous with the more-mentioned Elector and Princes with God's help and insist that the same send their fully authorized messages to their Electoral and Princely Grace. Grace. They are to send their embassies to Nuremberg on a certain day and have them announced by their authorized envoys; then they are to be sent to Nuremberg by the person sent to the Imperial Majesty or otherwise to Nuremberg. Majesty, or otherwise to mitigate or reject their Imperial Majesty's ungracious refusal. Majesty's ungracious leave and mind, to consult with each other, and to decide as much as possible, as should now be done here. Which cities, however, are not inclined to confess the indicated articles of our holy faith with the prince and princes announced beforehand and to persevere in doing so by means of divine help, do not need to be sent to Nuremberg on the appointed day. And so some of the cities would come to their electoral and princely grace. Grace. If, therefore, some of the cities should not send to their electoral and princely graces to Nuremberg on the appointed day or not, their electoral and princely graces will meet with the Counts and Counts of Nuremberg. with the Counts and others, confess and keep the many articles of our holy faith with their Electoral and Princely Grace at the same time. and princes at the same time, according to the gracious will of God, by their electoral and princely grace. Grace. Councils with each other and decide. Actum at Schmalkalden, Saturday after Andreä [Dec. 4], Anno Domini 1529.

1) Document No. 874.

878. answer of Chursachsen and the Margrave of Brandenburg, which they have given to the cities of Strasbourg and Ulm.

In Müller l. c. S. 333.

The answer of the Elector of Saxony and of the skillful Margrave Jürgen of Brandenburg, on the skillful presentation of the cities of Strasbourg and Ulm, which they did on the next Schwqbachian farewell at Schmalkalden.

His Elector. His Elector's Grace know to remember in what manner at the discretion of His Elector's Grace. Grace. His Elector's Grace and Brother-in-Law, Landgrave Philippsen of Hesse, acted with you, as the authorities who were near Speier on behalf of their lords, next to the envoys of the city of Nuremberg, for the sake of a Christian understanding, and that there a parting and a day was made for further action and discussion towards Rodach on some of the articles in question. Although it is also true that the same articles, so his churfürstl. and Margrave Juergen's counsellors next to Schwabach, have not been thought of so far or in such a way: You know, however, as those with whom the action was taken at Speier, that nevertheless all kinds of misgivings have arisen on account of the discord, whether one is otherwise unanimous in many important articles concerning our holy Christian faith; and that also an opinion has been brought into a list, as to how especially at Strasbourg, on account of the sacrament, the body and blood of Christ is preached and proclaimed, from which it would perhaps be possible to hear, as if there were no troublesome discord in this. For this reason, the matter has been directed to this end, and it has been deemed good that the scholars, for the sake of the conflicting articles, should come together for friendly discussion and dialogue, in the confidence that such articles would then, with the help of the Almighty, be led to a good settlement and agreement, which one can comfortably expect to occur in this area, and especially the Elector of Saxony. And where, according to the will of the Almighty, the same discord would have sufficed for Christian settlement and unanimity in such a way and completely that, with a happy and good conscience, and without violation of the same, as begun at Speier and further acted at Rodach in the indicated hopeful confidence, such understanding could finally have been established and executed with one another: you, the skilled ones, shall doubtlessly

2) "hopeful" put by us instead of: "polite". Compare No. 883, § 1 towards the end.

hold that the Elector of Saxony, and no doubt his Elector's Grace, is entitled to the same. Gn. and brother, Margrave Jörgen, to their special will; their electoral and princely graces should not have been lacking. and princely graces should not have been lacking in their part, besides their electoral and princely graces. Gn. and brother-in-law, the Landgrave of Hesse, to finally execute the more touched understanding. But after the Elector of Saxony together with H. F. Gn. Oheims, des Markgrafen, Geschickten, have heard from your presentation that the articles, which were handed over at Schwabach, have been considered by your lords as disputable and extensive, and therefore, as it is understood, they have been reluctant to agree to the same and that the union should be executed thereon: so his churfürstl. His Grace and the Margrave's deputies must also leave it at that, and put the understanding to rest, so that it is not acted against conscience. If the Elector of Saxony had also provided for himself, since the Council of Nuremberg, next to his Elector's Grace, had asked for a delay in the day's proceedings, he would not have been able to do so. for the postponement of the day that should have been here at Schmalkalden by virtue of the Schwabachian agreement on the 15th day of December, for the sake of these matters concerning the understanding, wrote that your lords of Strasbourg and Ulm would later have had, for the sake of articles reported beforehand, as if they were extensive and disputatious, his electors wanted to report to those of Nuremberg. His Electors have indicated to those of Nuremberg to leave them, those of Strasbourg and Ulm, as far as this matter of understanding was concerned, unattended with descriptions. And the Elector of Saxony, together with the Margrave's deputies, have heard with no small misgivings that your lords may not agree with the same articles, considering what, to speak humanly, would have been accomplished among themselves, as well as among others, for the reception of the Gospel's consolation and good: also what joy, if it should become known, the adversaries would feel at such a resulting disagreement. However, since it will not be otherwise, his Electoral Grace and the Brandenburg authorities will have to be punished. and the Brandenburg authorities must, on account of their lords, order the matters to the almighty God, who (although the aforementioned consolation wants to arise) is nevertheless more powerful than all adverse force. And are of the final mind and will, also want to ask and call upon the Almighty, that he may grant their electoral and princely grace in this matter. and princely grace, their body and goods and all temporal welfare in God's will and put them aside, also that they may not be subjected to any violence.
to be sure of what is his divine will and good pleasure. Will and good pleasure. Since their electoral and princely graces may also show and prove gracious and good will to the cities of Strasbourg and Ulm, and to your persons as their envoys, as much as may happen in conscience, their electoral and princely graces will be inclined.

879 Directory of those persons who appeared at the Nuremberg Convention.

This and the following documents up to No. 886, which belong to the history of the Nuremberg Convention, are found in Müller l. c. Book II, Cap. 23-26, p. 336 ff.

1) Christian Bayer, Doctor and Chancellor, on account of Elector Johannsen of Saxony, and at the same time having power from

1. Mr. Ernsten, and 2. Mr. Franciscen, Dukes of Brunswick,
3. Mr. Wolfgangen, Prince of Anhalt,
4th Lord Gebharden, and 5th Lord Albrechten, brothers, counts and lords of Mansfeld.

2) Georg Vogler, chancellor; Wolf Christoph von Wissenthau, keeper at Schwabach; Christoph von Seckendorf, court marshal, because of Margrave Georgen at Brandenburg.

3) Siegmund von Boyneburg, Amtmann zu Schmalkalden, because of Landgrave Philippsens zu Hessen.

4) Clemens Vollkamer, Christoph Koler, Jörg Höppel, the younger, because of the city of Nuremberg, as also by force of the cities: 1. Winsheim, 2. Reutlingen, and 3. Weißenburg am Nordgau.

880 The city of Reutlingen sends a letter to the city of Nuremberg in which it confesses the seventeen Schwabach Articles and indicates that it cannot attend the convention in Nuremberg. January 3, 1530.

See No. 879.

To the careful, honourable and wise, mayors and councillors of the city of Nuremberg, our favourable dear lords and friends.

Careful, honourable and wise, favourable dear gentlemen and friends! To E. F. W. be our most willing and diligent services at all times.

We have recently presented the farewell, together with several articles concerning the holy faith, at Schmalkalden, have heard all the contents, and give E. F. W. to understand in good opinion that we, by virtue of the aforementioned farewell, were willing to attend the appointed day on Iriuni ksAuni in the future: however, in the meantime such business has occurred with us that we do not know how to deliver some message at this time for noticeable reasons. However, we want to firmly persevere and remain with the above-mentioned articles, all of which have been and are still being taught, preached, and defended as Christian with holy scripture by our preachers, because we are not rejected from them with holy scripture and a good conscience. For this reason, what has been protested by the protesting estates now on account of the aforementioned articles, as well as whether something has been said against Imperial Majesty for interrogation and dismissal. Majesty for the interrogation and averting of her Majesty's disgrace. We herewith, now as then, and then as now, have also granted our part, to refund and to submit our number and fee in all ways, E. F. W., the most diligently requesting, that they be granted the right of appeal. most diligently requesting that they will thus faithfully excuse us from our remaining outside against princes, lords and other states, our most gracious, gracious and favorable lords, and that whatever is acted upon and decided at such a day will be sent to us at our expense 1); also that what is owed to us in the costs of those sent in Hispania to Imperial Majesty, who are in the process of sending the same to us, will be paid to us at our own expense. Majesty, so that the surplus money is drawn down, report to us, to direct us the better to know with conducive sending of our fee. This we want to earn for E.F.W. with friendly will at all times. The 3rd of Jan. Anno 1530.

Mayor and council of Reutlingen.

881 Letter of the City of Heilbronn to the Elector of Saxony and other princes and lords, assembled at Nuremberg, in matters of faith and the convened Nuremberg Convention. January 5, 1530.

See No. 879.

Most Serene, Serene, Highborn Princes and Lords, our subservient willing services, and your Electoral and Princely

1) "our costs" put by us instead of: "our first". Similarly, immediately following "the costs" instead of: "the first". In the original probably "costen", which will be read in "first".

Gracious, in all submissiveness, beforehand. Most gracious and gracious Lords! When our envoy from the recent meeting in Schmalkalden arrived at our house, he handed over to us seventeen articles by your electoral and princely grace, which do not concern the Christian faith, and which we read out all the contents: we respect and consider them to be Christian, which we also believe and hold. However, it is not possible for us to completely refrain from keeping the Mass for the following reasons: we have a member of the German Order with us, who is a member of the Confederation and has his own priesthood; likewise, we have Barefooters as observers, with both of whom we have rights beforehand, and we have been commanded by imperial authority not to make any changes against them. And since the parting at Schmalkalden allows that whoever does not want to accept the articles reported above 2) should not attend the day on Iriuiri RsZuiri at Nuremberg, we would have been inclined to attend such a day, if the above-mentioned excellent causes did not prevent us. We have not wished to behave in such a manner to Your Electoral and Imperial Graces in all humility, humbly requesting to have us in your gracious command; for wherever we may serve Your Electoral and Imperial Graces, we wish to be found willing at all times. Date Wednesday Vigilia Iriuru. UsAuni [5.Jan.] Anno 1530.

Mayor and Council of the City of Heilbrunn.

882 Instruction of D. Bayer, of Saxony, Brunswick and Anhalt, to the Nuremberg Convention,

See No. 879.

Instruction, what should be done by us, the Elector of Saxony, and the Highborn Princes, Mr. Ernsten, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, and Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt 2c. on account of the highly esteemed, our councillor and dear faithful, Christian Baier, D. and Chancellor, at Nuremberg on Trium Regum with the deeds of the princes, counts and cities, who were at Schmalkalden the last time and took their leave there.

(1) First of all, our deft shall consult with our dear grandfather, Margrave Jürgen of Brandenburg, councillors and deputies, on the

2) "not" put by us instead of: "with", which will probably be read from "nit". The city declares its inability to carry out the sixteenth Schwabach article.

Opinion: we did not doubt that your master would again be inclined to remain with the articles of faith handed over to you, and to let himself be heard of the farewell at Schmalkalden this time finally and with a friendly mind. And, if our deputy is informed of this by them, to find out further whether their lord is willing to enter into union with us; then to unite further with the same margravial councillors, and also to speak with the Landgrave's deputy in Hesse, and to ask them how they have been dispatched by their lord to Nuremberg after the farewell at Schmalkalden, with rest of the farewell at Schmalkalden given, which of the property, contents of the written articles, so handed over to each part: Those who agree with us and others on the aforementioned articles of our holy faith, and who wish to insist that the same should send their authorized embassy to Nuremberg on the appointed day for our and the other princes' embassies, but who are not inclined to confess the articles of our holy faith, do not need to send them to Nuremberg on the appointed day. Now if the Landgrave's deputies should so declare that they are prepared to unite with ours and the others who are of one faith and sacrament in an instruction and sending to the Emperor's Majesty, then they will not need to be sent to Nuremberg on the appointed day. Majesty: thereupon ours shall enter into a settlement and further discussion with them, and then continue to act in the same manner with those of Nuremberg and other cities. If it were the case, however, that the Hessians were to hear that their lord did not want to be sent by the other cities, and had perhaps all ready joined with them, if this were to be noted, from which ours would also assume that the Landgrave is not inclined to send with us and the others who agree on Christianity, then we consider it unnecessary for his love to be counsels in the setting up and counciling of the instruction. If his love would not be willing to send with us and ours, then our defender should nevertheless unite with the Brandenburg, Nuremberg, and other defences that want to come to Nuremberg. And the sum is this: whoever confesses the Articles of Faith with us, and with God's help would insist on it, the same shall be admitted to the sending, settlement of the Instruction, and alliance; but if anyone to those of Strasbourg and others who have a misunderstanding in the Sacrament, and do not unanimously believe with us, according to the Articles, that it is the Landgrave, he shall be admitted to the sending, settlement of the Instruction, and alliance.

or anyone else, they are not to be admitted to the council in which the instruction is to be given, nor to anything else. For it is one thing to confess the error of the sacrament, and to enter into alliance and confidential understanding with them; lest we fall into it now, which we fled before. And all this is at stake, if the cities all, or in part, separate themselves from us and from the others for the sake of Christianity. But if they will publicly confess the articles handed over after due consideration, then it remains on the course, as is further reported below. And if the princes or cities, in the event that they are in agreement with us on the matter of Christianity, should apply for alliance, ours shall inform them that because our councilor and dear friend, Hans von Mingkwitz, had previously sent them the articles of alliance, ours would have the order to hear and accept their answer, concerns and report thereon, and to carry all this to us; with the understanding that a day would be set for the earliest, so that a final decision could be reached, since at the present time we do not really know what their minds would have wanted to rest on. If, however, they would not make an appeal to ours for the sake of the alliance, ours shall make mention of it, and take their minds to what they intend to do about it. And to consider this against the Brandenburgs and those of Nuremberg in general and in particular, whether they want to enter into the union in unity or in particular, they shall be accepted with moderation, as reported above.

(2) As many of the other cities' deputies as shall present themselves to ours, our deputy shall inform them of the parting recently taken by their lords and deputies at Schmalkalden: whereupon we the above-mentioned have ordered our chancellor in the above-mentioned name to give the same parting; and ours shall offer to speak of it, to act upon it, and to conclude it. Which of these will now also insist on the main articles of faith, as touched upon above, handed over to them at Schmalkalden, and will confess the same as others: the same may in this case also be admitted to deliberate on the Instruction and other things. If they would also be inclined to enter into a confidential understanding and covenant, like the others, our skilful one shall not refuse such, but accept them in measure, like others.

(3) Even if Brandenburg and those of Nuremberg, as the noblest, are, as touched above.

If any of them are willing to enter into the covenant and union, they should be all the more willing to enter into it with the others. If, however, it were the case that they were all inclined to enter into it, and to confess the articles of faith which they have hitherto held and practiced with them, it would be in the order and the way of the previous trade, ours and the others', which are of one sacrament and faith. However, if Brandenburg and Nuremberg, alone or together with the other cities, do not want to agree on the articles with us and the others, as far as the faith is concerned, they shall not agree on the instruction or answer, neither together nor in particular. If, however, Brandenburg and Nuremberg wish to be in agreement with us on account of their faith, as we have provided for them and noted next to them, and yet do not want to enter into any further new agreement, Magdeburg or other alliance against us, then we shall nevertheless unite with them, be it Brandenburg, Nuremberg or those who alone are in agreement with us on account of their faith, for the sake of the Emperor's Majesty with the Instruction; which is the main article of all this consideration. We also consider it convenient and useful that at Imperial. Majesty, and that the Instruction be handed over by them in Latin, French, and German; and that, besides this, a small narrative be made, in which the trade is summarized; and that the sent ones, if they are ordered by the princes and cities, come again to Nuremberg. And that the transfer and exchange would be held, as in the next; and that the sent ones, according to opportunity and demand of the trade diligence and dräulichex weighting, would arrive to the sheerest. That it would also be suggested by ours by chance, as if they were doing it for the benefit of the trade, for themselves, and that it would not be detrimental to the same: would we, besides the other princes, take the trouble to send a count or other brave people of nobility, who are at the imperial court and with that of Nassau, to the Imperial Palace. Court and with that of Nassau in special relationship, to be skilful to Imperial Majesty. Majesty; what the same might be of service to the cause would be well to assume. To consider that the sweat of Nassau and Alexander be answered as it is deemed useful; likewise to consider whether the complaint, protest, appeal, and what our and the other skilful ones encounter in our advertisement and command for this reason should be allowed to come into print, or whether it should be left up to Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Majesty's answer.

(4) To which extent, however, the Instruction to the Imperial Prince is to be applied.

Majesty should be understood, that ours will learn from what we will send him hereafter, and otherwise, according to the occasion of the whole matter, move the same beside its circumstances, and pay attention to it, so that a steady, fair, and Christian lawful answer may be made, thereby Imperial Majesty's ungracious farewell may be averted. Majesty's ungracious leave may be mitigated and averted. Since we have here above considered it good that an earl or several noble men be sent to His Imperial Majesty, we consider that he should be sent to His Majesty. Majesty: we also consider, according to the circumstances and the time, that it would not be unfruitful for one of the princes to be sent, and that Duke Ernst of Lüneburg would be able to personally petition Imperial Majesty. Majesty in person, for prior escort and assurance.

883. instructions for a nme legation to the emperor and his brother, King Ferdinand.

See No. 879.

1. project of the instruction, what to do at the roman imperial majesty, our most gracious lord. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, our Electors, Princes, Counts and Cities, who are named below, are to advertise and act.

1. Maj. our submissive, most subservient, guilty, and entirely willing services in all obedience, as our most gracious Lord and Emperor. Afterwards to Her Imperial Majesty Majesty this opinion in submission: As we at her Imperial Majesty's Majesty's request and description at the next Imperial Diet proclaimed and held at Speier. Majesty! We appeared in our own persons, and our embassies sent by the cities; by some of the estates there, in appearance, as if they had sent a message to her Imperial Majesty. Majest. (about which we have often indicated excellent causes and complaints as to why this is not proper for them, and why we could not consent to it on account of our conscience and souls), to make a supposed decision and resolution, by which we are urged and unavoidably caused to protest against it, as far as the same article is concerned, and further to appeal to their Imperial Majesty, as our unanimous representative. Majesty, as our Lord and Protector, about such and such highly important complaints.

and to appeal to a future common free Christian council, to which then also the action of such matters, concerning the faith, belongs to itself: so we have, after the end of the above-mentioned Imperial Diet, so that we may appeal to Her Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, for a free Christian council. Majesty, 1) to disobedience, or not to be interpreted as if we did not want to agree with that which the other estates were obliged to conclude on the grounds of faith at the reportedly held Imperial Diet, without special and important causes; when it came to us before and after that we were hardly entered with uncertain representation at her imperial majesty. Majesty; in all humble good opinion and to show our obedience to Her Imperial Majesty, as our unanimous representative. Majesty, as our united lord and proper authority, also that we need no other means nor ways to relieve the assigned burdens than the natural and described rights, and that we seek our comfort, protection and protection, according to God the Lord, from their Imperial Majesty. Majesty. (how just) and to seek a Christian Concilium in order, to send our message to her Imperial Majesty in Hispania. Majesty in Hispania, and to request her Majesty there on our account; which, however, her Imperial Majesty at Genoa in Italy has done. Majesty met at Genoa in Italy. And though Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty. the same has graciously heard our envoys of their request and of the order received from us, with necessary information of all occasions of the next Diet of Speier, and why it would not have been proper nor due to us, the protesting and appealing estates, without injury to our souls, salvation and conscience, also without the highest burden on our country and people, to so grant the above-mentioned leave, for the sake of the first article, touching the faith: that we, against her Imperial Majesty, have declared ourselves to the highest and most absolute authority in the matter. Majesty in the highest and most submissive manner, in the hope that such a submissive action, which is also quite necessary for us, will be granted to us by Her Imperial Majesty, as our sovereign. Majesty, as our most gracious Lord and Emperor, would give us a gracious answer and decision.

(2) But recently our envoys, coming from Italy from their Imperial Majesty, have returned to us and to our home. Majesty back to us and home. They have reported to us that they have received an ungracious and quite unforeseen farewell from us, and that they are to be sent back to us.

1) Added by us.

them as from her kais. Majest. The following, among other things, is the final content: that her Imperial Majesty has been reminded of this Speier farewell before our envoys arrive at her Majesty's. Majesty, from the fact that before our envoys arrive at her Majesty's, they have been reminded of this Speier farewell, and for the sake of several other causes mentioned, have asked, requested and requested that, according to her Majesty's serious order, which was previously issued to the estates of the empire, we should once again earnestly command that we consent to the farewell and resolution passed at Speier, and comply with it in all respects. 2c.

(3) But when our envoys, after receiving the farewells and answers notified beforehand, (2) made our appeal there against the decision made by the Estates at Speier, their Imperial Majesties gave their consent to the appeal. Majest. Secretaries, Magister Alexander Schweiß, in the place of Her Majesty, as they had been ordered to do in their dispatch from us, they would, before and before our appeal to Her Imperial Majesty, have been submitted to Her Majesty according to necessity. Majesty according to necessity, they would have been taken by her Majesty's order to the inn at Plac. They were also seriously enjoined that in case of loss of life and property they were not to leave the inn, not to write behind them, nor to send some servants of theirs, all until further notice to their Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Majesty's decision. All of which we have heard with no small complaint and great horror, and would not have been able to provide ourselves with it before in this great brave deal, concerning conscience and God's word. For Her Imperial Majesty Majesty, our most gracious Lord, knows from imperial virtue and understanding himself how easy it would be to judge and to accept whom it would not be enough for his mind if he should find himself so over-hasty in such important matters, not concerning temporal goods, honor or welfare, but concerning conscience and the eternal salvation and harm of souls, that his right and proper superiority (for which we recognize her Imperial Majesty), to which he is entitled, should be forced to give his consent. Majesty), to which one has had the most submissive recourse by means and ways, which in much lesser and unimportant temporal matters admit all rights as a natural inevitable protection and shield, without doubt, and, as we notice, by only the other part's too much, also unsuccessful application, outside of proper legal cognition, to such mandates, of which Her Imperial Majesty's Majesty. Majesty. Answer 3) and the issued constriction of our envoys shall be moved, and the same by the unfavorable ones.

2) Document No. 846.
3) Document No. 846.

further interpreted and formed in the people as without doubt not remained: Because the entanglement of our embassies became known in the Empire of the German Nation a little sooner than the same came to us again, as if it had been carried out of our command to her Imperial Majesty. Majesty that we did not have the right nor the right, but that we were to blame for the fact that our embassy had been sent by our, as Imperial Majesty, subordinate chieftains. Majesty's subjects, princes and cities, and not acted for themselves, of the natural and all peoples' rights, liberties and securities, on account of his Imperial Majesty. Majesty; in consideration of the fact that our skilful appellants, who interceded at Speier after the leave had been granted, out of omission of the described imperial rights, would have been grieved by his Imperial Majesty. Rights, interponed, for Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Person, as our Lord and Protector, by us and by our order to her Majesty's Secretaries on the same arduous parting alone and insinuated.

(4) For this reason, out of our special high confidence, which we are to relinquish to Your Imperial Majesty, we have no other choice than that they should be accepted after the gracious interrogation of their necessary commanded action and that they should again be dispatched with grace. 4. Therefore, out of our special high confidence that we should trust their Imperial Majesty, we have no other choice than that they should be accepted after a gracious hearing of their necessary commanded action, and that they should be dispatched again with mercy; since this is also required by natural equity, reason, and all respectability, and has so far been held everywhere against the infidels and public enemies' embassy and legation.

However, we bear Her Imperial Majesty's Majesty. Person so much more excused than we know with what many important and excellent affairs she is overtired, and that she might not have been reminded of all the opportunities, as it would have been proper. For we do not doubt that at the time our embassy was with her imperial majesty, things were in a state of flux. Majesty, the matters were discussed in the presence of impartial German counsellors, as the same had informed their Imperial Majesty of this in her Majesty's presence. Majesty's royal election of a future Roman Emperor at Frankfort for the honor and welfare of the German nation, and Her Imperial Majesty would also have been pleased with the gracious advice. Majesty would also be bound by the gracious obligation, which was given by Her Imperial Majesty there at Frankfurt. Majesty there at Frankfort to the members of the empire for grace and goodness, and without the requirement of equity, that her Imperial Majesty should not allow any of the members of the empire to be transferred to her. Majesty not to rape any of the "Imperial Estates" for themselves, nor to permit others to do so, but to graciously allow each estate, where it might suffer proper justice, to remain in the same and otherwise due hearing and equity; and, besides this, also to allow all of the "Imperial Estates" to remain in the same and otherwise due hearing and equity.

Circumstances and Occasion of the Cause of our Rightful Protestation and Appeal, to His Majesty the Secretary. Secretariats, also what is necessary to move these important matters everywhere: His Imperial Majesty would undoubtedly show a more gracious response against us. Majesty would undoubtedly show himself more gracious in his response to us, and would not have been able to order such a mandate against us in any way before now.

(6) Although we stand in hopeful and quite undoubted confidence, since the same mandates have been with us until the time of the dispatch of these embassies and have not yet come to us, that His Imperial Majesty will now have received such opportunity and circumstances without such a report that they will graciously let the same mandates be abolished in the pending appeal. Majesty will have received such occasion and circumstances of the matters without such report now, that she will graciously abolish the same mandates in pending appeal and let them be drawn again.

(7) And after Her Imperial Majesty has indicated in her answer that Majesty indicates in her answer, as if the departure had been made solely to prevent, from that time on, further all kinds of frightening innovations, doctrines and sects, for which reason we should not have sought a refusal 2c.

(8) Thereupon our skilful ones shall inform and report to their Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and especially so that our submissive and obedient will may be noted all the more, and that our protest and appeal may be made not out of any pretension, but out of urgent necessity, for the sake of our souls' salvation.

(9) If, for the sake of the ambiguous article of the next Speierian Farewell, it were so, as would be presented to Her Imperial Majesty, we could also show ourselves by the grace of the Almighty that we would unreasonably refuse to help and close ways that would be harmful. If, for the sake of the next article of the Speier Farewell, the situation were to be as presented to Her Imperial Majesty, then we ourselves could also be guided by the graces of the Almighty in that we would unreasonably refuse to consider and close the ways that would prevent harmful and frightening innovations, doctrines, and sects, and especially from now on.

(10) Thus we would have the honor to say that before this time of the next Speierian farewell and until then the bravest refutations of all such frightening innovations and doctrines have been made and put forward from our princedoms, lands, territories, and from our own, that we invoked the testimony of the whole empire.

(11) And with the help of the Almighty are more determined to avoid these and also the like doctrines, of which there are many notable differences, although they arose before the time, concerning the rebirth, and what the reverend Sacra-

The Lord Jesus Christ's true Corpus Christi and blood, in our principalities, countries and territories. We are not to proclaim, break in, or allow the true Corpus Christi of our Lord Jesus Christ in our principalities, lands, and territories, or in our country, either publicly or secretly. About this, some of our friends, and others from the aforementioned greater part of the princes, princes and estates of the empire, who at the next imperial diet, in addition to one or two of us, have been appointed to the great committee, know what we have let ourselves hear more than once, and for the sake of such troublesome innovations and doctrines, no less than they, in a Christian and unprovable manner.

12. also refer us to the writ which we sent to them next at Speier, with notice of our complaints, to be read and moved, and which we again denied in our appeal: that our protestation and appeal on our part should and would remain and have been put to rest, where it (as to prevent the reported and now henceforth such harmful and frightening innovations and doctrines, as has been suggested to Her Imperial Majesty for the other estates' approval, with almost too little report and to our displeasure) has rested, and not also to some further protestation and appeal on our part. Majesty to the other estates' approval, with almost too little report and to our displeasure), and not also to have proceeded further to some abuses fallen with us by means of public divine writing before this time, to re-establish them and to impose them (as one then subjected oneself to this by a biased majority, unheard and unconsidered of all instructions given). And after the Imperial. Among the most important reasons why we, the Imperial Estates, should accept the resolution and agreement made at Speier, the Imperial Majesty has set this motion: what is to be decided with the majority in the common Imperial Assembly, that the lesser part should not resist it, but live obediently; then our envoys shall submit the following report to their Imperial Majesty. Majesty our report thereupon humbly:

(13) Her Imperial Majesty, as a highly knowledgeable Emperor, knows Your Majesty, as a highly knowledgeable Emperor, knows how to graciously guide himself, not only from reason and from all uniformly just and divine orders, but also from the past histories of practiced imperial actions and acts, so that it will not be found at all that the common imperial assembly has ever subjected itself, or that it has considered it divine, just, and just, in the confusions and divisions of our faith, the salvation of souls, and what may depend on it, to some action or order,
However small they may be, but the same things have been from the time of the early church to this time ever and always in the common Christian and ordinary councils, to which not only the holy kingdom, but all the common ranks of Christianity, but especially those who are taught and understand the holy scriptures, are to be called and discussed, Those who have been taught and understand the holy Scriptures are to be called and discussed, to whom it is also due by divine right, by means of divine word and holy Scripture, to do so properly, so that there not the greater, but the more divine and true, is to be decided and accepted.

(14) For what Christian reasonable action could that be, if in a matter by someone, without prior necessary interrogation and diligent investigation of the root, from which the main action and error has its origin, what finally it should be recognized and undertaken, when the imperial and other described rights do not permit such in temporal, civil matters by any means. But it is much more appropriate to act in matters of faith with the utmost diligence, earnestness, and courage, so that this can be justified before God, as the mighty Lord of heaven and earth (whose cause it is without means), with an undaunted conscience.

015 How would we and other Christian men always be satisfied in our consciences, if we were to place the foundation of our consciences and salvation on men, or on the decision of a greater man, made by men, and were to live by that decision, whether it be according to divine truth or contrary to it? Because the holy word of God, as the one foundation of our faith, is more worthy and more powerful than that it should take clarity from men through a greater, as they say, and God the Almighty bequeaths supremely and curses all men who place their trust, that is, their salvation, in men.

(16) Moreover, all natural, reasonable equity and fairness, which concerns many people in common, requires that this should not be done by some alone, but in the presence and with the knowledge of all those who are related to the matter and have an interest. Forasmuch then as this Article of the Covenant, wherein the estates of the realm but, [and which] 1) all Christians in general confess, meets: what is repugnant to order?

1) In the old edition: "therein the imperial estates, but insgemein" 2c.

nce again, would it be a discrepancy and inequality, where the Christian classes, the lesser part, in the absence and ignorance of the others, should determine what is to be done to be divine and Christian, and decide it in such a way, as if the others should all be obliged to follow it? who could not suppose from this a public division and separation of our Christianity, and therefore 1) conclude indisputably that one error would cause the others and bring them along with it?

(17) However suspicious it would be regarded by all reasonable men, their imperial majesty, out of a high sense, has graciously considered that our opponents, who are opposed to the righteous, true doctrine of the holy gospel, should teach, preach, and write against it to the utmost, not with little persecution, and should be judges in this dichotomy: if they were not permitted to judge in their own matters for a temporal matter, according to the ability of all divine and human rights. And what irretrievable burden and disadvantage our consciences and those of our descendants should be subjected to on account of this, and what should be considered just and equitable, can easily be assumed. Therefore, it is our hope that it will be accepted by Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty. would not consider it fair that in matters of the divine word a majority should take place, and that the counterpart should proceed as a party and judge against us, and that we should be bound to do with it against our conscience; There is no doubt that if we outnumbered and outnumbered the other estates, and if we wanted to move further with such a majority in these matters, they would be considerably burdened by us, and would not fail to protect and preserve themselves by legal means, as has now been done by us to our great need. Moreover, also as Her Imperial Majesty, the Majesty, as the fountain of all rights, know that cases may nevertheless occur where the greater part does not have to conclude against the lesser part; when we then, before Her Imperial Majesty and the common Christian faithful, have the right to protect the same by legal means, as is now done by us to our great need. Majesty and the common Christian Council, according to the form and occasion of this transaction.

18 From all of which Her Imperial Majesty, our most humble hope, has graciously and clearly noted. Majesty, at our most humble request, graciously and clearly note the highly important, excellent, and noticeable grievances, which do not concern temporal benefit or welfare, but the salvation and eternal harm of souls, which we have brought against the

1) "accordingly" put by us instead of: "nevertheless".

The fact is that the other estates need a parting and more of the means, rightly admitted as a natural and cheap protection, for our highest and unavoidable need, and, as it happens, have to protest, also further appeal to their Imperial Majesty and a common, free, Christian council; and that in truth, as their Imperial Majesty may certainly believe us, it is of no disobedience, nor of any disobedience, nor of any disobedience of any kind. Majesty and a common, free, Christian council; and that it is in right truth, as Her Imperial Majesty may surely believe us, of no disobedience, nor other such concerns, lust, outrage or malice.

19 For Her Imperial Majesty, even male. 19. For their Imperial Majesty, even male, can easily judge for themselves how we and some of our forefathers want to be willingly felt by their Imperial Majesty in all ways of honor, welfare, and all the best, and also in all things that are due and possible to our end; therefore, besides the fact that their Imperial Majesty is our rightful authority from God, we would much rather expect mercy from their Imperial Majesty and want to know and have a most gracious Emperor and Lord at his Imperial Majesty's side than that we should expect mercy from their Imperial Majesty in matters that are unnatural. Majesty, and to know and have a most gracious Emperor and Lord at His Imperial Majesty's side, than that we want to burden Her Imperial Majesty upon us with matters that are unnecessary and cause Her Imperial Majesty's displeasure alone, and would rather feel or be aware of the same displeasure in addition to our own disquiet, as Her Imperial Majesty graciously indicates in the decision of her answer.

020 Moreover, that the holy Scriptures exhort us to obey God in things pertaining to His truth rather than men. For whether we obey their Imperial Maj. Maj. and the Holy Roman Empire, as obedient members of the same, entangled with duties without means, and therefore guilty, indeed quite inclined and willing, to obey their Imperial Maj. Maj. as our rightful lord, with our persons, lands, people, and fortune: yet our souls and consciences, like those of her Imperial Maj. Maj. himself, are taken out of the hands of all men and placed under the rule and authority of the commandment alone, who bought and redeemed them with his blood, and to whose obedience, command and government we confessed and committed ourselves in baptism.

(21) Although we also note from the much-reported answer of Her Imperial Majesty that the matters with this palliation of the other estates have been referred to Her Imperial Majesty. Maj.'s answer that the matter has reached her Imperial Majesty with this palliation of the other estates. Maj., that perhaps with such an equal understanding as the parting is capable of, the Turk would by no means be resisted: we know, however, of our own glory, and hope, especially we, those princes, princes and of cities, that we will nevertheless, in the next Turkish emergency, be able to rely on the Turkish army.

Her Imperial Majesty's Maj.'s gracious written request, and of the Royal Dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, Her Imperial Maj. Maj. brother, kindly and graciously request, to praise God the Almighty, to be subservient to Her Imperial Maj. Maj. for subservience, Royal W. for kindly experience, and also for the benefit of Christendom and the Empire of the German Nation, both with the so called resistance of the Turk, at several Imperial Diets held, at the request of Her Imperial Maj. Maj.'s request, and also what has been decided about it in the aforementioned emergency by Her Imperial Maj. Maj. and K.W. and K.W., and, notwithstanding the much-touched discord, let it be heard that in the same, besides that I, Duke John, Elector of Saxony, have not been the last in the parting of the passages which have been appointed each time for the sake of the Turks, nor have we been otherwise in want of anything, we have not been the last; that therefore Her Imperial Majesty Maj. has graciously to accept, with what justification such to her Imperial Majesty. Majesty to a cause to make her Imperial Maj. Maj. the more to disgrace us.

22 Since the Christian and imperial heart of Her Imperial Majesty is now once again directed to this. Her Imperial Majesty's Christian and imperial heart is once again directed to this end, as Her Imperial Majesty has done several times before. Maj. has on several occasions graciously and Christianly put off a common council, and the answer given to Her Imperial Majesty indicates that, in addition to the complaint now before us, Her Majesty has also made a Christian and imperial heartfelt appeal. Maj. that Her Majesty, in addition to the present complaint against the Turks, wishes to consult and help to resolve that peace, tranquillity and prosperity of all the estates of the Empire and of the whole of Christendom may come about for the promotion, increase and permanence of the honour and service of our Lord God Almighty, of our Christian religion and faith, and that all such things may be directed and brought to a godly and praiseworthy Christian being; to which end Her Imperial Maj. Maj. imperial Christian intention the eternal and almighty, merciful God, through Christ his Son, our Beatificator, is pleased to bestow grace, happiness and prosperity.

(23) And a common, free, Christian concilium is always considered the most useful and convenient way for a Christian settlement and reformation of the pending abuses and disputes, as therefore the other estates, with the content of their Imperial Majesty's next answer, again ask for. Maj.'s reply, once again also ask for this, and no other means may be found. And where there is still a Christian, free Concilium

and in the meantime it remains with the farewell in the 26th year, then Her Imperial Majesty, also all Electors and Princes of the Realm, will have to be informed. Majesty, as well as all Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, will be relieved of all the unrest that would otherwise have occurred at every Imperial Diet held up to now, due to such partings, as should be held in the meantime of the Council, and the disputation that would have occurred as a result will finally be shortened.

(24) And we, then, also without that by prevention, from that time onwards, to which this decree shall be primarily meant, to prevent all harmful and burdensome innovations, in accordance with the same decree, as we also consented before in none, and furthermore in all other things, as we trust to answer for the same against God and their Imperial Majesty in a future Christian Council. In addition, in case of necessity, since we do not want to be left of it, we are obliged to justify and justify our necessary appeal, as this is due to us by law and equity.

(25) And let our envoys most humbly request and entreat Imperial Majesty. Maj. thereupon most humbly request and entreat that their Imperial Maj. Maj. and what has happened in all places up to now, especially the instruction and appeal handed over to our previous envoy, or the reasons and causes contained therein, will graciously consider and move, where in the aforementioned matter, outside the ordinary determination of a common Christian council of all Christian states, even without a prior necessary hearing, a thorough and truthful hearing, even without prior necessary interrogation, thorough truthful enquiry as to how to act in such a brave important matter, what should be undertaken, acted upon and subjected to force, what great repugnance, unrest, division and sedition such should presumably arouse everywhere, and that which Her Imperial Majesty would like to see prevented. Maj. would like to see prevented; and that, after all, her Imperial Maj. Maj. graciously change and rescind her given decree and the order therein, and as a Christian Emperor, who is commanded by God to administer and rule over the Holy Empire, and also to handle the Christian name above others, graciously promote that in this article, concerning our holy faith, a man may, as is just, remain free and uninvolved in his conscience; and that with the next, an entirely free, Christian, orderly council be held in a convenient place of the German nation, and that in it, of these things, orderly and Christian, be the foundation of the church.

and from the root of this ambiguous and important matter, by means that are proper in the sight of God, and thus by such an orderly way be brought to Christian peace and unity, and not acted upon by force and deed against those who would gladly be Christians, seek the truth, and do right: To oppose this, and before our lawful appeal, to which we are obliged to give its legal consequence and prosecution in case of necessity, namely, since we, because of the above-mentioned causes which affect our souls' salvation and consciences, in addition to our petition concerning the burdensome innovations, at the parting of the previous Speierian Imperial Diet, when we promised ourselves entirely subserviently to your Imperial Majesty, to be outside of the imperial constitution. We were not to be left outside of the legal execution of our appeal, to disgrace or in any other way to be tempted to disregard the gracious obligation given at Frankfurt by her Imperial Majesty to the Estates of the Holy Roman Empire. Maj. to let the estates of the realm remain under ordinary law, against us, as their Imperial Maj. Maj. in all possible matters, nor to allow others to attest against us, and especially to attest against our made and pending appeal, nor to act in any other way, but to give once more a gracious order, as we have submissively requested by our embassy to Her Imperial Maj. Maj. by our embassy. This will undoubtedly be a pleasing and orderly act to God Almighty, highly conducive to the right harmony and Christian reformation of all estates and the whole of Christendom, and also the only way to eradicate all confusion, abuses and unbelief, to plant Christian peace, and to have a right heartfelt unity among the Christians, and before that in the German land.

(26) For to what extent the proliferation, discord, and ineptitude of hard-headedness, so far outside of Christian negotiations, have preserved the pending abuses with violent acts of unheard-of things, and the people want to urge such public abuses by deed: that same action has been sufficiently indicated by past history. For this reason we humbly request that Her Imperial Majesty will intervene in this matter as a matter of urgency. Maj. will, as a Christian head, evenly and graciously investigate the truth in this matter, and will graciously show that which is abusive, and will be our most gracious Lord and Emperor. This undoubtedly honors God the Almighty, and will please Her Imperial Majesty with all due respect. Maj. with all

The more they do, the more they will communicate victory and salvation to their leaders, and the more they will serve the Reich and the German nation for peace and harmony.

(27) Moreover, it is quite frightening to hear among Christians that they should persecute one another for the sake of their faith in such a manner and to the point of blood, and that they should do so against their members, brothers, and relatives, as the unbelieving pagan authorities have used against the Christian multitude and the holy martyrs, in order to expose the divine name and its salvific, immortal word. And that her Imperial Maj. Maj. may graciously take note of this highly induced, necessary notice from us, as Christian estates, who heartily desire nothing but the truth and whatever may be conducive to the highest harmony of common Christianity; for Her Imperial Majesty should certainly be pleased with us. Maj. should certainly not have anything else to do with us than to provide us with all obedient servitude and subservience, with all our property; we also wanted to do this, as obedient members of Her Imperial Majesty and of the Holy Roman Empire. Maj. and of the Holy Roman Empire, in order to make their Imperial Maj. Maj. to the most subservient.

What before Imperial. Maj. the skilful shall advertise orally.

1st Most Sublime, Great Emperor, Most Gracious Lord! The most illustrious, noble, high-born Princes and Lords, Lords N. N. and the well-born Counts N. N., together with the honourable and wise towns N. N., have dispatched us to Your Imperial Majesty, their and our most gracious Lord, with credence and command of their high order. Maj., their and our most gracious lord, with credence and command to present their great need, with humble request that Your Maj. Maj. to graciously hear our plea, which we hereby submit to Your Imperial Majesty.

(2) First of all, Your Imperial Majesty offers Her Royal and Royal Grace, as well as the others, her submissive and obedient services. Maj. their submissive and obedient service, and where it is in the interest of His Imperial Majesty to govern happily, to defeat her enemies, and to keep her healthy. Maj. would be well and truly pleased to hear of blessed government, victory over her enemies, and the health of her body.

(3) On the other hand, Your Imperial Majesty graciously accepts. Maj. graciously know, from what constant Christian causes your chur- and F. Grace, also other your kinsmen, may not with good conscience have accepted before God the performed parting of the next held Imperial Diet, as far as it concerns faith; and especially from that, that the same parting is quite contrary to the previous one, in the 26th year at Speier unanimously erected and granted.

rvärtig and entgegen, dass auch ein Mehrers in den Dingen, das Wort Gott und unser Gewissen betreffend, nicht statthatten darf, viel wenig ein Part gegen den anderen, der nicht zugleich in die Handlung bewilligt, fortrücken darf.

(4) For this reason, also their Supreme and Federal Grace, and others, protested against it; and when, after manifold Christian admonitions, entreaties, and requests, they did not want to yield from their authority, they appealed to your Imperial Majesty as their supreme protection and umbrella, and to a free Christian council or national assembly, and thereupon immediately dispatched their messages to your Imperial Majesty. Maj. as their supreme protection and umbrella, and a free Christian Concilium or National Assembly, and thereupon immediately dispatched their messages with it, which your Imperial Maj. Maj. have met in Jtalia, and there have reported in writing and orally by their masters' command, according to their instruction.

(5) And although their Lord and F. Grace, and the others, would have provided, according to the occasion, and since nothing else was sought but what is just and right, your Imperial Majesty would have given them a gracious answer. Maj. would have given them a gracious answer, yet, notwithstanding their previous causes and instructions, an ungracious answer has been given, and in such a way that they should again grant and accept the same leave.

(6) And when the deputies heard the same through your Imperial Majesty's Secretary Sweat. Maj. Secretarius Sweat, by their order, they have interposed the appeal, which was made at Speier, after the parting, before your Imperial Maj. Maj. in the opinion that their Electoral and Imperial Grace, and others, will justify the same in due time.

(7) But before the same appeal was heard and read by Your Imperial Majesty. Maj., the said sweat has taken the embassies into custody, so that they should not leave the inn at Placenz, nor write anything to their masters about it, until further order of your Imperial Maj. Maj. command.

(8) Although the embassies, according to the natural laws and those of all peoples and of Your Imperial Majesty, should be free, and the infidels should not take any action against such persons, and they should have the right of their conduct and good deeds. Maj. written laws, and the infidels should not do anything wrong against such persons, and they should have enjoyed their good conduct and good deed of rights; moreover, that they neither spoke nor advertised anything else than what they were ordered to do, and their Electoral and Imperial Grace, and others, did not provide for this: nevertheless, they could have excused Your Imperial Maj. Maj. in this respect, on account of the many affairs, and believe that if the same had been rightly reported, and, as is proper, remembered and acted in the presence of German, impartial counsellors, the competent ones would have obtained a better decision.

(9) And are their electoral and princely graces, also the aforementioned cities, caused to send us to Your Imperial Highness? Graces, also the aforementioned cities, on account of the unforeseen answer, have caused us to be delivered to Your Imperial Majesty. Maj., with order to inform Your Imperial Maj. Maj. humbly:

(10) If it had this opinion, as it has reached Imperial Maj. If it had this opinion, as it has reached the Emperor's Maj. from the opposite party with an unequal report, that the separation would be made in such a way, as it is touched upon in their answer, as if it were to be placed solely for the prevention, from that time on, of further all kinds of frightful innovations, doctrines and sects, then their sovereign and princely grace and others would recognize themselves that they had sought unreasonable refusal. If, however, in her grace and in other lands and territories, the sects and doctrines of the Anabaptists, and those who do not believe that the true body and blood of Christ are in the sacrament of the altar, are expressly reported, preached, written, and taught fiercely and more than in other places, and her electoral and princely grace, and others, have their mitigation. and others of their kinsmen are again opposed to the same sects and erroneous doctrines, and wish to remain so by divine help.

(11) What they have been asked to do in the great committee and otherwise publicly before all the estates of the realm, they refer to their list, which they have handed over, and the rest of their own statement.

(12) And that Your Imperial Majesty has suggested that a council might not be necessary. Maj. argued that a concilii might not be necessary, since this had once been decided by all the estates: on this we have orders to inform your Imperial Majesty that if one speaks and acts only about matters that concern God's word and conscience, it is impossible to come to a concilii. Maj. that if one speaks and acts only on matters that concern God's word and conscience, it is impossible to come to a decision, since it is still not clear from the root, from which the division stems, how duly and properly God's word has been acted upon.

Thirteenth, then, may your sovereign and princely graces, and others, give notice at the proper time that it may not be concluded. The will and consent of many must also be required, as the law states, first of all because the matter concerns the consciences. And if those who are on their side, and are against one and the other's part, were to conclude as a majority (1) against the others, they would consider it unequal, as reason dictates.

1) This sentence is completely out of order in the old edition. We have corrected it according to s 17 of the previous written instruction.

(14) To what disruption of the common peace in the German nation such a thing would be, where it should be considered that the opposing party wanted to advance with its majority, and that such a thing would be considered a decided thing, then one misfortune would increase the other.

(15) For this reason, all the estates, and also Your Imperial Majesty, consider it most convenient that a free Christian council be convened in these matters. Majesty, that a free Christian concilium be announced in these matters, so that all those who are interested and consider themselves Christians may also be heard.

(16) Nor may a more useful way and means be devised, and that in the meantime it would be held, as any authority "hoped to answer to God and your Imperial Majesty," which is punishment enough if they expect it. Maj. which is punishment enough if they expect the same.

17. and when finally in Ew. kais. Majesty. Answer, as if thereby, where the parting was lived, the more resistance should be offered to the Turk: thereupon we have again orders to send this report to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty this report, that their Electoral and Princely Graces, on Your Imperial Majesty's request, are to be respected. Their Royal and Princely Graces, on Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty and his brother King Ferdinand's writings and requests, that it may not be charged against them that a shortage has appeared because of them, and that they were the last in need. For this reason, their electoral and princely graces, and those of the others, have been granted. Graces, and the other, submissive request, your Imperial Majesty would like to have this Majesty would graciously consider this important matter, even in honor and acceptance of the word of God, and rescind the mandates and orders, where they have not already been revoked otherwise, and most conducively call for a free Christian council in a convenient place, so that the cause of the discord may be properly traced and acted upon, and decree that, therefore, their message to Your Imperial Majesty in Italy, according to the content, be sent to your Majesty. Majesty in Italy, according to the contents of their instruction and oral request, and consider that Their Electoral and Princely Graces, and others, in the matter of the conflict, are in the best interests of the Church. and others, in matters concerning God's honor, should be more obedient to him than to men. Otherwise, those who have been sent to us will recognize your Imperial Majesty as their rightful lord and master in all matters that are due to us. Majesty for their rightful Lord and Emperor, and also want to show themselves to Your Imperial Majesty with all that is in their possession, as their forefathers and ancestors did faithfully. Majesty so that the latter shall have a good pleasure in it; as they have hitherto been diligent in all matters, and have obediently pursued and paid all that they were ordered to give against the Turk, for the maintenance of the chamber court, regiment, and otherwise.

18. and hand over to Your Imperial Majesty our Instruction. Majesty our Instruction, in which their Electoral and Princely Graces, and the others' needs, are further set forth. and the others' necessities, and ask, as stipulated therein, for Your Imperial Majesty's most gracious answer. Majesty's most gracious answer.

8ulvo jurs uääsväi.

2. draft of the Instruction, what the strict N. and N. want from the most illustrious 2c. Lord Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Imperial Majesty in the Holy Empire. Majesty in the Holy Roman Empire, on our account, and what they should do.

1. beginning of their royal dignity to say our 2c. Service 2c. And then to signify the following opinion: Their royal dignity would not know what happened at the recent Imperial Diet at Speier concerning the parting there, in the article concerning the faith, between the other imperial estates, us and our adherents and fellow relatives, and that we, out of the distressed need of our consciences, also other brave, important causes, which we have reported to their royal dignity and to the imperial estates in writings, but before that, while they have protested against our friendly warnings, exhortations, requests and entreaties, in committee and otherwise, they have continued with such their resolution and farewell, have protested against it, and have also appealed against it in writings, as is proper to do in a formal manner; not of the opinion to cause some burdensome segregation or division among the imperial estates (for that should, if God wills, be far from us), but only to keep our consciences, as is fair, free and unchallenged, also to protect our faithful sovereigns and subjects from unequal grievances of their consciences and souls, and besides from revolts, disobedience, and an irretrievable apostasy, as every faithful authority is bound to do out of dutiful duty of the commanded office of its property.

(2) When we therefore immediately resolved to send an embassy to the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Majesty, our most gracious lord, whether to the same her Imperial Majesty has reached us. Majesty, that we may, on account of our protest and appeal to her Imperial Majesty, take another form. Majesty in a different form than we had intended for the action we had taken, and that we had been disparaged without cause; as we reported before and after with faith that we had very hardly been carried to Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty: so we have nevertheless, in honour of her Imperial Majesty, out of a desire to be a part of it. Majesty's honour, out of a

but submissive and inclined will, and so that Her Imperial Majesty may have a clear and thorough report to Her Majesty. Majesty may have a clear, thorough report of our disposition, which also moves us to such a proceeding and non-approval, to Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty our embassies and envoys to Hispania, which also her Majesty has met in Italy, and to her Imperial Majesty we have sent our embassies and envoys to Italy. Majesty. of many good, brave and respectable causes, by which we have been driven to our protest and appeal out of necessity, orally and in writing most humbly; with the special request that we accept the aforementioned Speierian decree in all other articles, outside of those against which we have publicly protested, grant it, and carry out that which the same decree imposes on us, on our part, faithfully, also not depending on the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and rebaptism, but on their Majesty, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit and the Holy Spirit., whom we recognize as our rightful lord and superior, and who should be powerful over our lands, people, bodies and goods, and likewise, as faithful members of the holy kingdom, want to show all submissive obedience, support and charity, and what we would be able to accomplish in the temporal, with eagerness. Wherever, on Christian grounds and in accordance with the Scriptures, we have been directed to another, which we held, believed, and professed to be Christian, or by the ordinary determination of a free Christian council, by means of the divine word, we should be directed to another, that in such, as Christian people, we should be obedient members of the church, and those who consider themselves to be obedient members of the church, and who recognize themselves to be obedient members of the Christian Church, and who desire nothing but the truth, as is only fair, and who would neither accept nor defend an insanity, much less persevere and submit to the resolute and submissive request, whether this treaty has reached or is still to reach her Imperial Majesty from someone of another form. Majesty, but to be and remain our most gracious Lord and Emperor, as our envoys' advertisement and the sealed instruction handed over at length indicate, of which we are sending copies in the same wording to their royal dignity herewith, and have also provided ourselves entirely that these important causes of ours, as well as our submissive notifications, high requests and imploring petitions to Imperial Majesty, should at least be as much requested as possible by the Emperor. Maj. should have had so much esteem that Her Majesty, in such a brave deal, which does not affect property, honor, country or people, but souls, our consciences and blessedness,
the things until Her Imperial Majesty's future. Maj.'s future to the Empire, or until further thorough inquiry into our request, whether Her Imperial Majesty has ever entertained any doubt or lack of certain report in such matter. Majesty has ever entertained some doubt or lack of certain report in this matter, or have shown themselves in their answer to our envoy in such a way that we may in fact feel a favorable imperial and gracious inclination on the part of Her Majesty, as our Lord, towards our high subservience.

(3) But not only has there been an ungracious, unforeseen farewell in her Majesty's name to our envoys, and it has been delivered to them in writing. 3. Not only have our envoys received and sealed in writing a rude and unforeseen leave in her Majesty's name, of the opinion that we should again accept the Speier leave made, live obediently to it, and do nothing against it, with the appendix that if we were to appear disobedient about it, her Majesty would not want to avoid taking serious punishment against us 2c., further the contents of the same leave 2c., but the thought of our envoys as those who want to insinuate our appeal, which we made at Speier out of necessity, to the Imperial Majesty out of our command, and the instrument of our appeal to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty by our command, and the instrument of our appeal libell Master Alexander Schweißen, to their Imperial Majesty. Majesty's Secretaries, on account of Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty's Secretaries, are also to be informed of the appeal in the name of the Imperial Majesty. Majesty to their hostel at Placentia, where their Imperial Majesty is holding court. Majesty with her court, and besides entangled with high threat, not to give us, as their lords, any written or oral notice of this.

(4) But that we would certainly not have provided for ourselves, according to the form of these things, according to the occasion of the time and course, also the concerns of the Holy Roman Empire and the emergency needs that were present, and the causes that are reported hereafter. For we have sent our embassies this long journey to the Emperor's Majesty as our rightful representative. Majesty, as our rightful lord and superior, with whom we should seek and wait for the cheapest help, consolation and protection, and made the same to her Majesty for obedience, honor and favor. For one.

(5) On the other hand: We have asked Her Imperial Majesty for a quite necessary, friendly, and amicable opinion. Majesty a quite necessary, friendly and mild opinion, which could not have been made more submissive and respectful, from which the Imperial Majesty could not have drawn even the slightest disfavor. Majesty would not have been able to draw even the slightest disfavor from it.

(6) Thirdly: Thus our envoys at that time, on such an unforeseen arduous parting, have alone lodged our previous appeal from the Speierische Reichsabschiede kaiserl. Majesty.

Secretaries, solely according to our unavoidable necessity, in all submissiveness insinuated, and thus us in her imperial Majesty's name. Majesty. Majesty's protection and protection.

(7) Fourthly, we have not made our appeal before any foreign judge or any disorderly, inconvenient place, but first of all before the Imperial Majesty himself as our protector and protector. Majesty himself, as our protector and guardian; therefore, out of special, high trust that we have in His Majesty the Emperor, we are justified in relying on him. Maj., we have no other recourse than that Imperial Majesty, according to his gracious wishes, may grant us the right. Majesty, after graciously interrogating our embassies, should have accepted the necessary action commanded, and should have dispatched them again with grace; even though this is required by natural equity, reason, and all respectability, and up to now embassies and legates have been held everywhere against the infidels and public enemies. But that our messages would have met with a different outcome, her Majesty would easily have to consider, to whom such a thing would not be fair to his mind, first of all, if he should find himself so hasty in such important matters of the Emperor, which do not concern temporal goods, honor or welfare, but the consciences, and the eternal salvation and disaster of souls.

(8) Fifthly: That in the imperial and all written laws it is expressly provided for necessity that all legates and embassies in all places have comfort, liberty, and assurance, and as long as their legation lasts shall not wait for some burdensome action, as also such rights against the Turk's and public enemies' embassies have hitherto been held: much more and cheaper should it be, in our opinion, that against Christian estates, against the empire's kinsmen and members, also obedient to the imperial majesty, the right of the imperial legates and embassies to act in the name of the empire, and that against Christian estates, against the empire's kinsmen and members, also obedient to the imperial majesty, the right of the empire to act in the name of the empire. Majest. Majesty's subjects, as foreigners; moreover, that also the Imperial Majesty should be Majesty has promised and undertaken against all Electors in lieu of the common estates of the Empire, that Her Imperial Majesty shall not take any of the subjects of the Empire as strangers. Majesty will not rape any of the imperial estates for herself, nor will she permit others to do so, but will allow each estate, where it may suffer due justice, to have due hearing and equity, and will order it to do so in the case of others. Item, that her imperial Majesty Majesty shall have and maintain her residence, estate, and court in the Holy Empire of the German Nation, for the honor, benefit, and good of all members, estates, and subjects there. Item, that her imperial. Majesty shall grant their offices, offices at Court
and in the empire, with no other nation than born Germans, who are not of a different class or nature, but are truly honest people of princes, counts, lords, nobility and other brave people of good origin.

(9) Let all this be done by our envoys of the royal dignity. Dignity, as at this time Imperial Maj. Maj. in the Holy Roman Empire, shall also indicate our need of official, friendly and subservient opinion, and with the best modesty, and at the same time make it known that we presume to be of service to this Imperial Majesty. Majesty. This farewell and action is due in no small part to the fact that the Imperial Majesty, in the time of her Imperial Majesty's reign, has not visited the Holy Roman Empire very much, and now 1) has not visited it for a long time, and therefore has not reported thoroughly on the occasion of the affairs of the Empire, and before that, as is the case in all matters concerning the faith and the Gospel, and as the necessity of such heavy and important matters demands, and has also been so burdened with much other business of her Majesty's own that her Imperial Majesty has not been able to report thoroughly on the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire. Maj. of the Holy Roman Empire's affairs at this time. So also be Her Imperial Majesty with little German counsel. Majesty with few German counsellors, first of all those who know the actions, concerns and grievances of the Empire and the opportunity of the Imperial Estates and the German nation, that we also have a great deal of interest in this trade, and that it is therefore impossible for the Imperial Estates to part with Speier in the Articles of Faith, for the reasons which have been brought to the attention of Imperial Majesty by our embassies. Majesty by our messages, that we would anger God Almighty as our rightful Lord, Creator, Sustainer and Savior, knowingly act against His divine word and truth, deliberately weigh down our conscience, and burden our obedient subjects with all unpleasantness; which, however, all Christian men, at the loss of their souls' salvation, owe their highest fortune to prevent, and to guard against. Thus it has never been the duty of the imperial estates to first make a reservation about the imperial majesty as their lord. Majesty, as their Lord, in this matter touching faith, Christian doctrine and religion, in which only a Christian man is to be protected against the loss of his soul's salvation and his highest fortune.

1) "now" put by us instead of: "only". - After the Diet held at Worms in 1521, Emperor Carl V left Germany and did not return to the Diet of Augsburg until 1530, after an absence of nine years.

It is the duty of the Council, through the proper Christian means, and not of some of the states of the kingdom, to act and determine, in the form and without interrogation of the principal matters and parties, what is to be recognized and decided, or to forbid anyone to accept it against his conscience; nor should it behoove us, in such high divine dealings, to look to the more or the more unanimous of men, as some suppose, but rather to the one true word of God.

(10) And are therefore determined to again send an excellent message to Imperial Majesty. Majesty, also to report our above complaints of all ends even more and more nobly to her, the consoling confidence to find with her Imperial Majesty a different and gracious mind and farewell. Majesty a different and gracious mind and farewell.

11. Since the holy empire has never been in greater danger in many hundreds of years, and has been burdened with heavier obligations than it is now, and since all true information suggests no other than that the hereditary enemy of our faith, the Turk, will return in the coming summer and perhaps try his luck even more fiercely and bravely than before, it is our time and highly necessary that the Christian states unite with one accord and faithfully stand together as brothers, It is of great importance to us that the Christian nations unite with one accord, sit faithfully in one another, and do their best as brothers next to one another, and each let the other's concerns and hardships be his own affairs, to unanimously resist the hereditary enemy of the Christian faith with the grace and help of God, who above all is to be invoked and asked for daily through faithful prayer. But the way to do this is not at all to make the estates of the empire do what is most unbearable and burdensome to them for the sake of their souls, consciences, country and people, and to act by force without proper, fair and thorough interrogation and Christian determination, as the royal dignity, as an understanding Christian king, to whom the occasion and present need of the holy empire and the German nation is known and not hidden from others, cannot doubtfully consider. And our envoys shall thereupon request and entreat their royal dignity in an entirely official and humbly manner, since we are committed to their royal dignity with all friendship, inclination, and grace, and that their royal dignity of the Holy Roman Empire and Imperial Majesty of the Holy Roman Empire may be granted. Majesty. and Imperial Majesty, as well as Christian peace, harmony and obedience of the subjects with all possible means.

that her royal dignity will then send an excellent message, on account of her royal dignity, in addition to our envoys, to the imperial majesty. Majesty, and to ask and entreat her Majesty most diligently to consider this high transaction graciously, and to consider not only some special estates, but common Christendom, the Holy Roman Empire, and the German Nation's honor, benefit, and prosperity, as well as her Majesty's own highest welfare, and in our protestation or appeal . until a common, free, Christian concilium, or to put this trade at rest, where it may be acted upon with proper consideration and necessary diligence, and that which is most useful, most Christian and most conducive to common peace may be promoted and taken in hand: this would actually be the right way]1) and prevent the imperial estates from much unhappiness and presumably separation, against imperial majesty in the case of men. Majesty, promote a great obedient love and inclination in males, and make the royal dignity much friendship and good will, which we are also willing and submissive to earn for their royal dignity.

Xota: Wherever the Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia of the Princes, Princes and Estates would request instructions to His Imperial Majesty. Majesty, the Embassies of Her Majesty shall also comply with them.

884. derer of Nuremberg's concern why it would be more useful to discontinue these legations.

See No. 879.

Causes and misgivings of the people of Nuremberg, why it might be more useful to stop the sending to imperial majesty for the time being.

(1) First of all, it is no consolation at all that without the royal dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, the protesting estates will achieve anything fruitful at the imperial court, or obtain a change in the previous imperial decree, since these matters of faith and other matters of the empire and the German nation, as is certainly known, are all first discussed, tractated, and debated at the royal court.

002 Now, if the king should not send an embassy, or should he not wish to promote this trade most faithfully, then not only, as reported, would the

1) Added by us.

The reason for this is not only that the sending is unfruitful and in vain, but also, as every reasonable person may consider, that the matter is worse than before, for then one would have to worry not only at the imperial, but also at the royal court about more disfavor and hardship, also less change of imperial majesty's mind and farewell than before. Majesty's mind and farewell than before.

3. Item 3: Since it is no small advantage to the protesting estates in this matter that the writ or imperial command on which her Majesty's leave is principally based has not yet been delivered; For this reason, the Estates must always excuse themselves and say that they cannot assume anything else from the non-response to such an order than that Her Imperial Majesty has changed her mind, through which the protesting Estates' insistence on the Speier Imperial Decree has even gained a great reputation, and with Imperial Majesty and all the Estates, a great deal of respect. It is to be considered whether, by the present sending, and since it is more doubtful than certain whether a gracious farewell can be obtained from the Emperor, the Emperor will not be induced to hand over such an order, upon which her Majesty's farewell is finally forthcoming, and also to cut off from the Estates the advantage they had with it before, and thus to make the matter much worse than better.

4. Item 4: In case of doubt as to whether one has not shied away from giving the Emperor a gracious farewell and amendment of that which Her Imperial Majesty has refused to give the protesting estates in response to their first dispatch, it is better and less burdensome, depending on all reasonable concerns, to take the safer path, in which the estates are less inconvenienced; But this is that one may still be out of time, and have a sensation at the runnings and the Diet, and not cause a nuisance with that which one has best considered.

Item 5: Everyone must confess that the closer the emperor is to the pope, and likewise the farther he is from the empire, the more difficult it is to deal with him in this matter, which is almost repugnant to the whole world, but especially to the pope, for which reason it would almost be good to expect a change of place, time, and persons at the imperial court, so that one evil does not increase the other.

Item 6: In the meantime, the protesting estates do not need the nearer Imperial Diet, before these runs in the empire, and all because the emperor is not in the empire in his own person, a mighty procession or other so burdensome
The Emperor is not yet allowed to worry about this in the absence of the Emperor's Majesty. For what reason do the estates now want to send to the emperor to prevent and prevent that which they are not yet allowed to worry about in the absence of imperial majesty?

7. It is evident what great costs have now been incurred for the embassies in Italy to the Emperor's Majesty; should one now send again, and perhaps, according to necessity, a brave or respectable embassy; likewise, should an embassy be obtained from the King of Bohemia, which would then also be at the expense of the estates: Consider, each one, what an excessive cost this would be, and how burdensome it would be for the protesting estates, since the lesser part would send and bear it; moreover, that the same cost would be in vain, no less than the previous one.

(8) Therefore it is considered most fruitful, but on the previous advice of our most gracious and gracious lords, the electors, princes, and estates, as the more prudent, to have misgivings that the shipment would not now finally be decided, but that the causes would be brought by their electoral and princely councils behind them to their most gracious and gracious lords, and that they would move whether it should nevertheless be good to send it or not. They have decided that a further day should be appointed for this purpose, each party opening its opinion to the other in writings.

009 And that, nevertheless, in the mean time, when anything troublesome shall happen to the estates, they shall know it of one another, faithfully compose themselves, and thus show themselves to one another as he would have liked the other to do.

885. draft of a letter brought by the Margrave of Brandenburg in Borschlag and to be sent to the Emperor instead of the legation.

See No. 879.

a Letter of the Protesting Estates to Imperial. Majesty.

Most Gracious Sir! Our decreed messages, which we have received after the next Speier Diet, for the sake of our necessary protest and appeal, which is permitted in all rights, have been sent to us out of high submissiveness.

We have been sent to your Imperial Majesty, as our most gracious Emperor, Lord and Protector, with confidence, and report on their return, as they have graciously heard from your Imperial Majesty in their first advertisement. Majesty in their first advertisement, and have also been graciously put off: of this we say to Your Imperial Majesty, most subserviently. Majesty our most humble thanks. But after our embassies reported to us, when they waited several days for your Imperial Majesty's gracious answer and dispatch, and were undoubtedly put off by it (according to their submissive advertisement ordered by us), that they, perhaps due to our displeasers, or those who have not adequately reported this trade and the Holy Empire's opportunity. Not only have they been served with an unforeseen farewell in writs, but also that they, when they had interposed our appeal to your Imperial Majesty's Secretaries at Speier, had alone insinuated it with all submissiveness before your Imperial Majesty had properly read or heard it. Majesty may read or hear them properly and consider them according to equity, arrest them in the hostel, and oblige them not to write anything to us nor to send some servant of theirs to us until your Imperial Majesty's further notice; And although they have graciously refrained from such arrest and obligation, this has been heard of everywhere in the realm, and interpreted by many as if our embassies had solicited and acted something on our behalf that is not proper; but which is and should be far from us. Nevertheless, this does not cause us any slight disgrace and disadvantage; out of loyalty we would be inclined and willing to send other of our noble embassies to your Imperial Majesty, and to have your Imperial Majesty informed of our complaint with a more thorough report of the matter. But since we hear and understand that your Imperial Majesty in Italy is burdened with considerable great business, and is willing to come to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation as soon as possible after the completion of his business in Italy, for all of which we wish your Imperial Majesty God Almighty's mercy and all welfare, as those who in truth enjoy your Imperial Majesty's future to the highest degree and humbly ask them to promote it as soon as possible: We therefore abstain from any other than humble, faithful, good opinion, of your Imperial Majesty. Majesty this time with other messages of ours, but are of the submissive will and mind, when your Imperial Majesty comes out into the Empire, to convey the same to your Imperial Majesty.

Majesty's own person, or by our public message, for the sake of matters touched, to make further thorough and, in our hope, such a good report that your Imperial Majesty will not only change her leave, given to our previous message in haste and on unequal report, but will be our most gracious Emperor and Lord. Majesty will not only change her farewell, given to our previous message in haste and on unequal report, but will be our most gracious Emperor and Lord, and will hear from all actions that in all our doings we are more, or ever not less, than someone else to your Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty, the Holy Empire and common Christendom, and have desired nothing better. When we also defended ourselves against the tyrannical Turkish invasion by paying our common imperial contribution in money, we also subsequently asked for your Imperial Majesty's gracious permission to do so. Majesty's gracious request, and your Imperial Majesty's brother, the King. Majesty's brother, Royal Dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, friendly and gracious request, with help, salvation, consolation and other assistance, before and besides other Imperial Estates, in such a way that we have therefore received thanks from the said your Imperial Majesty's brother. Majesty's brother, and hope no less for the same from your Imperial Majesty. Majesty; and we also remember ourselves for this and other things to your Imperial Majesty and the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty and the Holy Roman Empire as pious, faithful, obedient, Christian princes, as far as our fortune, body and goods reach, as from our forefathers and ancestors to your Imperial Majesty and the same forefathers to your Imperial Majesty. Majesty and the same ancestors until their death. And on all this to your Imperial Majesty our all-subject Majesty our most submissive request, whether we have been or would still be brought into your Imperial Majesty together or especially in another form. Majesty, that Your Imperial Majesty may grant the same our right to be a part of it. Majesty will not give credence to our plea for necessity without interrogation, nor will he allow us to be disgraced or otherwise burdened without a prior proper interrogation and judgment of right, as Your Imperial Majesty, as a just man, is entitled to do. Majesty, as a just emperor, is due, and the same your Imperial Majesty to our subject. Majesty will graciously do so in accordance with our submissive high trust. This we wish to do towards your Imperial Majesty. Majesty in all due submissiveness obediently and entirely willingly. Hereupon also command us to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty, as our most gracious Emperor, protector and guardian; and although we, according to right, also according to all dignity and fairness, do not provide ourselves with anyone else for your Imperial Majesty, we nevertheless ask for your support. Majesty, we most humbly request Your Imperial Majesty's gracious permission. Majesty's gracious reply to this messenger. Date 2c.

By the Grace of God John, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., George, Margrave of Branden-

bürg 2c., Ernst and Franciscus, brothers, dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Philipp, landgrave of Hesse 2c., Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, Gebhardt and Albrecht, counts and lords of Mansfeld, and the respectable free and imperial cities, related to the above-mentioned trade.

To the Imperial Majesty.

886: The protesting princes and estates' farewell to the action at Nuremberg. Nuremberg, 12 January 1530.

See No. 879. further in Lünig's Imperial Archives, xart. ML. eont. II, x>. 333.

As the most illustrious and the most illustrious Highborn Prince and Lord, Mr. Johannsen, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. Reichs Erzmarschall und Churfürsten; Mr. Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Mr. Philippsen, Landgrave of Hesse, my most gracious and gracious counsellors, and among them also the counsellors of the noble, high-born and well-born princes and lords, Mr. Ernsten and Mr. Franciscen, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Mr. Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and Mr. Gebhardden and Mr. Albrechten, brothers, counts and lords of Mansfeld; and then of an honorable council at Nuremberg council message, for themselves and by force of the honorable cities of Winsheim, Reutlingen, Weißenburg at the Nordgau, on the parting recently at Schmalkalden have been with each other: have reported to my most gracious and gracious lords councillors and an honourable council at Nuremberg, firstly an instruction to the Roman. Imperial. Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Besides
an Instruction has been issued as to whether it would please their Electoral and Princely Graces and the other Estates to send to the Royal Dignities of Hungary and Bohemia. Grace and the other estates to send to the royal dignities of Hungary and Bohemia. When, however, the Nurembergers had some reasons for considering whether to send to the Imperial Majesty and the Royal Dignity of Hungary and Bohemia. Majesty and royal dignity should still be sent at this time, the deputies of their sovereignty want to report on the simplest of these. And in the council is moved, if some state learns that the others all or some might be entitled to some objectionable burden, to report this to the other in confidence. If also the mandate, of which Imperial Majesty Majesty would go out, however, that the Elector of Saxony, as much as it is possible and always tolerable, would keep the other estates, who agree with his Electors on the articles of faith and Christianity that have been handed over, in peace. He may have them describe in haste to a convenient place, or otherwise indicate in writings, what would be useful and good to do to avert the burdensome care and disadvantage, and may send or write it to Imperial Majesty and Royal Dignity. Majesty and royal dignity, or in other ways. And since it is presumed that Imperial Majesty will send it on the first day. And since it is presumed that Imperial Majesty will call an Imperial Diet on the first day of March, and perhaps not all the estates will appear in person, it is considered good that in the meantime everyone should consider what should be brought forward or otherwise acted upon at the same Imperial Diet, where it is to be attended, so that hereupon they may have to compare and decide with each other in a more respectable manner. All of these things the deputies have agreed to carry to their sovereignty, and what will be the concern of each of them in all of this, is to be submitted within a month to the Elector of Saxony, and later by his Electoral Grace to the other estates. His Grace to the other estates. Actum Nuremberg, Wednesday after Trium Regum [12 Jan] Anno Domini 1530.

The thirteenth chapter.

About the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530 and the Augsburg Confession handed over at the same, also about Luther's stay in Coburg during the Imperial Diet.

First paragraph.

What was negotiated between Emperor Carl V. and Pope Clemens VII. at Bologna, and how the former announced an Imperial Diet to Augsburg in 1530; as also of the coronation of the Emperor which took place immediately thereafter.

887 A speech by the Imperial Grand Chancellor Mercurinus Gattinara, delivered at Bologna in the assembly of the Pope and the Cardinals, also in the presence of the Emperor, in which he asks the Pope, in the name of the Emperor, to write a Concilium. End of February or beginning of March 1530.

From the Cölestinus kist. eornit. NVXXX. ^uZustAS esIelnM., lom. I. , x. 10; in Wolf in the leet. msinoral", toi". II. , x. 331; with Müller in the Historie von der evangelischen Stände Protestation, lib. III, eax. 2, x. 402; and in Lünig, orat. proeer. Lurox. num. XXVII.

Translated from the Latin by I. F.

Most holy father, most venerable lord! According to this, the most invincible Emperor Carl the Fifth, always greater, my most gracious Lord, at the beginning of his reign, did not become aware without the most sensitive pain of his mind that a great and very harmful disagreement had arisen among the most distinguished teachers of the Church of God, and that this is increasing day by day, he must see how even now these theologians differ from one another in doctrine and in their opinions, and how thereby the Church of God is being most miserably harmed, and how many pious people are being greatly annoyed by such a performance and evil example; indeed, that the heat of teaching, writing, arguing, and quarreling has now come to such a point that, if one does not in time by good counsel come to the aid of Christendom and the wretched condition of the Roman Empire, and serve against the present far-seeing disaster

If the Emperor were to provide for the same means, in which the Church, all of its ranks, and also private and common life throughout the Roman Empire would be in the greatest danger, his Imperial Majesty has, from the beginning of her most noble reign, cared for nothing so much, and thought of nothing so eagerly, as that she should endeavor and fall upon a means. Majesty, from the beginning of her most praiseworthy reign, among many other important imperial affairs, has been so concerned about nothing, and has thought of nothing more eagerly, than that she should endeavor and fall upon a means to restore peace and tranquility to the church and the empire, which are in danger, and to abolish and remove from the way everything that seems to be contrary to the general welfare.

(2) Although even Imperial Majesty is well aware that the science and investigation of disputes in the Church is the responsibility of His Holiness. Majesty is well aware that the science and investigation of the disputes that arise in the church because of doctrine and customs is primarily the responsibility of Your Holiness, the authority and mediation of the church. Without this nothing should and may be done and decided in a right, beneficial and lasting way, and that the care of such important matters is entrusted to Your Holiness by God, and that she takes care of the salvation of the Church and of the sheepfold of Christ in a right fatherly way, and also, as an old, godly and prudent Lord, takes painful part in the general ruin with His Majesty, nevertheless, the Imperial Majesty, although she is an old, godly and prudent gentleman, has not yet taken any action against His Majesty. Majesty, although she is currently involved in many imperial affairs and sorrowful wars, has often wished and requested of God that she might once on a day come to speak with Your Holiness, and deal with such important matters and take counsel.

3rd That now Imperial. Majesty has granted her wish, and at this respectable coronation ceremony

acte and [the] journey to Germany has been given the opportunity to venerate Ew. Heil personally and to engage in conversation with her. Majesty testifies to her heartfelt joy and offers God the greatest gratitude for this; in view of her firm and firm belief that Ew. Heil will find a remedy in this highly honored assembly, by which the decayed condition of Christendom will be remedied and a strong remedy for the spiritual wounds and for the evil life of mankind will be procured in these gloomy times. For the Emperor is assured by Ew. Hail, that they, like His Majesty, as the two highest heads of the Church and of the Empire, direct their care and effort to the promotion of the glory of God, to the preservation of peace, and to the vigilant prevention and abolition of that which may diminish the excellence and majesty of both; which is especially to be preserved in this way, if one applies diligence and makes every effort to show the eternal God his due honor, namely, to know him rightly, to serve him, and to call upon him; that the right and wholesome doctrine in the Church be kept pure and clean; that, where errors, false doctrines or superstitions have crept in, they be prevented, the decayed church discipline be restored, the vicious customs, both in the clergy and among the common rabble, of which there are unfortunately many and various, be improved, and the falsified doctrine of the Church be purified and cleansed. Whereby his majesty. according to her wisest insight, considers that, if one is not anxious with all zeal to compose a certain doctrinal book from the word of God, to bind up and heal the damage of the church at times, and to introduce a stricter church discipline, in a short time a still greater confusion, a still more miserable and thicker darkness, a still more heinous barbarism, and more considerable damage and fall than has ever been experienced before, is likely to follow; Not to think that through the safety, wickedness, and sins of all men, the severest and most just judgments will be brought upon the authorities and subjects.

(4) When then Imperial Majesty, after the very difficult wars have finally ended. When, after the very difficult wars had finally ended, and other efforts had been put aside, the Emperor began to think about this whole matter often and much, and to consult righteous and knowledgeable men, she could not have devised a more salutary means, and one that would be more in keeping with papal and imperial benevolence, than if, on this day, in this General Assembly, the disputes of the Church were to be settled in a proper manner,
in the fear of God, and decided according to the rule and truth of the divine word, and that pious and learned men be called together from all nations, and that these be given free authority to speak publicly, to debate, and to show the truth, and that opinions be honestly and sincerely held against each other, and that discourses be held thereon, and the previous disputes are completely settled, and finally either papal sanctity, or else skilful and impartial judges, as many as are chosen for this purpose, take care that, after they have seen and examined everything well, they hold stiffly and firmly about what agrees with the evangelical doctrine and the unconquerable truth, On the other hand, that the harmful errors and abuses in doctrine, which conflict with the bright and clear word of God, be condemned, and that their authors either be brought to the right path, where possible, or be left to the lawful authorities for punishment, but that everything be done out of love, nothing by force, and that finally all teachers and hearers, and that finally all teachers and listeners, after the improvement of the doctrine and the abolition of the abuses that had gone on during the pregnancy, be encouraged to true worship and to the uncolored service of God, as well as to the obedience of the church, to believe rightly, to teach purely and to walk blamelessly, so that in this way one glorifies God, establishes a lasting and constant peace for the church, and promotes the welfare of all Christians in the best possible way.

(5) But because Imperial Majesty is unaware that the Papal See has been established. Majesty is not aware that papal saints have the right and power to call public meetings. Since it is not concealed from the Imperial Majesty that the papal saints have the right and the power to call public assemblies and to convene them, and that the disputes arising in the church are to be submitted to their prestige and judicial decision, the Imperial Majesty seeks all the less to infringe upon the rights of the Roman See, since she has recently given an oath to that effect. Majesty seeks so much less to infringe the rights of the Roman See, since she has just before sworn 1) to remain a friend and protector of it with all reverence and fidelity, but she nevertheless recognizes that the urgent need exists, and present circumstances and the general welfare of the church require it, and all righteous people desire this with great desire, nor any other way that would be right, just, customary, and praiseworthy, may he-

1) From this, the time to which this document belongs can be approximately determined. The oath that the emperor had to take to the pope before the coronation is found in No. 892 of this volume. The coronation itself took place on February 22 and 24, as we can see from the papal bull dated March 1, 1530 (No. 893).

If the Church is to see that the salvation, prestige, and rights of Your Majesty are preserved, that the decayed Church is raised up, that the afflicted souls of the pious are comforted, and that the truth of the evangelical doctrine of Christ is asserted, than by the convocation of such an assembly, Your Imperial Majesty requests that the Church be given the opportunity to be heard. Majesty. Ew. Heil, for the sake of Christ and the general welfare, that in this her noble and highly honored estate and office, the sheepfold of Christ, the will and desire of godly souls, the counsel of understanding and prudent men, and her own honor and reputation, she will not arise, and as soon as possible proclaim a concilium in a convenient place, and believe that this means, which has been in use for many hundreds of years, and has been instructed by God and the apostles themselves, is as necessary as it is useful, since such important disputes cannot possibly be settled by the judicial pronouncement of one and the other, or only to a lesser extent; but this must necessarily be done in a free assembly of rulers and teachers.

(6) But the fact that Imperial Majesty is so eagerly seeking this for your salvation is not with the intention of increasing your salvation. Majesty so eagerly seeks this from His Holiness, she does not do so with the intention of increasing His Holiness' already important and accumulated business; rather, she sincerely recognizes and confesses that her duty, her love for the true religion and the service of God, and the examples and deeds of the most praiseworthy emperors who have preceded her in government, drive and encourage her to make such efforts. For His Imperial Majesty knows well that Christian princes are fathers of the Church, and are appointed to save the honor of God, and to punish severely all that either teaches and preaches, or does, in an ungodly and detrimental manner against God and His only begotten Son. She remembers that Constantine was as busy with the preservation of the Christian religion as he was with the administration of the commonwealth and the waging of wars, and that since Arius had spread harmful and blasphemous errors against the Son of God, he held a famous and excellent assembly at Nicaea to investigate and condemn them, and that the proven errors were publicly condemned by the holy bishops and learned church fathers. Nor is it unknown to her that the Emperor Theodosius and Valentinianus, to say nothing of others, were present at such remarkable meetings, and that, after each had freely spoken his mind, a common conclusion was reached, and from the word of God the errors that had arisen were condemned, but the authors of the errors were not condemned.
of the same with a severe punishment. Finally, she is certain that such conventions and deliberations have often been very useful and profitable to the Church of God and to the whole world, and just as one can never better examine the truth, see the errors, exercise church discipline, improve the vices, and resolve dangerous disputes than in proper assemblies; so she does not see how in our time the lost peace could be restored in a more comfortable and less troublesome way (since she has reservations about using violent means in this matter).

(7) Accordingly, His Majesty stands in the complete hope that His Holiness will give place to her kind remembrance and request, as well as to the counsel, ardent wish and sighing of so many pious souls, and agree that the beginning of unification should first be attempted by this means, which is the most honorable, mildest and most pitiable in this. She does not doubt that the immortal God, through His Spirit, will direct and govern these proposals for the glory of His name, as well as for the benefit and long-lasting peace of the Church, the Roman See, and the Empire.

8. His Imperial Majesty also promises high and dear that she will at all times faithfully assist your salvation and the entire Empire with her power, good counsel and reputation and, in remembrance of her oath, will be and remain a faithful protector and brave defender of the Apostolic See, of the evangelical truth, and of all the subjects of the Roman Empire.

888 Pope Clement's answer, in which he tries to reject the announcement of a council.

This and the next following Scripture is found in Melanchthon's (keelarnat., tom. V. , p. 94 84., besides in the places indicated at the preceding number.

Translated from the Latin by I. F.

(1) We well believe that you, Emperor Carl, who, according to your insight, speak reverently of the invocation of God, and appeal to the examples of praiseworthy princes, urge a synod out of good opinion; although in this matter, in which the church is in great danger, it is our counsel and reputation that are most important. For, that we do not now examine our right to do so, it is known that in the Nicene Assembly it was agreed that they should be kept in the occidental church.

We have often consulted ourselves, as well as the present Genutius, Farnesius, and others, about how to restore tranquility in the church. For this reason we have often consulted with ourselves, as well as with the present Genutius, Farnesius, and others, as to how we might restore tranquillity in the church; whether we should deal with such matters in an assembly, or rather attack by force those who depart from the decrees and common opinions. Since we do not consider it good to call a synod, we ask you at the outset not to think that we are concerned about ourselves and the riches of the Roman See. It is said of John XXIII that he was sorry that he held a synod at Constance, since this overthrew him from his sovereignty; but we, who likewise experience all kinds of changes in fortune, and were also recently imprisoned, think that not only honor and power, but also this life itself is like a fleeting and transitory shadow, and want to resign our office with a calm and quiet mind, if God or some fate should require us to do so.

(2) After this, the goods of the Roman see, which Ludovicus, Caroli's son, has consecrated to it, in order that we may partly meet the most necessary expenses in our regiment, and partly be able to provide ourselves with more security against unconscionable incursions, do not cause us the slightest grief, but would gladly see ourselves relieved of this burden if we were always to have such emperors as you are.

(3) Accordingly, we are not at all opposed to holding an assembly because of these foolish and foolish desires; let even great jurists speak after all: The reputation must make the judge's sentence valid, and what has been decided before must not be made invalid by new discussions. For, if such a discussion were advisable to the peace and the descendants, we would certainly not want to hinder it, whose mind and thoughts are directed solely and exclusively to the general peace and the welfare of our descendants. However, we want to find out the true reasons for our resolution from the different nature of the doctrinal points themselves.

(4) There are doctrines, some of which are not only fundamentally false, but also obviously absurd and inconsistent, such as the Anabaptist doctrine that all must have goods in common among themselves; that sovereign power, courts of law, lawful punishments, and dominions are things that God can by all means not have.
Everything that happens, even evil deeds, must necessarily take place in this way; the human will has no freedom at all; people are born again without the written word, through secret inspirations, by which the unruly will is broken. Recently, Samosatian errors about the Son of God have come onto the scene, according to which the doctrine of our church is transformed into the Mahomedan doctrine.

005 But as when a conflagration ariseth, every man runneth at once to quench it, so all authorities ought to be busy to suppress these disputes in their first beginning, and it would be a grievous consequence if we should still be disputing about them. Emperor Constantius sat and could hear the dazzler in the assembly recite this blasphemous conclusion: The father is the son is therefore the son is not equal to the father. Is not this a recklessness, or rather impiety, to give ear to such speeches? Shall we think you so careless, we will not say so calm, as Constantius was, that you, sitting in the assembly, would listen to such deceitful speeches without the most sensitive reluctance?

(6) The other kind consists of confused, and, that we may speak so, indissoluble doctrines. If these had not come to light, it would have been much better, because the controversy cannot be settled. To this belong the questions of the adoration of the bread, of the sacrifice, of the mass.

(7) The third kind includes those which the pope has the power to dispense, for example, that he may remit vows, permit marriages, and improve superstitions in food, clothing, and the like. Since these things are obvious and clear, they do not need to be examined in an assembly. If kings and princes demand that these matters be decided, the Roman See can put an end to the dispute by a single judicial pronouncement. We ourselves also wish that superstition and evil customs, which become even more prevalent through thoral laws, would cease; but we do not want to know anything about anarchy. The Roman See should be duly sought for improvement; but we will not let it be deprived of the prestige and authority which it received from the old church. Out of these various classes of doctrines considered, the

Cause to be seen why no Synodus should be held.

(8) There is nothing left, then, but to restore peace by your arms. Italy, conquered by the same weapons, is now at peace; the king of France, who fought with you not over Stoic crickets or the Jewish superstition of the monks, but over the empire, is defeated. How much more easily will you bring a moderate part of Germany under your power, in which matter you must also look to the descendants. Wherever the prestige of this see falls, anarchy will follow, and the lapsed church discipline will give birth to barbaric and wild customs, and the untamed freedom of the mind to infinitely new doctrines. Therefore, you will see that in this conflagration, dwelling on it will cause grave harm.

889 Emperor Carl's rebuttal that a concilium is most necessary.

See No. 888.

Translated from the Latin by I. F.

We acknowledge that we are young in years, and confess that we have consulted Mercurinus, who is present here, and other men of understanding, and that we must listen to such as have more insight than we; we have also spoken of this consultation, which is for the glory of God and the welfare of the whole human race, with many wise, virtuous, and honest men, who are of the opinion on all sides that the church is in great need of a synod. Nor are you unaware of the constant longing with which all sensible and righteous people throughout Europe are looking for a legitimate Synod.

(2) Accordingly, after a long consideration of the matter, and well-considered reasons which you oppose, we desire that a synod should be instituted. You should know that Mercurinus made his speech at our command, and that we will not depart from our opinion as long as we live. Your proposal may appear to common people to be apparent and pleasant; our proposal, however, is legitimate and beneficial to the church, and will also, as we hope with divine help, if you do not prevent it, be salutary and beneficial to the whole human race. Nor shall your terrible lecture, that one need not listen to a disputation on inconsistent and indissoluble doctrines, be of any avail to us.
from our opinion. For not everything that is now being disputed is absurd; even in the church there are no questions of necessary matters of faith that are indissoluble. We have often heard the Platonic saying: as the madness in parents is to be patiently borne, so also in republics and religions some errors must be overlooked. In this one must not go beyond the mark, both in the regiment and in the church. The reason must certainly not be abandoned in the church, and the eternal laws, which forbid idolatry and disorderly lusts, must be held fast in the regiment and in the church. Now, however, some worship most detrimental to God has crept into the church, and shameful lusts are at work. To remedy this evil, it is necessary not only to hold a synod, but also to prepare a whole book of faith, which all nations in their churches will unanimously adopt. For you know what disagreements are going on in your party about many important matters. If such inconsistent things are now being spread about, the Synod must counter them with excellent and strong testimonies, and give the people grounds for proof, so that they will not be led astray now or in the future.

(3) But it is not fitting for a priest to say that some questions are insoluble. God has revealed Himself according to His immeasurable goodness, and wants us to accept the doctrine that He has had recorded, which, if it were doubtful, would be an empty sound. We, however, like Theodosii's suggestion, who has had testimonies from credible antiquity sought out and presented in the Synod. For we gladly accept the church itself as a teacher, as Samson said there: "If you had not plowed with my calf, you would not have guessed.

(4) As for the remission, or pardon, to which you offer yourselves, this can be done much more effectively in the Synod, for greater harmony can be expected among the nations if all hear and accept such a pronouncement of pardon at the same time. We stick to the brave saying: Where there is general danger, one must also consult together, and with our services, after examining the nature of the matter, it will not arise. But so that such an investigation may take place in an orderly manner, we will, according to the example

1) This refers to § 7 of the preceding number: "remit the vows" 2c.

The old emperors must be present, and as much as possible they must bring about the observance of these reasonable laws. Both parts must be consulted with one another, and a pronouncement must be made, not according to his tyrannical pleasure, but according to the law, and according to the doctrine which is given us of God.

(5) That we should now, as you will, exterminate good and evil with one another without distinction, we never do, and by no means wish to banish lawful judgments from the church and to have introduced a tyranny. By the way, in the previous war we made clear enough our reverence for the church, the Roman See, and you, which we will not refrain from showing in the future.

890 Emperor Carl V's invitation to the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, as sent to Elector John of Saxony and other protesting Imperial Estates, January 21, 1530.

This document is found in the original in the Weimar archives and printed from it in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 2; further in Müller's Historie 2c., lib. III, eax>. 3, x>. 412 and in Lünig's Reichs-Archiv, pari. Acn. oont. I., p. 496, and again idiä. eont. II. p. 334.

To the Highborn Johansen, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, our dear uncle and Elector.

Carl von GOttes Gnaden, elected Roman Emperor, at all times Mehrer des Reichs 2c.

Highborn dear Oheim and Elector! Even though we have returned to our Hispanic kingdoms since receiving the royal crown and holding our first Diet at Worms, we have always considered the dignity and majesty in which we have been placed by divine providence in the praiseworthy German nation, and that it would not only be fair, but also beneficial to the common nation, after establishing some order by which the subjects of our Hispanic kingdoms could pass the time of our absence, but that it would be useful for the common nation, after the establishment of some order, by which the subjects of our Hispanic kingdoms might live the more in peace, tranquillity and unity during the time of our absence, 1) to dispose of us to the noble estates of the Holy Roman Empire, as our natural members, and to make essential changes in them, as well as in the way in which we live.

1) In the original: "ainig Kait".

And that we have therefore been prepared and provided by the mind of the governor, even on several occasions, to do our utmost in the holy kingdom, and to understand the common things and benefits of it: Nevertheless, on account of our enemies and adversaries, such excellent and great things and hindrances have been granted to us that, against our heart's desire, we cannot complete our intention; as your beloved and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire have no doubt sufficiently understood from the notice of our Imperial Diet held, and our appointed Commissars' oral apology at the same Imperial Diet. And even though by these, also in other ways, so noticeable and evident, we have sufficiently shown and proved our eager will and love, which we bear to the commonwealths of ours and of the Holy Roman Empire, and to Holy Christendom: We have now more handsomely and manifestly wished to bear witness to this, when we have seen that, by all possible diligence on our part, we can make it appear that the tranquillity of these Italic lands is in harmony with the height and dignity of the Holy Roman Empire, and the unity of the laudable states and of the holy Christendom, and the unity of the praiseworthy German nation may have been established and set in a constant state, nothing has ever been accomplished, and that all things have become more and more vexed every day, for which reason we cannot consider nor find it more convenient to improve such conditions with us than by our presence, and have had it for that, 3) if the Italian potentates and countries understand our gracious will, that in our undertaking to restore and place them in good essential condition, they would be the more willingly healed, that also in the praiseworthy German nation, so every opinion and opinion would be heard and diligently moved, all disparate and vain things be done with common counsel, and that which would be right and honest be confirmed by papal sanctity and our imperial power, authority and permission, and thus the holy empire of the German nation also be brought back into unity. And for this reason we have entered into a peace with our enemy and adversary, in which we have set aside our own benefit, so that we may promote the common good of holy Christendom.

2) With Förstemann: "Uyande".

3) "Present" here will mean: in our personal presence.

left our Hispanic kingdoms, which at this time are the most satisfactory among all provinces; have considered no expense, nor danger, neither of the sea, nor otherwise, which we therefore do, and to which we have had to expose ourselves 1) and go, and have arrived in Italy according to the will of God, in the opinion not only to bring these lands to rest, as has been reported, but also to indicate to our holy father, the pope, our concerns, intentions and opinions, so that we may know what we should hope for his holiness, for the establishment of this unity in the holy kingdom of the German nation. So the other day, after our arrival, the newspapers announced to us how the hereditary enemy of our holy Christian name and faith, the Turk, had overrun the Christian kingdom of Hungary and our fatherland, the Archduchy of Austria, with his great power, destroying everything with murder and fire, and that the holy kingdom of the German nation, where we do not come to its aid, is in the greatest distress, and that the holy empire of the German nation, if we do not come to its aid, is in the greatest distress, for which reason we have become resolved to leave not only Italy, but also our kingdom of Naples, which at the time was still in rebellion and almost in no less danger, and to march in our own person, with all our people of war, towards the German nation and the greater danger in haste; Therefore, requesting and beseeching the papal holiness, since necessity requires no other than that we be ready not only to retreat or slay the Turks with the mightiest force, but also with the best of our intentions, ways, and counsels, to direct such great and various opinions, that she would meet with us in this city of Bononia, to act for the peace of these Italian lands, the unity of the holy empire of the German nation, and in general for the salvation and welfare of all holy Christendom. In which her holiness, when she understood our mind, not only willingly accommodated us, but also met our arrival there with great journeys of a day, and received us there quite mildly and kindly, in whose person we also had as much and more love and desire to bring the affairs of the holy empire of the praiseworthy German nation to good peace and unanimous understanding and being, and to order in the Christian religion everything that is right and honest, as we had hoped, felt and found. After which, when we had the

1) With Förstemann: "to set up".

We have therefore heard that, after receiving our imperial crown, as we had resolved to do, we would have joined the empire of the German nation in the most beneficial way; but when we understood that the Turk had withdrawn, and that our future was so nearly, as before, to be hurried, it was unnecessary: So we have again considered it useful, on our former undertaking, to place the tranquillity of these Italian lands first in a permanent state, and to keep and confirm them in the faithful will and relationship of the Holy Empire, which we also hope to end within a short time; 2) and therefore, so that we may do it all the more quickly, we have not undertaken or omitted anything that we might consider useful and conducive to this end. And so we have to provide in the meantime and besides in the matters of the Holy Empire of the German Nation. German nation, especially as we have truly learned that, after the recently held Imperial Diet at Speier, your beloved and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire have, to resist the Turk's mighty plans for the Christian crown of Hungary, as the same time of the border against the Turk, assistance followed, that nevertheless such by diligent action on some held days at Regensburg so late and slowly arrive, that to the noble prince, Mr. Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, our friendly dear brother and governor in the holy realm, with his and his beloved kingdom, principality and country of the highest aid, it has been impossible to stop the Turks with his excellent, unheard-of power, which he had on water and land in Hungary, we will remain silent on the borders, so that his beloved unfortunately had to watch and tolerate that the same Turk overran the Christian crown of Hungary by force, almost conquered it completely, then immediately attacked our Archduchy of Austria, besieged the capital Vienna in it, worked hard and pressed it; and although by the grace of the Almighty, and the stout-hearted knightly resistance and opposition of the Christian warriors therein, he again abandoned his tyrannical plan, yet by his excellent patrols he conquered the same archduchy, especially in the countryside, especially on the land on which Vienna is situated, up to the water, the Ens, also a good part of the principality of Steyer, with the shedding of much innocent blood, robbery, fire and the removal of many Christian people, as then all this of your love undoubtedly well knowing

2) In the original: "zuedn" - to end.

is miserably devastated and ruined, which every Christian man should take to heart not a little, and move to bear compassion with the afflicted. And because the reported Turk is pursuing all his undertakings earnestly and with assiduous diligence, especially if he achieves victory in it, which appears from the fact that in two campaigns, which he has made one after the other in the aforementioned crown of Hungary, and now recently in Austria, he has devastated and ruined much noble fertile land with fire for more than a hundred German miles, and has no other means at his disposal, even though he has taken his hasty departure from Austria, because, according to his tyrannical, eager mind, he will, in the future, with greater and more serious intentions and greater power than has ever been done, act upon the common Christianity, and subject himself to attempting his salvation and obtaining his will: We, as Roman Emperor and Head of Christendom, being ever glad and gracious to promote the welfare of the Holy Roman Empire, and to prevent it from harm and damage, have, as much as is humanly possible, acted to resist, avert, and prevent the same Turkish project, and in other matters incumbent upon the Holy Roman Empire, have acted in a salutary, stately, and profitable manner, We have decided to hold a common Diet and Assembly on the eighth day of the month of April in Augsburg, our city and that of the Holy Roman Empire, at which time we hope to discuss these Italian matters, so that we may attend such a day in person; as we have purposed to do at last. Which day we therefore hereby proclaim to your love, commanding by Roman imperial power, and earnestly commanding by the duties that you are bound to us and to the empire, and desire that you appear in person on the same day at Augsburg, and together with us and others of ours and of the holy empire's princes, rulers, and estates, which we have likewise described, to undertake, to deliberate, to decide and to carry out, how, to avert the grievous burden and invasion of Christendom by the Turkish invader, with serious rescue, resistance and persevering help, according to necessity, to the action previously practiced for this purpose, to proceed in an orderly manner; moreover, how for the sake of error and discord in the holy faith and Christianity

1) In Förstemanir: "sey" instead of: Victory.

Religion may and should be acted upon and resolved upon. And that this may be done the better and more wholesomely, to lay aside discords, to leave off unwillingness, to yield up past errors to our Saviour, and to apply diligence, to hear, understand, and consider in love and kindness all every man's opinion, opinion, and opinion between ourselves, to bring them to one Christian truth and to compare them, to put away all that is not rightly interpreted or acted for both parts, To put away all things that are not rightly laid out or done in both parts, to accept and hold by us all one and true religion, and as we are and contend all under one Christ, so to live all in one fellowship, church, and unity, and finally thus to determine, make, establish, and maintain good unity and peace, also otherwise good coin, police, and welfare of the holy kingdom everywhere in these and other matters incumbent upon the same. And therefore, that you do not fail to attend, nor refuse to go to someone else, and that you do not let anything but God's power prevent you from doing so, lest, as has often happened in the past, others, arriving at the proper time, have to wait with annoyance, heavy costs, and detrimental waste of time: that we, in consideration of the fact that we ourselves attend such a Diet with our great inconvenience, but for the benefit and good of the holy realm, as is reported, want to provide ourselves to your love without doubt. Your love also does this, together with the fact that she owes this to the holy realm in the movement of her relationship, our serious opinion. And if you do not appear in ten days, the next after the said appointed day, then nothing less shall be done and decided by us with the present estates, in all measure, as if you and others had been present, which we also want to respect and execute all as firmly, steadily and powerfully as if all estates, those present and absent, had consented thereto. Let thy love be wholly guided thereby. Given at Bononia on the one and twentieth day of January, in the thirtieth year of our kingdom, the eleventh of the Roman, and the fourteenth of all others.

Carol.

näaturn Oassarsas st OatUolieus Nujsst. proprium.

VsiäitZ WoltkireU.

Alexander Schweiß.

The Elector John's letter to the Emperor that he will personally present himself at the Imperial Diet. March 23, 1530.

The original of this letter can be found in the Weimar archives. It was already sealed, but was not sent in this but in another copy. Printed by Müller 1. 0. p. 452; by Walch and in Förstemann's "Urkundenbuch zu der Geschichte des Reichstages zu Augsburg", Vol. I, p. 116.

By most lucious, most great Emperor, Your Imperial Majesty, my submissive and willing services are in all obedience beforehand. Most gracious lord! Your Imperial Majesty. Letter, dated at Bononia, the fifth and twentieth day of February, and received by me here yesterday, in which Your Imperial Majesty has sent me a copy of the letter. Majesty. Coronation, so the same to His Imperial Majesty on the day of St. Matthew. Majesty received there in Bononia on the day of St. Matthew the Apostle, and that His Imperial Majesty has finally decided to take possession of the city. Majesty has finally decided to join the holy empire of the laudable German nation in the most beneficial way, namely to the Imperial Diet which Your Imperial Majesty will hold on the eighth day of April. Majesty's Imperial Diet in Augsburg on the eighth day of April, I have read out all the contents in my submissive opinion and gladly heard that Your Imperial Majesty has expressed her imperial approval. Majesty have received their imperial coronation and are willing to attend in Germany and further to your Imperial Majesty's proclaimed Imperial Diet. Majesty's announced Imperial Diet at Augsburg. To such all do Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty I wish by God Almighty happiness, salvation and all the best, also hope to God, Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty. The future of the Holy Empire and the discussion of the Imperial Diet shall, by the bestowal of divine graces, be conducive to peace, unity, welfare and all that is good. Thus I am in response to Your Imperial Majesty's... Majesty, which was safely delivered to me eleven days ago, as long as God Almighty preserves my health, I am willing to attend such Imperial Diet as Your Imperial Majesty has announced. Majesty in person. I have not wished to restrain Your Imperial Majesty from all this, and I respectfully submit to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty command me in all submissiveness. Date Torgau, the third and twentieth day of March, Anno dni 2c. thirtieth.

Ew. kaiserl. Majesty.

more subservient

Johans, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.

Johans L. i)

1) This is the Elector's own handwritten signature.

892 The oath taken by Emperor Carl V to Pope Clement VII before his coronation.

In Cölestins llist. oornit. torn. I. , p. 16 reprinted from a writing which appeared in quarto in 1530 under the title: Kaiserl. Majest. Coronation happened in Bononia on the 24th day of Feb. on St. Matthias day 1530.

Verdeutscht.

We, Carl, Roman King and soon to be Emperor by the Grace of God, promise, assure, testify and swear by God and St. Peter that in the future we will be a constant protector of the Papal Highness and the Roman Church to the best of our powers, understanding and ability, and that we will do no violence to any freedom of the Church, but will preserve and protect its authority, right and rule as much as we can, in which we call upon God Himself and these Holy Gospels as witnesses.

893 Pope Clement VII's bull concerning the imperial insignia granted by him to Emperor Carl V and the coronation performed on him.

March 1, 1530.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, pari. Zsn. oont. II., p. 336. translated from the Latin by I. F.

Clement, bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to the constant remembrance of the cause.

Since in the next month of February, on the feast of St. Peter, whom we succeeded, although with unequal merit, but with equal prestige and authority, our beloved son, William, of the title of St. John and Paul Cardinal Priest, wanted to perform Holy Mass at our request in the chapel of our palace in Bononia. We have been succeeded by our beloved son, William, Cardinal Priest of St. John and St. Paul, who, at our command, wished to celebrate the Holy Mass in the Chapel of our Palace at Bononia, where we are at present staying, and who, before we entered the Chapel, anointed our most beloved Son in Christ, Emperor Carl the Fifth, by virtue of our authority, and observed the other customary ceremonies according to the ancient usage: We, after these ceremonies and anointing had been completed, entered the chapel, and during the mass ourselves presented the royal and imperial insignia to this Carolo, and placed an iron crown on his head. From then on, after three days, 2) namely on the day of St. Matthew the Apostle, who celebrated Carolo's birthday.

2) These "three days" are reckoned in the Roman way, including the first and third days. The first day is the feast of Peter's chair, February 22, and the third day is St. Matthew's, February 24.

(him) with a golden crown, and at the end ordered us out of the palace over the bridge built for this act into the temple of St. Petronii. After Emperor Carl himself had performed all that such ceremonies entail, he was first made a canon of the main church of the most noble of the apostles of the city before the altar erected above the scaffolding by some canons of said church who were then staying in Bononia and were present here; Afterwards, after two speeches, one of which was delivered at the entrance to the church by the bishop of Palestrina, and the other by the bishop of Sabina, just above the emperor, he entered a certain chapel, where he put on the vestments and regalia worn by the deacons; From there he rose to the throne prepared for him; there he received the anointing from the bishop of Ostia, and presented himself before his eyes. While he was saying mass and had not yet finished reading the Gospel in Latin and Greek, we gave the Emperor the royal and imperial insignia, which he had received from us three days before, and especially put the ring on his gold finger, and had the sword, which he was to use against the enemies of the truth, girded at his side; then crowned his head with a golden crown, and immediately gave into his hands the scepter, as the special ornament of kings, and the orb, on which the whole world was stabbed, and at last left him to the kiss of peace, that the incarnate, preaching, dying, risen, and reigning Christ might instruct his congregation. Whereupon he sat down on the Caiferl. Throne, which stood next to our right side. After the mass had ended and everything had been completed that was customary at such coronations, we rode into the palace from which we had come. And lest there should be any doubt in the minds of those who are presumptuous, whether the iron (or Longobard) crown, which was once worn in the Modenese or Milanese Church, and the gold (or Roman) crown, which the Pope of Rome had been pleased to place on the Emperor's head in the aforesaid Church of St. Peter, and both of which we now, at the humble request and entreaty of the Emperor, and for legitimate motives, presented to him at Bononia, would have as much force as if each of them had been worn by the Emperor.

had been delivered and accepted to the designated place according to ancient usage: In order that this doubt may be removed from the minds, we declare by apostolic authority, by virtue of the present bull, and also wish it to be brought down to the descendants, that all the above, and what has been done in this place, shall be as firm and immovable, and retain its force, as if that coronation with the iron crown at Modena or Milan had taken place, as if that coronation with the iron crown at Modena or Milan, and this with the gold crown at Rome, had been solemnly performed in the aforesaid church, under the usual ceremonies; They also wish, by virtue of the present, that all judges and administrators in the papal palace, as well as in the Holy Roman Church of Cardinals, interpret, judge, and pronounce it in the same way, and do not permit anyone to interpret, judge, and pronounce it in a different way; they add, by infallible science and apostolic authority, all defects and errors, both in what should have been done by right and in what actually happened, if some should have happened. Finally, by virtue of this writing, according to our special gift of grace, we grant Carolo, whom Pope Leo the Tenth, of blessed memory, according to the flesh of our brother, cousin, and predecessor, dispensed in a bull, that he may retain the kingdom of Neapolis in addition to his imperial regiment, to more caution the grace that he may and may freely retain this Neapolitan kingdom beside his imperial regiment, as long as he lives, without regard to all contrary apostolic decrees, letters of grace, statutes, customs, imperial laws 2c. Accordingly, all believers in Christ, vassals and subjects of the said empire, of whatever rank they may be, even if they are emblazoned with the royal or papal dignity, in virtue of holy obedience, and as dear as our grace is to them, are hereby strictly bound and commanded to show the owed obedience to Emperor Carl ever and always. And no one shall take the liberty to offend this written declaration, will, decree, pardon and order of ours, or to act recklessly against it. But if anyone should undertake to do so, let him know that he will incur the disgrace of the Almighty God and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Bononia, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1530, March 1, in the seventh year of our papal dignity.

The second section of the thirteenth chapter.

Of the preparations for this Reichstag.

H.. Of the protesting Estates Derathschtagungi whether to appear at the Diet or not.

894 Chancellor Brück's concerns about the Elector's personal visit to the Imperial Diet, also in regard to the arrangements to be made in the country for occurring burdensome cases, and where money is to be taken from. About March 12, 1530.

In Müller's Historie, Ud. III, eax. 5, p. 432. From the original in the Weimar archives printed by Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 18. The time determination is according to Förstemann. On March 11 the imperial summons to the Imperial Diet had arrived in Torgau.

Most gracious Prince and Lord! Your churfürstl. Your Electoral Grace has told me that Your Electoral Grace desires that I should bring my young master's concerns and those of the counsellors, which I verbally indicated to Your Electoral Grace yesterday in haste, into a brief record. Your Elector's Grace that I should give a brief account of my concerns and those of the Councillors, which I verbally reported to Your Elector's Grace yesterday in a hurry. First, what concerns Your Electoral Grace. Grace. Travels of your own person against Augsburg, will be reported to your Electoral Grace. Grace. Opinion, as of a laudable Elector, it is considered good by everyone that Your Electoral Grace should be on Judica [3rd of July]. Your Electors will rise on Judica [April 3], and try whether Your Electors will go to the Gn. wander for the sake of their bodies, and take the trouble, because Ew. churfürstl. personal presence, if God wills it, would be greatly beneficial; and if Your Electoral Grace would find that they are in need of help. Gn. would find that their wandering would be burdensome and troublesome, Your Electoral Grace would know no one else to advise them. Gn. would have no other advice than, as Your Electoral Grace has said, that Your Majesty is the best. Your Grace himself said that Your Electorate. Their Electors have spared them a distant journey, since physical incapacity is the greatest matrimonial liability; so, nevertheless, Their Electors would have had to accept such a journey. with such journeys have shown their submissive obedience to Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and would like Ew. churfürstl. Grace, in their place of grace, to Augsburg, after Ew. churfürstl. Grace. Your Elector's Grace.

On the other hand, what concerns the article that it should be discussed how before Your Electoral Grace's departure to be ordered and provided for. Grace's departure should be ordered and provided for
should, where in the absence of His Electoral Grace. Grace would happen in the country, it is said: Your Electoral Grace would have given my young master this and other things a year ago, when he wanted to travel to Speier. Grace, a year ago, when Your Electoral Grace wanted to travel to Speier, had an order issued to my gracious young lord for this and other articles, which would still be in the Chancellery, the same order should also be given to the judges, who would stay here and would be ordered, for the sake of the article. If, however, Your Elector. that more orders than those of a year ago should be necessary and therefore left to them: that would be in your electoral grace, your gracious favour. Grace, gracious favor, so the order could be put on it, before E. churfürstl. Grace, allhie departed.

Thirdly, concerning the market in Leipzig, everyone in the Council has let himself be heard to advise Your Electoral Grace gladly and humbly in this matter, if he knew. Grace, to advise him gladly and humbly, if he knew it: for one had hoped that Your Electoral Grace would in future at Walpurgis Gnad, would have had to collect as much and more in their annuities on Walpurgis in the future, as the expenditure on the Leipzig market would have been, and especially with the silver, which your churfl. Grace would have received for their share of the tithe in Leipzig, because the same would not have been kept. But after your churfl. Grace had indicated through the Chancellor and myself that the expenditure at Leipzig would amount to almost twenty thousand florins, no further advice was known, because Your Electoral Grace, with the reported Waltz, would have to pay the tithes. Gnad, with the Walpurgisrent and the Zehentsilbern not want to let pay, that your churfl. Gnad, order, to make diligent, whether one takes money from people, and with some creditors, whom your churfl. Grace to make payment in the market, to be patient until Michaelmas or for a year, in which each one who is ordered by Your Electoral Grace to do so, and so to be patient, is to be allowed to do so. Grace, and if the creditors were reported, would not be lacking in submissive diligence. However, and when Your Electoral Grace Graces would again come from Augsburg with the help of the Almighty, Your Electoral Grace could further consider Grace could consider further, and the articles, so next to Your Electoral Grace, by the Chancellor. Grace, have been presented by the Chancellor and myself, but not by Your Electoral Grace. Grace, but have not been heard at that time; so that one may come to the ways, by which Your Electoral Grace, from the Grace, from the

If they wish to come to the fearful burden of their guilt and obligation, God Almighty will undoubtedly grant them grace to do so, amen.

For my sake, as the least of E. C. F. G.'s servants, I shall not lack any possible diligence that I understand or am able to do, and I command E. C. F. G. in all submissiveness.

E. C. F. G.

blackmailer

Gregorius Brück, D.

895. letter of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Chursachsen, why it is precarious to visit the Diet in person. March 20, 1530.

In Müller's Historie, p. 435 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p.61 after the original in the Weimar archives.

To the Highborn Prince, Lord Johansen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, our friendly dear grandfather, brother-in-law and godfather.

At his dear own hand.

Our friendly services, and what we are able of dear and good, before. Reverend Prince, kind dear uncle, brother-in-law and godfather! We have received and read the contents of your dear letter, in which you inform us of the reasons why your love is willing to personally attend the proclaimed Imperial Diet in Augsburg, and consider it good and request that we also personally attend the same Imperial Diet; We take it for granted that there is no need for your beloved to hurry so much to the same Diet, for we take it for granted, although we do not know it to be true, that it will not take place as expediently and quickly as it has been proclaimed. But as for our wanting to attend such a Diet in person, we cannot give your beloved a definite answer this time, for we have not yet finally decided to do so, even though we have reasons that may prevent us from doing so, as your beloved knows for himself that the Imperial Majesty, with her and the others, has not yet decided to attend the Diet. Majesty has acted so ungraciously and swiftly with her and the other embassies, and especially with ours, on account of the booklet handed over, at Bononia: should we

1) "Bononia" put by us instead of "Barselon^a" in the original; because not in Spain, but in Italy at Bologna this had happened. Cf. No. 858. 860. 863.

2) and to make an agreement of some kind, we consider what might result from this and what we might encounter; however, we have not yet finally decided on this. If, however, your beloved (whether we would attend such a Diet in person or not, and provide it with our councilors) would deem it good that we send the delegates together beforehand, and let them advise us of all that the invitation brings with it, and the necessity requires that action be taken on our behalf at the Diet; let your beloved in turn let us know this, and we will show ourselves conducive to it. We do not wish to hold back your beloved's friendly opinion, but we are inclined to serve it in a friendly manner. Date Immenhausen, on Sunday Oculi [March 20] Anno 2c. 30.

Philip by the Grace of God, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen 2c.

Philipp L. z. Hesse 2c. sßt. 3)

896 Luther's letter of March 6, 1530, to the Elector of Saxony, in which he refuted all violent resistance.

See Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. X, 532 ff.

B. What the Elector of Saxony has decreed for the provisional drafting of a Protestant confession of faith.

897 The Elector's order to Luther, Jonas, Pomeranus, and Melanchthon to draw up a list of the disputed articles in the doctrine and ceremonies. Torgau, March 14, 1530.

This document is in the original concept in the archives at Weimar. Printed in Joh. Joachim Müller's History of the Protestant Estates Protestation, 11b. III, oax. 6, p.438; in Cölestin, stist. 6onk. 1,134; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 171; in the pre-p. "st., vol. II, p. 25; in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 42 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 250. We give the text according to Förstemann.

Our greetings first, venerable and reverend, dear devotees and faithful!

We do not know to charge you in your gracious opinion that we have been informed by the Roman Emperor's Majesty. Majesty,

2) Added by us.

3) ,M" - sorixsit. -

Our most gracious lord has received a notice of the Imperial Diet, so that in the future, on the eighth*) day of April, we, like other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, are required to go to Augsburg to attend the Diet which Her Imperial Majesty is to hold there in his own person. We are sending you the enclosed copy of the above-mentioned invitation to attend.

Because among the most important matters to be dealt with at such a Diet is one concerning the discord in our Christian religion, and because of such most important matters, it is expressed that such measures are to be dealt with and decided. Namely, to hear, understand, and consider in love and kindness every man's opinion, opinion, and opinion between the estates themselves, to bring and compare this division into one Christian truth, to put away everything that would not be rightly interpreted or acted for both parts, to adopt and hold by all of us one united and true religion, and as we are and contend all under one Christ, so to live all in one fellowship, church, and unity, and finally thus to make good unity and peace: We therefore consider that the high and unavoidable necessity requires, because such a Diet may be held at a Concilii or National Assembly, that we should, for the sake of all the articles, wherefore the discord which has arisen, both in faith and in other outward church customs and ceremonies, be resolved in the most beneficial manner, may be most favorably resolved, so that before the beginning of this Diet we may be constantly and thoroughly determined whether, or in what form, and also how far we and other estates, if the pure doctrine is accepted and admitted by them, may and may suffer action with God, conscience, and good reason, even without burdensome annoyance. Since the matters, as we cannot otherwise understand the aforementioned proclamation of the Diet, are to be carried out in such a way: that then no one can consider and deliberate better, more thoroughly, nor more constantly, than you, as we also graciously request of you herewith; and especially that you want to carry out such consideration, other matters and business in peace, in such a way, so that between now and the next Sunday Oculi [20. March], and on the said Sunday you may all come to Torgau with it; as we, considering that the time until the Imperial Diet is quite short, have decided to do.

1) "Esteem" is used by us instead of "other" by Walch. Cf. No. 890. 891.

is short, and we will have to rise without delay, want to leave completely to you. And although in the foregoing notice there is nothing expressed that each estate should bring its preachers and scholars to such an action in due consideration; therefore we may not well consider how it is to be brought about that each one's opinion and opinion may be heard, and thereupon acted upon in unity: Nevertheless, it is our gracious request to you, Doctor Martin and Doctor Jonasen, provost, as well as Magister Philips Melanchthon, that you take care of yourselves and your things, and that you do as much as possible in our university in Wittenberg to have your absence read in your place, so that you may be with us again in Torgau on the day we appoint you, and then travel with us as far as Coburg, along with Magister Spalatin and Eisleben. In the meantime, God wants to know how the presentation of each part of opinion and opinion is to be done and held at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg. For if the Estates are permitted, as necessity requires, to summon their preachers and scholars to Augsburg, we will then have you summoned to us from Coburg. If, however, the preachers and estates do not wish to be admitted and escorted, you, and especially you, D. Martinus, shall nevertheless remain at Coburg until further notice from us. In view of what is at stake in these matters for all of us and for the whole of Christendom, we want to be unburdened, as we want to be completely provided for; in this you show us a special serious and gracious favour. Date Torgau, Monday after Reminiscere [14 March] Anno Domini 1530.

To Doctor Martinus. Doctor Jonas. Pommer.

Philip Melanchthon.

898 D. Mart. Luther's letter to D. Justus Jonas, who was then still on visitation. March 14, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in the Ooä. Lostoed. Printed in Cölestins List. Oonkssk. vol.I, p.24; in Buddeus, Kuxxlsm. epist. Imtk., p. 82; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 564, and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 253.

Newly translated from the Latin.

2) Walch: "with" instead of: "nit".

To Justus Jonas, Visitator in the Duchy of Saxony.

Grace and peace in Christ. The Prince has written to us, that is, to you, Pomeranus, Philip, and me, in a letter addressed to us jointly, that we should come together, set aside all other business, and before next Sunday complete what is necessary for the future Imperial Diet on April 8. For Emperor Carl himself will be present at Augsburg to settle everything amicably, as he writes in his Bull. Therefore, even though you are absent, the three of us will do as much as we can today and tomorrow; however, it will also be incumbent upon you to assign your work to the other companions 1) so that the Prince's will may be done, and to join us here tomorrow. For all things are urgent. May Christ grant that all may be done to his glory. Amen. At noon on March 14, 1530, Martin Luther.

The so-called Torgau Articles on Disputed Doctrines and Ceremonies, drawn up after the above Electoral Decree, which became the basis for the second part of the Augsburg Confession. Between March 14 and 20, 1530.

These articles are found in the supplements to Brück's Geschichte der Religionshandlungen auf dem Reichstage zu Augsburg im Jahr 1530 im Archiv zu Weimar, Bl. 306 bis 323 d, where Förstemann found them and had them printed in his Urkundenbuche, Vol. I, p. 68 ff. Walch has identified them, as has happened until recent times, with the Schwabach Articles, No. 874 in this volume, against which the following writing is directed. Cf. No. 905.

900. of D. Conrad Wimpina, D. Johann Mensing, D. Wolfgang Redörfer and Lic. Rupert Elgersma short and Christian instruction against the confession D. Mart. Luther, from the presently held Imperial Diet in Augsburg, and divided into XVII articles.

This writing appeared in 1530 at Augsburg in quarto under the above title. After that it is included in the Wittenberg edition (1569), Vol. IX,

1) Jonas' co-visitors were Benedict Pauli, Sebastian von Kötteritz and Bernhard von Hirschfeld.

Bl. 402; in the Jenaer (1566), Bd.V, Bl. 16d; in the Altenburger, Bd. V, p. 16 and in the Leipziger, Bd. XX, p. 3. It refers to the Schwabacher (not to the Torgauer) articles, as already noted in the previous number.

To the most illustrious Highborn Prince and Lord, Mr. Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, Archemperor and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, of Stettin, Pomerania, of the Cassuben and Wenden Dukes, Burgraves of Nuremberg, and Princes of Rügen: we offer ConEradus Wimpina, Johann Mensing, Wolfgangus Redörfer, Doctores, and Rupertus Elgersma, Licentiatus 2c., our prayers to God, together with willing and diligent service in all submissiveness, beforehand ready.

Most Gracious Prince and Lord! It may not be unreasonable to wonder how and for what reason Luther has now made a special confession of his erroneous faith in XVII articles against this Imperial Diet, here at Augsburg: since he has also issued a final confession of his faith shortly before this, 2) in which he also professes to persevere with death, and yet in this last confession he omits much that he set forth and confessed in the previous one. On top of all this, several hundred articles, some of them unchristian and heretical, others seditious and seductive, are still found now and then in his previously written books, which he did not touch with the least word in his first and this other confession, but rather passed over all of them in silence. If he perhaps wanted to suppose that all of these should be forgotten because he did not raise them again, and that for this reason no further blame should be attributed to him, he would be far wrong. For since he has given cause for many blasphemies, theft of spiritual goods, the seduction of many chaste hearts into sinful fornication, the transgression of oaths and vows, outrages and deaths, along with many other manifold unchristian acts, with his writings and teachings; And whether he would also now refuse and revoke the same, as he will not do after the manner of all heretics (as is to be expected); or whether also the now known articles would be unpunishable, as they do not find all of them; nevertheless so many evil deeds, of which he has been the instigator, assailant and causer, must not remain unpunished with him. For this reason, these articles of his present confession are not held in the highest esteem by anyone, nor are they to be

2) The so-called "Great Confession of the Lord's Supper," St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 894. See Col. 1094 there, § 509.

who alone may almost grieve, because the previous ones would like to bite out his jrrsals and public transgression, more than those, much more importantly and these all well, as one says, the eyes.

And so we have heard that the XVII articles of this new confession of Your Electoral Grace, perhaps in such a way that everything contained therein should be good, Christian, and blameless, have been sent here to Augsburg, and although we are certain beyond all doubt that Your Electoral Grace, as a praiseworthy Christian Elector, has not only been brought and inherited from their noble ancestors and forefathers out of innate Christian virtue, but also with a noble Christian spirit. We are also certain that your Electoral Grace, as a praiseworthy Christian Elector, not only brought and inherited from their noble forefathers and ancestors out of innate Christian virtue, but also highly enlightened with well-founded Christian doctrine, and thus fortified, that such and other such unfounded articles of your Electoral Grace do not move anything, much less move us. Grace can move nothing at all, much less seduce:

However, in order that this Luther's preaching may nevertheless be regarded by some as good and right, and that nothing justified against it may be raised, we have briefly explained a special and Christian opinion on each article as to how it should be kept, so that every pious Christian may know how to keep it, without any danger or doubt, according to the order and constitution of the common Christian church. This is attributed to E. Ch. G.'s benevolent opinion, humbly requesting that we graciously accept this diligence and benevolence of ours in ordinary graces; to which E. Ch. G. we willingly acknowledge our property in all servitude, and also owe it to her, to whom we also hereby humbly command ourselves.

To the I. Article.

It would be quite unnecessary that Martinus Luther should have so bravely and highly exalted this first article confession, so that everything and much more than is comprehended in this article by him, has been reported many times before by many concilia many hundreds of years ago, and repeated, also daily in Symbola Athanasii, at prime time, which is taught, prayed, read and sung in the office of the mass, and other tides of the priests, also ordinary by all devout Christians further and wider.

To II. Article.

This article is much less necessary to recover than the previous one. For it has not been challenged in the common Christian church for many hundreds of years. What of the foregoing
in the case of the heretics mentioned in the article, and many others, there has been error, everything has been condemned and extinguished by God's help and the knowledge of the fathers in many conciliarities, so that it would not have been necessary to recover from Luther at this time.

To the III Article.

This article, as the Christian church prays it, and especially as the only begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, and died, 2c., has no challenge; for which reason, as something special, it was unnecessary for Luther to recover it. But what is buried deeper in these words is better explained by schoolcraft than common speech.

It is considered, however, that Luther included these three articles of his confession and placed them at the top, in the opinion that he would like to cover up the other articles of his confession, which are also not included here, and to introduce the following ones all the more apparently.

To IV. Article.

That original sin is a real and true sin, and not only a defect or infirmity, but also such a sin as condemns all men who come from Adam, and separates them eternally from God, is to be understood only before baptism. For after baptism there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, Rom. 8:1. Which Christ, by his bitter suffering, working in the sacrament of holy baptism, washes away all sin; though after baptism the affections and provocations of sin, called in Latin lornes xseeuti, and by Paulum Isx irr msrnkris, remain as infirmities for man's reformation, and thus the 51st Psalm, v. 7, and Romans 5, v. 12, are to be understood.

To the V. Article.

We admit that all men before baptism, and also those who are deadly sinners after baptism, are sinners, subject to sin and death, and also to the devil, as Luther confesses in this article; and that even such sinners by their own powers, or by their own works, cannot work themselves out of it, and can neither become righteous nor godly, yea, cannot even prepare or send themselves to righteousness, to hear all things by themselves. For we know, as Paul saith [2 Cor. 3:5.], that we are not ge-

nugam to think something good out of us, as out of us, 2c.

But that the sinner through previous divine gracious help and mercy, which the Almighty God denies no one, as he also says through John in the Revelation fMp. 5, 10.^: I stand at the door, and knock; if any man admit me, I will come in to him 2c., should not be able to obtain, to prepare himself for further grace, by which he would have good works and merit, Luther nor anyone else will not receive. For it is publicly written in Proverbs 16:1: It is man's to prepare his soul; and Sir. 2:20: They that fear God shall prepare their hearts, and before his face shall they sanctify their souls. From which it is to be noted that even the sinner, if he be found by divine gracious help, may, in virtue of the same divine help, prepare himself by good works for further grace and righteousness, and at last for salvation; as publicly the text Apost. 10, 4. by Cornelio, to whom the angel said: Your prayers and alms have come to remembrance before God, through which he has come to the perfect knowledge of Christ's righteousness and to final salvation.

From this it follows that the only way to righteousness and salvation from sins and death is not to believe in the Son of God, who suffered for us without any merit or work, Though faith be necessary in all these things, and there is no scripture that commendeth faith alone to salvation, but faith which worketh by love, Gal. 5:6. This also is the same faith that justifieth, as Paul saith, Rom. 10:10, With the heart believeth one 2c. For faith that worketh not through love is of no profit, as Paul also saith, 1 Cor. 13:3; as also, to speak of it properly, works are more added to love than to faith. Because faith, in the case of many gross sins, can be without love, without merit.

So also the saying Joh. 3,16. that all who believe in the Son of God shall not perish, but have eternal life, is to be understood in such a way as John himself interprets it, when he says 1 Joh. 2, 4.: Whoever says that he believes in God and does not keep His commandments is a liar, and the truth is not in him.

To the VI article.

That faith is not a human work, nor possible out of our own strength, but it is God's work and gift [John 6:29], which the We allow the Holy Spirit to work in us, but he is infused into us with other virtues in baptism, who also, if formed and adorned with divine love, does many good works. But where love is not present, faith is unable to do good works of merit by itself, as St. Paul says in 1 Corinthians 13:3, ascribing good works chiefly to love, for love is the sum and entire perfection of the law, Romans 13:10.

To Article VII.

We also confess that over and above the faith infused in baptism by the Holy Spirit, by which the children are saved (for without faith no one can please God, Heb. 11:6), it is still necessary for the baptized to instruct them in the doctrines and articles of faith, and to proclaim the same to them; which is done by the ministry of preaching, but by means of inward enlightenment, without which the ministry of preaching would be of little effect. From this it is concluded that both the ministry of preaching and the infused faith are all necessary to the salvation of the souls of those who have come to their years.

To VIII. Article.

We confess that not only the two sacraments, as baptism and Eucharist, are expressed in the article, but also five other useful ones, by which God also gives faith and his Spirit to those who desire it; as is clearly and sufficiently founded in the holy Scriptures, here to recover much too long.

To the IX Article.

That the Sacrament of Holy Baptism was instituted by God the Lord to wash away all sin and sanctify those who are baptized, is clearly stated by St. Paul in Titus 3:5: "By His mercy He has made us blessed, through the washing of another's birth, and the renewing of the Holy Spirit, whom He poured into us abundantly. For this reason baptism is not to be regarded as a mere and empty sign, as the Jewish sacraments were, because it sanctifies inwardly those who touch it by heart.

To the X. Article.

In the Sacrament of the Eucharist, that is, of the Corpus Christi and the Blood of Christ, we confess that^ although there is bread and wine before the Confirmation

But after the confirmation we do not confess that bread and wine remain there, but only the form of the same, and under every form the true body and blood of Christ, and the whole Christ, are contained undivided and perfect, and this by virtue of the words which Christ himself has spoken and set forth. And because holy faith must first proceed in this sacrament before it is received, it appears more that divine love, than faith, is increased and nourished thereby; as it is also called a sacrament of unity, incorporation, and love.

To the XI article.

That the secret confession should not be enforced by laws, as little as baptism, 2c. we do not charge; because an unbaptized person does not belong to the church; wherefore the church has not yet to command him, as Paul teaches 1 Cor. 5:12. But a baptized person is now subject to the holy church, and ought also to be kept in the best manner as a child of the kind mother, and, if need be, to be ordained by compulsion. And because at all times from the beginning of the world, first in the law of nature, 6onktz88io iri6ntuli8, and at the time of the written law, among the Jews, sonksMio o6r6irioniuli8, from divine commandment, well heavier than our confession, weaved, and Christ came not to abolish the law, but rather to confirm it [Matth. 5:17.], and he also himself said to the apostles f^John 20:23: Whose soever sins ye forgive, they shall be forgiven 2c., And so in this and other places confession is thus needfully made, signified, and set up; and John saith 1 John 1:9.If we confess our sins, God is faithful to forgive us our sins; which all the holy fathers understood of sacramental confession: so the church hath sufficient and just cause to command such a comforting, wholesome, and useful thing to the unwilling, who otherwise will not know their own profit; as then the common Christian church by the chapter 0irini8 ntrin8M6 äs posQ. which every Christian is bound to obey, because Christ said publicly, He that heareth not the church is a heathen and a publican [Matt. 18:17].
But the Christian church does not admit that each man alone should confess some of the sins he is guilty of inside and some he is not, as he pleases. For St. Augustine calls such a thing more of a gleaming than a true confession. For many people, and especially of this time,
who have a holey and torn conscience, yes, who completely trample it underfoot, who also have no conscience at all of broken vows and oaths, 2c., along with other much more gross sins. If absolution, as Luther confesses, is to take away all sin, confession must also be made of all sins, as much as is possible for man.

To the XII. Article.

That there be and remain on earth one holy Christian church unto the end of the world, is signified by our Christian faith, when we say: I believe the common holy church. And that such a church also is in the believers in Christ, there is no doubt. But that in such a church also there is a Christian authority, so that the church may not remain disordered, is shown us by St. Paul, Eph. 4, v. 11, 12, that Christ, when he ascended into heaven, left some behind him, as apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors, for the perfection of the saints, for the edification of the body of Christ 2c. And again, 1 Thess. 5:12, We beseech you, brethren, know them which labour among you, and preside in the Lord 2c. and to the Hebrews 13, v. 17, Be obedient to your stewards, and subject: for they watch, as they that should give account unto God for your souls 2c. Such an assembly of rulers and spiritual governors, because they have power to order and to discern in the church, is often also called the church, to which also Christ directs us, saying Matth. 18, 17: Tell it to the church; for which reason the church is many times put on and discerned, but only for all believers in Christ.

From this it is clear and evident that not those, as Luther confesses in this article, who keep, believe, and teach the above-mentioned laws, articles, and pieces, can be or be called the Christian church, because they have deviated from the unity of the church, and from the obedience of the ordained rulers and spiritual rulers, from the same order and knowledge, with this and many other heretical articles, and have wilfully left. And though they are persecuted and martyred in the world because of their insanity and disobedience, let them know that even the devil has his martyrs.

But that the Christian church should not be governed by statutes and ordinances, is openly contrary to the Holy Ghost, and to Paul, Acts 15:17, 27. 15:17, 27, when he commanded to keep the doctrines and statutes of the apostles and elders, which were ordained at **Jerusalem** in the assembly.

Ceremonies, which for the glory of God, for the stimulation and increase of the devotion of Christian people, are appointed and decreed by the aforementioned rulers of the church, cannot be counted as useless splendor, but as a Christian adornment and display of Christian love and faith. For this reason it cannot be unreasonable or useless to bind them to place, time, person, and gift, since the church must and will still be on earth in time, among persons, and places. Thus St. Paul teaches in 1 Corinthians 14:40: Let all things among you be done in good order and honestly.

To the XIII article.

This article is not to be disputed in itself, where it is so understood, that the faithful, who have done good, shall be saved unto salvation, as John 5:29 saith, They shall rise again at the last day, they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life 2c. For Christ himself saith Matt. 7:21, Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, entereth into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father.

To the XIV article.

As much as is said in this article about secular authority and rule is also to be understood about ecclesiastical authority and rule; because ecclesiastical authority, out of necessity in the church no less than secular, must be preserved, so that everything may be done in good order and honestly; for which reason pastors and doctors, as sufficiently indicated above in the twelfth article, are also reported by Paulum.

On de" XV. article.

This article is quite vicious, full of falsehood and blasphemy, unless one can prove by documents that someone is forbidden to marry. If, however, the priesthood, by vows, have abstained from marriage, the Christian church has good cause to compel them to keep their vows. This is the way it is done with monks and nuns, and it should be kept.

But that the priests and monastics should live chastely has been kept in earnest from the time of the apostles until now, and has been brought to us, since the apostles, according to the teaching of Christ, Matt. 19:29, forgave their wives, and never found that the disciples of the same priesthood had wives. Forasmuch as we know that the priests and Levites of the Old Testament, if they should be in their service, should sanctify themselves, and live chastely, and not be given to wives.

The priests had to abstain from women, Deut. 6, and in many other places; and David was refused the priestly bread by Abimelech, until he abstained from women three days before. Much more the Christian priests, who are now bound to serve not the shadows, but the truth, if they are daily to take the true bread of heaven, the chaste body of Jesus Christ, themselves, and to give it to other people, should keep themselves chaste at all times. For Paul also, for the sake of prayer, exhorted the married man to abstain for a season from conjugal works.

Although the eating of flesh is not in itself a sin, nor is it forbidden by the church, inasmuch as the eating of flesh should in itself be evil and sinful; but because Christians do not of themselves follow the apostolic doctrine, which is called to us, as St. Paul teaches in 2 Cor. 6:5 and Cap. 11:27, the church, as a careful mother, has had just cause to enjoin such fasting. But because Christians do not comply with the apostolic teaching, which St. Paul teaches in 2 Cor. 6:5 and Cap. 11:27, the church, as a careful and kind mother, has had just cause to enjoin such fasting, and not to eat meat for several days, for the bridling of our naughty corpse. So that no one may justly complain with truth that he is forbidden to eat meat other than in this way. Since then also monastic vows, both in the Old and now and in the New Testament, have been variously practiced, vowed, and counseled, as the apostles also prove with the unclothing of many virgins, and have led them to the world: who then can say that such monastic vows, abstinence from women, and eating flesh, should be devilish doctrine (as Luther says)? And he wants to shame this with St. Paul's 1 Tim. 4:1, since Paul himself counseled virginity, and also consecrated Theklam in Jonio as a monastic virgin with many others. And such vows and abstinence are good and certain paths of direction in Christ, which are the right and true way to grace and salvation.

On de" XVI article.

That the mass, which until now has been a sacrifice and a good work, should now be an abomination is Luther's deliberate blasphemy, which he will never be able to prove. As many scholars have commanded him to prove, but he has never been able to do so, and will never be able to do so. Therefore the holy mass, which is kept for a sacrifice and good work for the living and the dead from the time of the apostles until now, as all the holy fathers' writings prove, will remain even longer until Christ comes again, as St. Paul says [Cor. 11:26]: Nvrtem Domini nnmmeiübitis, ÄoN66 betrayed.

But that the sacrament of Christ's Corpus Christi should be administered in two forms to each person's faith is unnecessary. For this would be the cause of great unbelief and heresy, as if Christ should not be perfect under one form, when he is especially perfect in every form, because of the independence, reality, or spiritual fruit, which in Latin is called 6886ntia6 st ökkroaeias. For this and other reasons, as well as for reasons of danger and error, the Church has recognized and decreed in two Councils, at Costnitz and Basel, a form, as has long been held in the Church, to be given to the laity; from which also the laity are not at all harmed, but from which their grace and merit are raised and increased in Christian obedience.

On de" XVII article.

That ceremonies and divine services must be in the church is beyond doubt. But what the ceremonies are that strive against God's word, as Luther reports, is not yet known. If, however, some of these were reported, then they would be spoken of.

But that every man should make new ceremonies every day, according to his own frivolity, willfulness, and inconstancy, would be contrary to the common peace, and cause great vexation. This is also contrary to Paul, when he says, Let all things be kept honest and orderly among you, 1 Corinthians 14:40, and let every man be justified in keeping them, 2c.

001.9 Martin Luther's answer to the cry of some papists about the XVII Articles.

This document is the preface to the 17 Schwabach Articles, which Luther himself published and which have already been communicated in No. 874. The locations are given there. Also the second edition of the Erlangen edition, Vol. 24, p. 334, identifies still, as well as Walch, the Schwabacher and the Torgauer articles, although already Förstemann in his Urkundenbuche, Vol. I, p. 67 and Müller in his introduction to the Concordienbuche have clarified their relationship to each other long ago.

To the Christian reader Martin Luther.

Grace and peace in Christ! Seventeen articles have recently gone out in print under my name, with the title as if I wanted to submit them to the present Diet, of which I have never had any thoughts.
have. It is true that I have helped to introduce such articles (for they were not introduced by me alone), not for the sake of the papists, nor to be introduced at this Imperial Diet), but for the sake of which they were introduced. I would not have provided for them to come to the day, much less that they should go out with such a title under my name. And whoever did it would have preferred to leave it to me, as he knew well that he had no order or permission from me.

002 Not that I am afraid of the light, or that I do not think such articles right; they are all too good, and far too delicious, that I should deal with the papists about them. For what do they ask of such beautiful, divine, high articles? It would be just as if I wanted to trade with sows of pearls, and with dogs of the sanctuary. There belong articles of marc and bran, of bones and legs for such saints. What should the sow Muscats? It would be the last three articles, which I think they would consider as being against them. For they have a little of their marrow and bones, which they do not like to let go.

003 Or if their marc and bones were not to be traded, there would have been for them, out of the holy spiritual law, viper's poison and the devil's filth, as one that is called 8i ? apa, wherein they teach: And if the pope lead so shameful a nature, that he thereby lead innumerable souls to the devil daily into hell, yet he shall not be punished nor defended for it. These are the right knots and articles, for which they devour the goods of the world; and yet all unpunished, obdurate, unrecognized, while murdering and burning, since even their own right does not permit it. So they shall receive the reward of their error in themselves, until they perish, amen.

004 Wherefore I pray the printers once more, that they proceed not so, and with their untimely printing make displeasure to me, and a monkey's tail to others. I would have gladly kept silent here, and let what goes,

1) The opponents had been misled by the title given to the Schwabach Articles by Hans Bern in Coburg. See No. 874.

if the tiresome pawing, boasting, defiance, and blasphemy had not resulted from the fact that these swine and dogs search so closely that they also almost began to search out my thoughts and write about them.

5. Let us now look to pray with all diligence and earnestness and call upon God to give His grace at the present Imperial Diet, and to grant His Holy Spirit with power to the pious, good Emperor Carol, who sits like an innocent little lamb among many such sows and dogs, yes, among many devils (with whom there is no praying to God, but only defiance and insistence on their own wit and power), but only defiance and insistence on his own wit and power), give his Holy Spirit power to establish peace and good government in German lands, so that we may all escape from the rut that is already bound over our skin and that we will not lack. God himself must create good in the Diet with his own power; otherwise both emperors, princes, and all the estates of the empire will be nothing; the devil is so angry and bitter. And each of them should think that such a Diet should be of the highest value to him, that he should enjoy its beauty where God will be present, and that he should repay it with evil where the devil will be the abbot, as he has in mind, and that he intends to introduce other articles that are also cruel to look upon. God help us, amen.

902 Philipp Melanchthon's letter to Luther, in which he reports to him, among other things, that he is working on the production of the Augsburg Confession. May 4, 1530.

The original of this letter can be found in the Leipzig City Library. Printed in the Lpp. Melanect. , lib. I. , x. 4; in the London edition of the same, lib. I. , 6P. 3rd; in Cölestin, dist. eorn. VuA. vol. I, p. 39; in Dav. Richter's OenealoNa Idutderioruna, p. 355; in the Oorp. Lei. , vol. II, p. 38; in Chyträus, dist. eont., p. 26, and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 323. German in the Hist. of the Augsb. Confession of Chyträus, p. 26 d and in Walch. We have translated according to the Erlanger Briefwechsel.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To D. Martin Luther, his most dear father. Hail! When we wanted to write to you today through the messenger of Jonah, behold, contrary to our expectation, yet exceedingly desired,
your letter 1) delivered. Your kindness is very pleasant to us, and we ask that you write to us as often as possible about all your affairs. From Nuremberg we have addressed a letter to you, about which I have also given orders to this messenger that he should demand that it be handed over to him if the same had not yet been sent. At Augsburg we have received more certain news, for yesterday the young man 2) of Count Albrecht returned, who had been sent to reconnoitre the Emperor's travels. He reports that the Emperor has departed from Trent, and, if our account does not deceive us, he has already arrived at Insbruck.

Count Heinrich von Nassau has written a letter full of goodwill and kindness to our Prince, admonishing him to come to the Diet early. 3) Although the talk of the people is of many kinds, we still have good hope for the Emperor's will. But the matter, as you know, is in God's hands. Therefore you must pray what you do, as I know. . . Besides ours, there is no other prince here. It is said that Duke George will be here in three days, who will bring with him the Cochläus 4) from which, by changing a few letters, the bird xxxxxxx [jackdaw] will be made, of whose kind you have written to us how sweetly they practice their oratory in your neighborhood. Therefore a divination from the birds hath taken place. And that thou mayest know that this is by no means void, Eck, who, when he is doubled, emits the cries of jackdaws, has brought together a great heap of theses 5). He demands of the princes that a disputation be set up against the Lutherans. He has my old friend Billicanus 6) to join him, but he threatens us.

1) No. 5 in the appendix to this volume, dated April 29.

2) Here he is called puer, whereas in a letter of Jonas to Luther of May 4 aäoleseens X. äs Hütten.

3) The letter of the Count of Nassau was written at Brixen on May 1 and received by the Elector at Augsburg on May 3. The latter's answer of May 4 is found in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. I62.

4) In the original: Coeüleain - the snail. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, introduction, p. 30 d.

5) no less than 404 theses, which he had printed in Ingolstadt for a possible disputation in Augsburg. The disputation note (sedeäa, as he himself calls it) comprises 18 quarto leaves.

6) Billicanus was an extremely fickle man. At first he held with the Lutherans. (See Luther's letter to Hausmann of Jan. 20, 1526, St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 515.) But as early as Jan. 16, 1526, at which-.

terrifying. There are many others I cannot enumerate, in truth jackdaws and ravens upon ravens, and may be hereafter. The Chancellor of Hesse, namely Feige, came yesterday, and said for certain that his Prince was on his journey. At the same time with him came Schnepf, a very good man, who is very friendly to you, who gives us some hope that his Prince can be kept in the right, although he does not hide the fact that there is great danger. He tells how great a struggle he has to endure with him on account of the Lord's Supper. He says that he is continually besieged with letters from the Swiss, and that almost every month the town master Storm approaches him to urge his master. This grieves me very much. Perhaps it would be useful if you wrote to him, or at least to our younger Prince, in order to fortify Philip's heart 1) in the right doctrine. He often seems to be moved by slight impulses. I have made the entrance to our protective writing (*apologiae*) 2) a little more oratorical (kseials I wrote it at Coburg).
...I had. In a short while I will either bring it myself, or, if the prince does not allow it, send it.

At the same time as Luther wrote the letter just mentioned, he addressed a letter to Oekolampad, in which he went over to the latter in the main. On March 18, he wrote quite differently to Pirkheimer. (Cf. Erl. Briefw., Vol. V, p. 311, note 4.) In 1527 he again approached the Roman Church, and in September, 1529, applied to the old-believing faculty at Heidelberg for a master's degree, but was refused, and then turned to the faculty at Wittenberg, which he had just deserted, in order to obtain a doctor's degree. When Eck listed him in his 404 theses as one of those to be fought, he was so frightened that he recanted before Campegius in Augsburg on October 30, 1530, and had himself released from the priesthood by him. Then he engaged in merchandising with his father-in-law in Nördlingen for a time, until the people of Nördlingen received word of his atrocious apostasy and their anger against him broke out. Since the danger from the emperor was over for him, he privately and publicly denied the Augsburg process, renounced the merchants and became a Protestant preacher again.

1) In the text: roL of the Macedonian; so calls Melanchthon often called the landgrave Philip of Hesse because of his resemblance to Philip of Macedonia after the rain and after the manner.

2) The exoräium is not to be understood as the preface to the Augsburg Confession addressed to the Emperor, which Brück wrote and Jonas translated into German. To refer it to the articles of faith themselves, as Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, p. 460, assumes, does not seem feasible to us; it is rather a preface to the Torgau articles, as Knaake concludes from the letter of the Nuremberg envoys to the council there (6orr>. liek. II, 83).

I almost forgot to mention your Cajetan among the jackdaws. For they say that the Emperor brings this one with him. 3) At Nuremberg I had heard of Campegius, but here they say it is Cajetan. Of course I would rather it were Campegius, a man experienced in civil matters. The other is an inconsistent and rude man; there is nothing to be done with that sort of person. Doctor Caspar 4) sends a letter and medicine; Christ keep you. The letter from your wife I send back to you. I have kept Caspar's letter 5); with regard to him, if God gives us a happy return, we will see to it that he gets into a more adequate position. If I were there, it would not be burdensome for me to support him with the deed. Farewell, and write again. Wednesday after Philippi and Jacobi [4 May] 6) 1530.

Philip.

903 An extract from the copy of the Confession, which Spalatin wrote at Augsburg with his own hand, before the complete establishment of the same.

This extract is from Cyprian's Beilagen zur Historie der Augsburgischen Confession, p. 167. The original of Spalatin's whole record is in the Weimar Archives L6I. L. ^ol. 37, no. 1, pp. 32-62, reprinted in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. I, pp. 310 ff. The 32nd leaf has the inscription in another, contemporaneous hand: "Articles of Faith and Report of the Articles in Dispute." Spalatin's handwriting goes no further than the first third of the 27th article of the Augsburg Confession.

Articles of Faith and Doctrine.

First, it is taught and held in our churches with one accord, according to the decision in the Concilium Nicenum, that there is one Divine Being, which is called and is true, and yet there are three Persons in the same Divine Being, equally powerful, equally eternal, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, all three One Divine Being, eternal, undivided, infinite in power, wisdom, and goodness, one Creator and Sustainer of all things visible and invisible; And by the word is understood, not a piece, nor a quality in another, but an independent thing, as then the holy fathers in this

3) This was a false rumor.

4) Lindemann, personal physician of the Elector.

5) Cruciger.

6) In Cölestin and thereafter in Walch the wrong date: Thursday after the Exaltation of the Cross.

The word "person" was used in the first place. Therefore in our churches are rejected and condemned all heresies contrary to this article, as the Manichaeans, who set up two gods, one evil and one good; likewise the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mahometans, and all such like; Also the old and new Samosatians, who put no more than one person in the Godhead, and make sophistry of these two, Word and Holy Ghost, pretending that they need not be three distinct persons, but that "Word" signifies the bodily Word or Voice, and that the Holy Ghost is a created impulse in [the] creatures.

Art. 6. Furthermore, it is taught and preached in our churches that touched faith should bring forth good fruits and good works, and that one should do good works and all things that God has commanded for the sake of God, not to merit God's grace by such works; for forgiveness of sins and righteousness, which is valid before God, are given by grace for Christ's sake to all those who believe that God will be gracious to them for Christ's sake.

Art. 10. Furthermore, it is taught and preached in our churches concerning the Sacrament of the Altar and the Passover of Christ our Lord, that the true Body and Blood of Christ are truly present in this Sacrament in the form of bread and wine, and are distributed and received there; for which reason the contrary doctrine is also rejected.

904 Melanchthon's letter to Luther at Coburg, when he sent him the Confession for revision. May 11, 1530.

The original of this letter is in the Munich Hof- und Staatsbibliothek. Printed in Melanchthon's epp. 11b. I., p. 18; in the London edition Hd. I., ep. 14; in Cölestin's üist. coro. Vol. I, p. 41; in des Chyträus üist. 6onk., Latin p. 30, German p. 58; in Cyprian's Supplements to the Augsb. Conf., p. 169; in the Oorp. Rek., vol. II, p.45 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 330. In Chyträus and Walch with the wrong date: "Den 10. Mai."

Newly translated from the Latin.

To D. Martin Luther, his most dear father.

Hail! One sends you our protection writing (apoloAiu)?) but in truth it is more a faith-

1) The Augsburg Confession was initially usually called Apologia. But here it is a matter of

The emperor does not have time to listen to long disputations. For the emperor does not have time to listen to long disputations. But I have said that which I believed to be most useful, or quite so. For this reason I have summarized almost all the articles of faith, because Eck has issued the most diabolical calumnies against us. 2) Against these I have wished to oppose a remedy. You will judge according to your spirit about the whole Scripture. The Duke George and the Margrave Joachim have traveled to the Emperor. There an Imperial Diet will be held about our necks. Therefore you will ask God to destroy the counsel of the heathen [Ps. 33:10] who like to get [Ps. 68:3I]. A question is brought to thee, which I very much desire thee to answer. There is no doubt that the Emperor will forbid the Zwinglian sermons. 3) We therefore assume that under this pretext our sermons will also be forbidden, because Eisleben is already preaching in a public church 4). What is your opinion now? Is not the public place to be given up, if the emperor will so demand: he desires this, so that the Zwinglian sermons can also be prevented without unrest? I answered: one must yield to the will of the Emperor, in whose city we are now guests. But our age 5) makes difficulties. What now seems good to you in this, you want, I ask, to write in German on a special note. Be so kind as to answer about this matter. We think that the Emperor cannot arrive within a fortnight. For a Diet of the Austrian territories is now being held at Hall am Jnn. Moreover, we have nothing new, and with such a great difference of opinion we cannot judge what to hope from the Emperor's advice, but expect help from Christ. Fare thee well. Wednesday after Jubilate [May 11] 1530. Eisleben sends you its best regards. Philip.

not yet about the whole Confession, as one sees from the simultaneous letter of the Elector (No. 905), but about the disputed, that is the Torgau, articles.

2) His 404 theses. See No. 902.

3) Some of the Augsburg preachers, especially Michael Keller, were Zwinglians.

4) in the Dominican Church and in other churches of the city. Kawerau, Agricola, p. 95.

5) With Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, p. 182 not the Elector, but the Chancellor Brück is to be understood by the "old man", as results from his concerns about this matter (No. 921).

905. letter of the Elector John to 9th Luther, that he should raise his objections to the Confession revised by Melanchthon. Augsburg, May 11, 1530.

The original concept of this letter is in the Weimar Archives. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol., IX, p. 405b; in the Jena (1566), vol.V, p. 21b; in the Altenburg vol. V, p. 21; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 173; in Chyträus p. 55; in the Leipzig Theologen Historie des Sacramentsstreits, p. 109; in Cyprian in the Supplements p. 168; in the 6orp. Rec. , vol. II, p. 47; in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 190; and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 328.

John 2c.

Our greetings first, venerable and reverend, dear devotee. After you and other of our scholars at Wittenberg, at our gracious request, have recorded the articles that are disputed on account of religion, we do not wish to conceal from you that now U. Philippus Melanchthon has further overlooked the same and drawn them into a form, which we send to you herewith. And it is our gracious wish that you may continue to read and move these articles. And where you consider it so convenient, or to add something of it or to it, let it be recorded next to it, so that we may then be prepared and sent for Imperial Majesty's arrival, which we will shortly provide, and then send the same to us again without delay, well preserved and in good condition with this messenger.

We do not know how to behave in newspapers that we have received a letter from those of us who are now at Imperial Majesty's Court in Jnsbruck, among other things, about how they intend to deal with us for Imperial Majesty's arrival, so that we do not want to have preaching in the churches, as we have begun, as you will have to safely hear the opinion from the list submitted. And even though we have reservations about this, we nevertheless want you to give us your opinion on the proposal that should be made to us here, so that we can do right in the eyes of God and our conscience. In this you do us a gracious favor. Date Augsburg, Wednesday after Jubilate [May 11] Anno Domini 2c. 1530.

To Doctor Martinum.

906 Luther's Answer to the Elector of Saxony, concerning the Confession. May 15, 1530.

The original of this letter is in the Weimar Archives. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol.IX, p.406; in the Jena edition (1566), vol.V, p.22; in the Altmburg, vol.V, p.21; in the Leipzig, vol.XX, p.173; in the Erlangen, vol.54, p.145; in De Wette, vol.IV, p.17; in Chyträus, Hist. der Augsb. Cons., p. 25; in Buddeus, suppl. epist. I^utü., p. 93; in Fabricius' eentikol. I^utü., p. 107; in Wilhelm a Vallo, vol. II. d. 40; in Müller, Historie der ev. Stände Protestation, p. 488, and translated into Latin in Ooelesüv., vol. I, p. 40. -

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have read over M. Philipsen's Apologia; it pleases me almost well, and I know nothing to improve it, nor to change it, nor would it be suitable, for I cannot tread so softly and quietly. May Christ our Lord help it to bear much and great fruit, as we hope and pray, amen.

To the question:.

Where imperial majesty would desire that E. C. F. G. should keep quiet with sermons, it is still, as before, my opinion that the emperor is our lord, the city and everything is his; just as one should not resist E. C. F. G. at Torgau, where they desired or created, as in their city, that one should leave this or that. I would like to see, where it would be, that one could, with good words and the manner of the imperial majesty, turn around the desire and the nobility of the city. and nobility could be turned with humility, that his Imperial Majesty would not be so outrageous. Majesty would not forbid preaching so outrageously, but would let someone listen first to how one preached. It should not be imperial. Majesty should not forbid preaching the clear Scriptures, because otherwise one would not preach seditiously or enthusiastically. If that does not help, then one must use force for justice. We have done our part, and are excused.

Such I have to answer E. C.F.G. to this question know humbly. The barm-

hearty God be with E. C. F. G. through his Holy comforting Spirit, Amen. On Sunday Cantate [15 May] Anno 1530.
E. C. F. G.

blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

C. What the Elector of Saxony made for godly arrangements and decrees before his departure to Augsburg, and of the journey itself.

907 Letter of Convoy from the City of Augsburg to the Elector of Saxony. 30 April 1530.

Printed from the original written on parchment in Förstemann's Book of Documents, Vol. I, p. 160. In Müller's History 2c., p. 454; the following numbers up to No. 912 inel. which follow immediately hereafter in Müller, are taken from here by Walch. From no. 910 on we have been able to correct again according to Förstemami.

We, the mayors and councillors of the city of Augsburg, publicly confess by this letter, and make known to all men, that we declare to the noble, high-born prince and lord, Mr. Johansen, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave in Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen, and our most gracious lord, out of his electoral grace, graciously request, at this present Imperial Diet, which the Roman Imperial and Hispanic Royal Majesty, our most gracious lord, has held here at Augsburg, and has advertised the same to his electoral lordships and to all those who are in need of it. and all those whom they bring with them, also their bodies, goods and chattels, to come here, to be here during the said Imperial Diet, and to return therefrom to their custody, for us and ours, without danger to us, free, secure and escorted, and do so now knowingly by virtue of this letter. However, we herewith exclude whether His Electoral Grace has with him and would bring here anyone who or which has violated the land peace established by His Imperial Majesty and the Holy Empire, and has fallen into punishment and offence of the same, which we do not have the power to pass on, 1) all of which we have not yet done.

1) That Luther is meant by this is beyond doubt, and perhaps it was this reservation of the city of Augsburg that caused Luther to be left behind in Coburg. (Förstemann.)

but danger. In witness whereof we have printed at the end of this writing our little sigil. Given on the last day of April, from the birth of Christ our dear Lord, in the fifteen hundred and thirtieth year.

908: List of the princely persons, counts, lords, noble and learned councillors and others whom the Elector of Saxony took with him on his journey to Augsburg.

See No. 907.

I. To princes.

1. the Churprinzen, duke Johann Friedrichen.
2. duke Franzen of Lüneburg.
3. Prince Wolfgangen von Anhalt.

II. to counts and lords.

1. count Albrechten von Mansfeld.
Count Ernsten von Gleichen.
3rd Count Jobsten von Mansfeld.
4. the Lord of Wildenfels.

III. to noble rulers.

1. Mr Friedrichen von Thun.
2. Sebastian and
3. Joachim, Marschalle zu Pappenheim.
4. Mr Hansen von Minkwitz.
5. Mr Hansen von Weißenbach.
6. Cunz Gotzmannen.
7. Ewalden von Brandenstein.

IV. To scholars.

1. D. Gregorius Bridges, Chancellor.
2nd D. Christian Baier, Registrar.
3. Christoph Großen.

V. To nobility.

Seven knights and 70 of nobility.

VI. To clergy.

1. Martin Luther (who, however, was confined to the castle of Coburg because of imperial and papal orders). Eight and Papal. ban, was left behind).
2. Justum Jonam.
3. George Spalatinum.
4. Philip Melanchthonem.
5. Johann Agricolam, whom Count Albrecht of Mansfeld brought with him.

909 Duke Ernst of Lüneburg's letter to the Elector, in which he offers to go with him as a servant to the Diet. March 20, 1530.

See No. 907.

Our friendly services and what we more dear and good can do before. Reverend Prince, kind sir and cousin! This day I received E. L.'s letter, in which E. L. kindly informs me L. kindly informing me that they are required to attend the Imperial Diet and are willing to do so in their own person, kindly thinking that I in my own person also want to attend it and not stay away. Now I have herebefore indicated to Your Lordship my friendly good opinion/) that I would also be required to attend such Imperial Diet, with the copy of the mandate issued, and notification of what, after my recent departure from Nuremberg, would be necessary to do on Your Lordship's and the others' advice and consent before attending the Imperial Diet; in the hope that Your Lordship will now have received the same. L. have now received my letter and noted it in the best way; and would in truth be willing and eager to attend the appointed Diet in my own person (although I know little benefit or fruit to be gained there for myself). However, E. L. knows my inability and difficulties, into which I have been led by my father, and it can be well assumed that it will cause me great burdensome expenses, which, according to my present opportunity, would also cause me great inconvenience, since I would have to sit down and get involved in such a great expense; I would have kindly asked E. L. for this, who would be able to spare me this time, and that it would be enough for him to send my advisors with full power. Since, however, E. L. wanted to see my person at the Imperial Diet, and to reduce their number of interpreters a little, according to E. L.'s own pleasure, and to take me along as a servant in place of them, which should all be left to E. L., I wanted to leave my service at once. I would gladly and diligently represent my service like others, and to move with E. L., as far as always possible, to arrange my things; however, in this case, I ask that I not be noted otherwise than for the indicated reasons, and as one who would gladly be willing to be of friendly service to E. L. in all ways. This in order to protect E. L. of my fortune.

1) In a letter found in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. 36.

I am willing. Date Ulfen ^Uelzen^, Sunday Oculi f^20. Marches Anno 30.

By the Grace of God Ernst, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg.

Ernst, mpp.

910 Letter from Prince Wolf of Anhalt to the same. March 18, 1530.

This letter is found in Müller I. c. p. 458 and in Förstemann I. e. p. 58.

To the Highborn Prince, Lord Johans, Duke of Saxony and Elector, my gracious Lord,
for the attention of.

Most Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have read Your Grace's letter to go with the same E. G. to the presently announced Imperial Diet in Augsburg; as I do not wish to reassure E. G. that I have not yet received a letter from Imperial Majesty on this matter; but, as it is, I will, God willing, go to E. G.'s own person in a beneficial manner, and converse with her on official business on this matter, and also, as her servant, send E. G.'s letter to Augsburg. G.'s own person, and communicate with her on official business, and also show myself obediently as her servant, according to E. G.'s letter, and keep to it. I have not wished to hold E. G., as the same servant, to answer, for I am willing to serve E. G.. Date my hand, Friday after Reminiscere [March 18] Anno 30. Wolf, Prince of Anhalt 2c.

911) Rescript of the Elector of Saxony to some noblemen accompanying him in the country, how they should dress and equip themselves.

March 14, 1530.

After the original conception in Weimar at Förstemann I. e. p. 37. Without the postscript at Müller I. o. p. 458 and at Walch. '

John 2c.

Dear faithful! We inform you that the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has proclaimed a common Diet against Augsburg on the eighth day of April. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has announced a common Imperial Diet against Augsburg on the eighth day of the month of April, which we, by the grace of God and the help of our own persons, are willing to attend; therefore, we request that you take care of your affairs in all respects, and that you arrive at Augsburg on the eighth day of April with two armed horses, dressed in livery, as is our common court color at this time.

And upon your arrival, you shall also be informed where your clothes are to be carried and how it is to be arranged and divided up for the stable horses. You do us a good favour, and in our gracious opinion we do not want to keep you from such things. Date at Torgau, Monday after Reminiscere [March 14] Anno Domini 2c. 30.

To some of the country gentry.

(On the back of the Conceptes the names of the noble lords to whom this letter was issued are so recorded:

Count Ernst von Gleichen 4 equipped [horses].
Count Wolf of Barbei 3.
Hans von Zedwiz.
Abraham von Einsiedel.
Ernfrid vom End [the] younger.
Joachim von der Pforten.
Horstal.
Hesperg zu Neuhaus.
Quirin von Gauern.
Alexander von Brandenstein.
Florian von Konritz.
Cunz von Meußbach zu Otndorf.
Ot von Sebach.

It is followed by this postscript:

And after we have considered, with God's help, to make such a journey on the Monday after Judica [4. April] and to make our way and camp at Altenburg, Saalfeld and henceforth at Coburg, and in such a way that we hope to arrive there in the evening or on the day of Palmarum, therefore you will take care at which end it will be most convenient for you, but so, if you would not meet us or come to us on the way, as indicated, that you will certainly arrive at our place in Coburg at a certain time on Saturday or Sunday Palmarum and then present yourself to our court marshal. Date utf.

To those of the nobility outside the princely court).

912th common announcement of the Elector John of Saxony at his court at Torgau.

From the archives at Weimar printed by Förstemann I. 6. p. 113. by Müller 1. e. p. 459, K 9 and by Walch with omission of the last three paragraphs.

Mean announcement about court.

That M. most gracious Lord, by means of divine help, is willing to attend the Diet, and to raise it in a conducive manner, without danger in 14 days.

Secondly, that a 1

t "Ps-rd-k-b-^

Vierrofser 2

And following the tworosfer their previous number.

The singles of both men 1) also in their numbers.

Two trumpeters, as they shall find out from the court marshal.

Three one-horse men, as to be announced to them by the marshal, namely Andres, Luthart, and Bastel. 2)

For the sake of the troop 3) it shall be held thus: To every earl and lord a troop.

Two robbers also a stable horse.

And to three nobles also A stable horse.

So that for every 6 equipped horses there shall be one host.

About that, with avoidance of princely displeasure, not to allow any attachment with the boys on foot, and that every lord and nobleman be himself about it and want to seriously decree with his own to abstain from the same; for this M. gracious lords have moving causes.

Armor.

The armor shall be in the now common court color.

to carry shooting equipment and firearms,

And that they should keep good order in the field.

But since the occasion and necessity require that other more and more important commands of our gracious lord be reported, their graces want to let this remain, andz 4) as long as the others, which are also required and described, will arrive, then [you] will hear and hear their graces' mind with further reports and requests, according to which each one may have to respect and judge himself.

And that every one may earnestly forbid and command his own, if he shall leave them behind him in the essential camp, 5) (yet so many persons

1) "of both lords", namely of the Elector and the Duke Johann Friedrich.
2) In the directory of the traveler's stuff, Förstemann l. c. p. 28, these three names are written like this: "Andreas, Leonhart, Bastian".

3) A "Troß" is a groom ("stalbub"). Förstemann 1. e. p. 30.
4) In Walch: "and"; in Förstemann: "vnz", which, as he notes, should mean "to".
5) In Förstemann: "Mit ernster vndersage vnnd" 2c. The text seems to us to be out of order here. - The brackets immediately following are set by us.

to each one) that they shall keep willing and faithful obedience to the marshal decreed, with punishment on occasion of each transgression.

What servants of the nobility and others, so arranged to the women's room with the service maintenance, they shall not be meant in this first announcement of the intended journey half this time.

His Lordship's grace did not want to let all this go unreported to you, according to which everyone is to be guided until further notice, as reported before.

913 Luther's letter to Nicolaus Hausmann, in which he tells him about the journey to Coburg. Message gives. The 2nd of April 1530.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesammt-Archiv. Printed in Cölestins trist. VuZ. Oont. , vol. I, p. 29; in des Buddeus suxxl. sxist. Uuttr. , p. 83; in De Wette, vol. lll, p. 566, and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 290.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the exceedingly dear man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the very loud bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace! My dear friend, M. Leonhard 1) has given me the book written by you. But I will negotiate about these things with the rest of us, and do as much as I can. For I, too, would not dislike to see the stories and deeds (gesta) of Christ presented in the boys' schools in Latin and German through correct and purely composed plays or comedies, in order to commit the matter to memory and to make a deeper impression on simple-minded people. I hope, however, that everything, as it has begun, can be put in order when peace reigns. I will go with the prince as far as Coburg, and with Philip and Jonas, until it is known what is to be done at Augsburg. Work that your church may pray diligently for this Diet, and be well in the grace of Christ, and remember me also in your prayers. April 2, 1530.
Martin Luther.

1) Leonhard Nather from Lauingen, from 1522-1529 Rector in Zwickau, then went to Wittenberg to study medicine (Erl. Briefw.).

914 Luther's letter to Conrad Cordatus in Zwickau, in which he advises him not to go to the Imperial Diet. The 2nd of April 1530.

This letter can be found in its entirety in the 6oä. Rostock. Printed by Strobel-Ranner, p. 172; by Schütze, vol. II, p. 127; by De Wette, vol. lll, p. 567 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 292. Incomplete (only the second paragraph up to the greetings) by Cölestin, vol. I, p. L9, by Buddeus, p. 83 and by Walch.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ, who comforts you in this your humiliation and affliction, my dear Cordatus, for who else could ease this pain. For I easily believe all that thou writest, since I have experienced such a case as this, which visiteth a father's heart, and is sharper than any two-edged sword, and pierceth to the marrow 2c. But again thou must be mindful that it is not to be wondered at, if he who is more truly and properly the father than thou hast been, according to his zeal hath preferred thy, yea rather his son with him than with thee, for he is safer there than here. But this I speak in vain; that is telling a fairy tale to a deaf man, when the pain is still new. Therefore I will now leave room for the sorrow, because greater and better men than we are have indulged in such grief, and yet are not blamed. But at the same time it is useful to you that you have had to deal with these trials and have tasted the power of conscience, so that you may learn more about the power of the word and of faith, which has been tested in these battles. For thou hast not yet felt the stake in the flesh, and Satan's angel beating with fists; thou hast hitherto suffered whatever thou hast suffered only in a glorious and confident innocence, that is, with a good conscience. But enough of this.

By the way, since I hear that you want to hurry to the Diet, I advise you entirely against it. First, because I have not been called there, but for certain reasons will be with the prince only on a journey in his territory; second, because the matter of the Gospel will hardly be dealt with, or very late, since the princes will be in the matter of the God-

not hurry so, especially as the future trial is most of the Turk. But thou wilt be able to hasten thither at the proper time, and in the meantime work thy pince-nez and make it more supple. Greet the companion of your pain, and at times rejoice more in the living Christ than you grieve over your dead son, rather who is also alive, but taken away. My Käthe and the whole house greet you. April 2, 1530.

Martin Luther, D.

915 Letter of Imperial Majesty to the Elector of Saxony to hasten his journey to Augsburg. Mantua, 8 April 153V.

From Müller's History 2c., p. 465,

Carl von GOttes Gnaden, Roman Emperor, at all times Mehrer of the Empire.

Highborn dear Oheim and Elector! Although we had completely decided and intended that we would certainly come in our own person to this Imperial Diet, which we have announced for the eighth day of this month in the city of Augsburg, our matters, which we have to settle with Papal Holiness and the potentates and estates of other and these Italian countries, have nevertheless come to a head. Nevertheless, our affairs, which we had to do with Papal Holiness and the potentates and estates of other and these Italian countries, which we had to bring into a calm, stable being, also for the sake of our imperial coronation, have been prolonged for and for, and have been protracted until recently, after receiving our imperial crown, we have taken our leave of papal sanctity in the city of Bononia, and are gone and come all the way to Mantua, in the opinion that there the touched Italian, as well as other Neapolitan and Sicilian matters and affairs, which are still unresolved, to dispose of them immediately to Trent, from there to Jnsbruck, and from there to the touched city of Augsburg, to your love and to other members and estates of ours and of the Holy Roman Empire, and with and beside them to the concerns and affairs of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, in virtue of the tender we have made, as it contains it, requesting your beloved with diligence and earnestness, if she is not yet on the way to come to the reported Diet, that we nevertheless do not provide for her to rise in the most conducive manner, and that she may come to the Diet.

We will arrange all things therein, so that at the end of this month she may safely be there in Augsburg, as we then, God willing, also want to be there in person; and that nothing may ever prevent your love from this, as we then finally provide for this, and also think to recognize this for your love's sake kindly and with grace, and she also does our final will and quite serious opinion on this. Given at Mantua, on April 8, 1530, in the 10th year of our Empire and the 15th year of our realm.

Carol

V*. Waldkirch.

näatuni Oassarsus st Oatbolieus Nassstatis proprium.

Alexander Schweiß.

916 Letter from D. Mart. Luther to Nicolaus Hausmann. Coburg, April 18, 1530.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches GesammtArchiv. Printed by Cölestin, Vol. I, p. 29; by Buddeus, p. 84; by De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 1 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. VII, p. 296.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the dear man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful bishop of the church at Zwickau, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! We have done as much as we could for Martin Sänger, my dear househusband, as he will report himself. By the way, he will tell Cordatus and you that we are still sitting here and do not know when we will travel on. For yesterday a letter and a messenger 1) came, which say that the Emperor is still staying at Mantua and will celebrate Easter there. Moreover, it is said that the papists are taking the greatest pains to prevent the Diet from proceeding, fearing that something might be decided against them, and even that the

1) The messenger is Michael von Kaden, the letter is from the Nuremberg Council to the Elector, dated April 16, which arrived in Coburg on Easter Day, April 17. It is found in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. 146. The Elector had asked the city for escort, also that Luther should stay there during the Imperial Diet, so that he would be nearer to Augsburg. The escort was granted to the Elector, but the request was refused because of Luther, since the Edict of Worms was still in force. However, they did not give this refusal in writing, but through their envoy M. von Kaden.

He said that the pope was angry with the emperor because he wanted to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs and hear the parties, while he [the pope] hoped that the emperor would only be his executioner against the heretics and restore everything to its former state. For they do not wish to have anything changed, nor to lose anything, nor to be judged, nor to be interrogated, but simply to be condemned and brought to ruin, but to be restored to the former state; and so they will perish. For in this way we go to utter ruin, so must the wicked be blinded, if they are to perish. Yes, some believe that the Diet will decline altogether and that nothing will come of it. I have been commanded by the prince to remain in Cöburg when the others have left for the Diet; I do not know for what reason. 1) Thus everything becomes uncertain from one day to the next.

Florence is neither conquered nor reconciled with the pope, which the pope also regrets 2). For the army in it has always cried out that it is also for the emperor's rule. By the imperial (imporio), therefore, nothing has been done by force against them from without, but the siege has been lifted, and they are liberated. From this you can see how much our prayers can accomplish if we persevere.

It is said that the Turk has promised or threatened that in the coming year he will again come to Germany with the highest power, and then also bring the Tartars against us in no small force. But it is written [Ps. 33:10], "The Lord maketh void the counsel of the heathen." The word and prayer will fight against it. Pray for me and be well in Christ. Coburg, 1530 on the second day of Easter [April 18].

Martin Luther.

[3]) The Florentines have sent a messenger to Frankfurt with the order to pay for 1000

1) Luther had not yet heard of the answer of the Nurembergers brought by Kaden.
2) Instead of nsyus in the Erlanger Briefwechsel is to be readir.
3) This postscript is in the original on a special slip of paper, the paper of which alone corresponds to that of our letter, while the following letters to Hausmann are all written on other paper. (Erl. Briefw.) Seidemann-De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 117 brings the same with the letter of July 6, 1530.

Ducats of my books to buy and to bring to Florence, perhaps because they will allow the gospel there out of hatred against the pope. This is written from Frankfurt for certain.

917 Luther's letter to Wenceslaus Link that he must remain at Coburg by order of the Elector. April 22, 1530.

The original of this letter is at Wolfenbüttel in the 6ott. Hslrust. 285 L; printed from it by Wideburg in the Helmstadt School Program 1818, p. XIII; also by Schütze, Vol. II, p. 129 from the Kraft Collection at Husum; by De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 5 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. VII, p. 299. Only one piece, namely the second paragraph, by Cölestin, Vol. I, p. 30; by Buddeus, p. 86 and here (German) by Walch. We give the whole letter after the Erlanger Briefwechsel.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the venerable brother in Christ, Doctor Wenceslaus, the exceedingly faithful minister of the Gospel at Nuremberg, his superior.

Grace and peace in Christ! I am very sorry for this man, Hans Ernst, your citizen who was sent into exile, my dear Wenceslaus; you will understand the matter from these letters of his. I would certainly have written to your council, but first I wanted to consult you in the matter, of which I know nothing for certain. Therefore I ask you to find out the matter, whether it is as he complains, and then you may either report it to me, or act for him yourself with the other servants of the Word. For living like this, without wife and home, is dangerous; then it is quite unbearable that he, as it were, as a dishonorable man, is not allowed anywhere to work and to seek his living, because his absence from his home is suspicious. Therefore, my dear Wenceslaus, see to it that as much as is in you, the poor man is advised.

By the way, we are here at Coburg, uncertain about the Imperial Diet and the Emperor's arrival; perhaps you have more certainty. Although the other colleagues are going to Augsburg, the Prince wants me to stay here. You will see them, namely Philip, Jonas, Eisleben, and Spalatin, when the Imperial Diet

has its course. From them you will learn everything.

I almost passed over this: Your father-in-law has implored me at Altenburg to intercede for him with you, that you would leave him the debts you have outstanding in this region for his maintenance. He acknowledges that you have given him much, but his poverty compels and urges him to ask for this as well. Yes, he has better confidence in you than in your wife, his daughter. He is a good and understanding man. Thou shalt know what thou oughtest to do. Farewell in Christ, and greet thy flesh with thy children, amen. At Coburg, 1530, on the evening of George the Martyr [April 22, 1]. 1)

Your Martin Luther.

D. From the Protestant Estates DeraUchlagungen wegen der evangelischen Predigte", des Fleischessenens und Fronleichnamsfestes, falls die beiden erststem sollen verboten, das Halten des letztern aber vom Kaiser besohlen werden.

918. three concerns of the Wittenberg theologians, because of the cessation of public sermons.

From Cölestin, vol. I, p. 32 printed in Müller's Historie 2c., p. 481. Also in the Oorx. Lei. II, 54 (about May 19, 1530).
Translated from the Latin by LI. A. Tittel.

I.

Concerns of Philipp Melanchthon, what would be "z" thn" if the emperor should request that the sermons in Augsburg be discontinued.

If Imperial Majesty should desire that our most gracious Lord Majesty should request that our most gracious Lord discontinue the sermons in Augsburg, we believe that your C. F. G. will most humbly object and request that Imperial Majesty neither demand nor insist on such a thing. Majesty neither demands nor insists on such a thing.

First, because this doctrine has been heard before, even in the Diet, and it has never been heard that anything false or seditious has been preached.

1) De Wette has erroneously the 23rd of April. In the night from April 22nd to 23rd Luther was brought from the city of Coburg to the fortress, and this is the last letter of Luther, which is dated from Coburg.

2) Because nothing controversial is preached, but the useful doctrine of Christ and what is most necessary for the improvement of life.

3) Because this doctrine was not condemned at the Diet, but was referred to a council, and no article is preached that has been condemned, nor has any false doctrine crept into the places where this doctrine is preached. If there had been such preachers in other places, who could have kept consciences safe, there is no doubt that the contagious disease would not have come there.

4) Some articles have been spread in this city which ours contradict, and it is hoped that this doctrine will be of much edification.

Secondly: If the emperor should forbid by public command that preaching should not be done before the people, and that it should be done only in silence, I think that one ought not to oppose it, because it is only a change of place, as we have also heard that it was done at Speier. For this our most gracious lord has no dominion in this city, so he must be content with the change of place.

Third, if the emperor forbids such things even in the inn, I think that one must obey the emperor's command, nor do and act anything against it, just as one who is taken prisoner cannot defend himself. Let all disputes be left aside, that one might leave the place and take leave without having achieved anything. For this would give the appearance of not trusting one's cause and not wanting or being able to give an account of one's religion and one's faith, especially since the Imperial Majesty holds the opinions of both parties in the same way. Majesty wanted to hear the opinions of both parties most graciously, and 1 Petr. 2 is written: Be ready for the responsibility of everyone who demands reason 2c.

The foregoing articles and reasons, however, with the mature and earnest counsel of theologians, have been somewhat more emphatically and fully furnished,'and have been presented m the following writing.

II.

Other concerns of the theologians of the Elector of Saxony, whether the sermons at Augsburg should or can be discontinued and abolished? 2)

(1) If the Imperial Majesty should wish and request that the Elector of Saxony abolish the sermons. Majesty should wish and request that the Elector of Saxony, our most gracious Lord, abolish and discontinue the sermons.

2) The Oorp. lief-, vol. II, 71 puts this concern "about 28 May 1530".

so we think that their C. F. G. should be presented to the Emperor's Majesty. Majesty. and should most humbly, as much as she can and may, present that the human frailty of the present time is of such a nature that it always needs and requires godly reassurance, admonition and consolation from God's Word and promises, so that the afflicted do not despair and lose heart, and on the other hand the fallen and erring are uplifted and rebuked, and strengthened and affirmed in the many and varied dangers, hardships and misfortunes to which our lives are always subject.

(2) Moreover, the Scripture says that the word of God is not bound. But that we do not present and explain to the people any doctrine that departs from the word of God can also be proven and demonstrated from this, because the very doctrine that we now practice and profess by the grace of God was also publicly heard in two kingdom assemblies that were held at Speier, and yet the outcome was never shown that we either taught false and inconsistent opinions or dreams of men, or brought something on the way or presented it to the people that did not agree with the reason of the prophets and apostles, or gave rise to more controversy.

(3) After this, that no controversies are taught by us, but that the doctrine of Christ our Mediator and Saviour is badly expounded, every sensible man easily discerns from this; for it is clear that the people cannot become worse, but better, by this. Nor will it ever be possible to prove and show with any certainty that in the places where our doctrine has hitherto been presented, any uproar or cause of quarrel has been given, or that any other freaks of mad heads have broken into the church in ugly opinions. Rather, we can assure you that such harmful poison of foolish opinions would never have been spread so far and wide if such preachers had been ordered and appointed in all places, who could have comforted and raised up the frightened and wounded consciences, instructed the minds of men in the true knowledge of God, prepared remedies against the cunning and mischievousness of the devil, and kept the poor ignorant people safe from the false brethren and the masters of the sect. For those who do not want to hear the truth of the divine word and the true teaching, nor approve of it, must, as a punishment for the despised truth and sound teaching, hear foolish and untruthful opinions and consider them good.

(4) Our doctrine has never been entirely rejected and banished from the church, but has been admitted until a general concilium or national assembly has been held and something definite has been concluded and agreed upon in this important matter, which can be seen from the conclusions of the aforementioned imperial congresses.

(5) Moreover, we have not yet been convicted of teaching either damnable or heretical articles, which has been done by some preachers of the city of Augsburg, who have violently thundered against our doctrine, and have often refuted it in their preaching. Therefore we are of good hope that great benefit and edification will be brought to many through the spreading and preaching of our doctrine, and that some will either come to recognize their sins from the heart and repent, or awaken others to confess that they have hitherto been in error and want to amend.

(6) Her C.F.G. would also not be acting in accordance with her magnanimity and godly zeal if she were to consent to and give in to such desires of her Imperial Majesty. Majesty, since all eyes are directed to her C. F. G. (as in whose lands and dominions this doctrine first arose in a wonderful and glorious way and was first purified and spread), and take her before them as a common example and pattern, according to which they most diligently take care that they do nothing wrong or commit something contrary to the Word of God. It is also to be feared that, if we were to consent to such a request, we would be opening doors and gates, so that the preachers who are lawfully appointed in Augsburg would give up their sermons and resign such an office.

007 If, however, the Imperial Majesty should command and order by public order that preaching should cease for a time in public places. If, by public order, the Emperor should command and decree that preaching in public places be suspended and omitted for a time, and yet permit it in inns and individual houses, we must not strive against it, but tolerate it, and, at our discretion, obey the order of the Emperor. Majesty. For this does not prohibit us from preaching, but only changes the place; which, as far as we remember, was done at the Diet of Speier. Moreover, her C. F. G. at Augsburg, as in a foreign place, and since she has nothing to command, obeys such a command of Imperial Majesty out of necessity, and since she has nothing to command, obeys such a command of Imperial Majesty. Majesty out of necessity, and the preaching of the doctrine is not forbidden, nor is it to be dismissed, in which one place is distinguished from the other, because the Psalm [Ps. 24:1] says: "The earth is the Lord's, and what is in it. "

(8) How about then, if not only Imperial. Majesty, but also all the estates of the empire

wanted the sermons abolished and discontinued altogether?

(9) Here the answer is twofold: (1) For first of all, the preachers of the divine word must now obey Christ in all things, as well as the apostles did before, when he said and commanded: If they drive you out of one city and cast you out, flee to another.

10) 2) Hereafter, since Imperial Majesty will hear both parties' doctrine. We believe that, for the honor of the divine name, this injustice must be justly pardoned and that we must be obedient and submissive to the imperial majesty's command in this matter. As he who would be thrown into prison could neither refuse nor resist.

(11) Let their C. F. G. joyfully confess and recount before Imperial Majesty and all imperial states. Majesty and all the estates of the empire joyfully confess and tell them in what wonderful and quite inexpressible way they first came to the knowledge of the pure doctrine and the pure understanding of the evangelical truth, and do not let themselves be frightened by any threats of the adversaries, nor be driven and made flexible from such confession by harsh words, and do not think or speak of departure until the articles of our confession have been read and heard before all the princes and estates of the empire.

012 Let us therefore wait for the end, and give glory unto God only, who will give us and our things happiness and blessing, because he saith, Whosoever shall confess me before the world, him will I confess also before my heavenly Father. But whosoever shall deny me before the world, him will I also deny before my Father. And 1 Peter 1 Ep. 3:15. f. saith, "Be ready to answer to every man that requireth the hope that is in you, and that with meekness and fear, as they that have a good conscience." One could also add this at the end of the petition: their C. F. G. wanted, according to their ancestors' example, to please Imperial Majesty in everything. Majesty in everything, and what they are able to do and know, they would gladly and willingly present for their service and honor, if only their Imperial Majesty would not insist on such a request. Majesty would not insist on such a request, which would burden and depress the consciences of their C. F. G. and their relatives in faith and religion, but would show themselves to be just.

III.

Third objection of the theologians of the Elector of Saxony to the Emperor's request to cease and desist from preaching. 1)

1) This objection will be made on June 16, 1530. Compare No. 943.

(1) At the Emperor's request that the sermons be abolished, we judge that they should nevertheless be continued and practiced, for the following reasons:

(2) Because Imperial Majesty has never yet seriously commanded that they be abolished and discontinued. Majesty has never yet seriously commanded that they be abolished and discontinued, but has only graciously requested that they not be done publicly to the people. However, it is known to all and obvious that it is up to the Electors and other Princes of the Empire to refuse even a moderate and unpleasant, not to mention unjust and unreasonable, command of the Imperial Majesty, and to do so. Majesty and to refuse such.

(3) Moreover, it may be inferred from many signs and circumstances that this command of the Emperor's Majesty was issued and made known before to frighten us and prevent us from our undertaking, than to threaten us with some danger. Majesty was issued and made known before to frighten us and prevent us from our intention, than to threaten us with some danger, or the opinion that the Emperor wants to rely on it; and we think that they only want to test the inconstancy and uncertainty of our part and our doctrine, and see whether we will first let up and concede a little, so that we would open the door and gate for the opposite to think and take more and more on us. If we resist bravely and eagerly at first, we will soon dampen their hope and confidence, so that they will not presume too highly and take everything else against us; and when we have taken off their lion's skin and shown them their errors, we will bring them to understand and see that it is much better and safer to trust in God alone than in a thousand princes.

(4) Subsequently, this also seems to us to be an important reason why our preachers cannot cease or remain silent, because after the sermon has ended, not only the matter that is now before us at the present Diet, but also the princes, princes and all the estates of the empire are commanded to God in heartfelt and fervent prayer, which is especially required now, in this miserable and wretched time, above all others.

(5) But if on imperial. Majesty. 5. If, by order and decree, the gates of the church were to be closed to us, we jointly resolve that no force be used, nor the gates broken open; for this reason, because it might seem that such a thing would be undertaken and committed out of insolence, courage, and hopefulness in that city in which the Duke of Saxony, Elector, our most gracious Lord, with the other princes and estates of the same religion and faith, has nothing to command or any dominion.

(6) But when this is done, the Elector of Saxony and the rest of the princes may again sit on horseback and go home, and look around in their inns and dwellings for a comfortable place and choose such a place where they may set up and hold their prayer and worship. Just as it behooves a righteous householder to be diligent and careful that his household be instructed and taught in the word of God and in the true knowledge of his Son. Christian princes will also do a praiseworthy and decent work if they diligently see to it that their court is well instructed and built up in the word of God.

007 But if the Imperial Majesty should also by public command However, with our reservations we have wanted to leave it until then and postpone it, since the case itself occurs, because commonly by God's will and providence, when the deed comes, advice and means also come as to how one is then to behave.

919th Letter of the Elector of Saxony to Luther, in which he asks for his expert opinion in this matter, in addition to the transmission of the above concerns.

The 905th document.

uther's answer to the foregoing letter.

See the 906th Document.

921: Concern of the Chancellor D. Bruck, to the effect that preaching is not to be omitted. (May 10 or 11, 1530.)

According to Brück's own manuscript in the Weimar archives printed in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 184. Also in Müller I. e. p. 489 and in Oorp. Rot. II, 75. the time determination is according to Förstemann.

Christ.

Imperial Majesty shall graciously seek with Princes, Princes, and Estates that at Augsburg the time how to obtain and safely arrange such shall be with Her Majesty,
also electors, princes and estates, and the common preachers 1) of the city of Augsburg are to be kept silent.

Causes:

For if the preachers should now preach against each other without comparison and disputation, it must be considered what trouble and disquietude of mind and conscience would result.

In addition, it should not have the opinion as if the Imperial Majesty wanted to forbid the preaching of the divine word. Majesty would thereby forbid the preaching of the divine word, but should be done solely for reasons of error. And so that the Imperial Majesty Majesty, with the advice and concern of the imperial cities, to reach the settlement of the reported error that much more quickly, the Imperial Majesty would be willing to settle the matter. Majesty would be willing to first carry out the matters of faith here, and the aforementioned proposal should stand for a short time of the Imperial Diet, in the hope that the settlement should take place in the meantime.

Concerns:

From this it is to be understood that the Imperial Majesty does not wish to make this proposal known to my most gracious lord, or to other estates that have the divine word preached, but that the search is to take place publicly and in general against and before all estates; which has undoubtedly been practiced by the Imperial Majesty because our most gracious lord averted the search for a standstill with preaching by constant causes and counter-petitions at the two previous imperial congresses at Speier. This was undoubtedly practiced by His Imperial Majesty, because our most gracious Lord averted the search for a standstill with the sermon at the two previous imperial congresses at Speier through constant causes and counter-petitions, and also because His Electoral Grace here in one place had the right to order the sermon to be preached in public and before all the estates. His Graces are here in a place where the divine word is in the hands of His Electoral Grace. The priests in Speier did not want to refrain from this or to have it decreed by the council, as is the case here. That we should now be overhasty with the greater part of it, or if the greater part of the estates want to obey Imperial Majesty, that we should be overhasty with the greater part of it. Majesty, as a minor act, so that we alone must contest such with disgrace before Imperial Majesty. Majesty.

And although it is true that the proposal has some semblance, in that, if Imperial Majesty is to act for Christian conciliation, it may result in a wide-ranging discussion. Majesty should want to act for the sake of Christian harmony, that there should be a wide spread where the preachers should preach against each other in a disputatious manner: but it is to be feared that it is not meant that way, for such a thing could well be prevented by other means. Namely, that the preachers be commanded to teach the truth of God in their sermons without reproach or dispute.

1) "Preaching" - sermons. Oorp. Let.: "Predigern".

Item, because the opinion of the Sacramentarians was laid down and forbidden by their departure from Speier a year ago, Imperial Majesty could command that these Sacramentarians stand still with their preaching; for truth should not be laid down for the sake of untruth. But it is to be believed that it would be considered disgraceful, so here in Augsburg, in the presence of the imperial majesty, against the truth. Majesty's presence, contrary to her edict, perhaps also contrary to her Majesty's promises that may have been made to the pope, the new doctrine (as they call it) should be allowed to be led publicly; and that the proposal should only be a compliant beginning of the laying down of the Gospel, until her Majesty comes to the full decision. would come to the decision, which might please the Popes, and especially the Dukes of Bavaria and Austria, in this place of Augsburg, because the city is situated close to their lands. Therefore, if one should want to prefer the majority of the estates in this matter, it will be necessary not to grant it; for if it were granted in the beginning, one would then want to hurry us with it in the whole main matter. And so Imperial And if His Majesty should have the above request made to all the estates, on account of the standstill, and the estates should, as is the custom, discuss it, it will be necessary that it be decided beforehand what is to be done or not to be done to our gracious Lord. For since the Gospel has been preached freely here in Augsburg, and our most gracious Lord has been granted a church for this purpose by the rulers of the city, it must be considered whether His Electoral Grace, by their grant, will allow the church to be built. His Grace may, by their permission, restrain and bind the word, so that it may stand silent for a time. Item, if it were also suggested that His Electoral Grace would once consent to such a thing. graces once agreed to this, it would be to be feared that such bookings would be made thereafter. Therefore our most gracious Lord should have himself heard in the Elector's Council on this: his Electoral Grace would have given the Emperor's permission for this to take place. His Grace would have Majesty's desires and the causes of the same: now his electoral graces would remember what the royal wishes were. Grace would remember what the royal dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, as Imperial Majesty's governor, means. Majesty's Governors, together with their Majesty's Commissaries, at both of the next Imperial Diets held at Speier. Grace, for the sermons 1) and the omission of the same in the same way, and what his Elector's Grace of her royal dignity has sought. Grace of their Royal Dignity and the Commissaries thereupon, with notice of constant original.

1) 6orx. Lei. : "Preaching". Förstemann: "Preacher".

why His Electoral Grace could not consent to the same. Since these are matters that affect the conscience and also God's honor and word, which no man, because of his weak and sinful conscience and the devil's attempts, could do without for a day, His Electoral Highnesses thought it best to inform His Imperial Majesty of this and to request that His Majesty continue the preaching. 2)

922. Melanchthon's misgivings about refraining from eating meat.

The complete concern expressed in the Oorx. Rsk. , Vol. II, 79, and printed by Förstemann 1. e. p. 192 ff. from the Weimar archives, comprises six articles, of which Müller, p. 498, and after him Walch, have included only the first article, and that incompletely. We have supplemented it according to Förstemann. In order not to weigh down this volume unduly, we leave it at that.

At first, from eating meat.

Because meat has been eaten at Speier, it is not proper to withdraw now. But there is much rebellion and fornication with such meat-eating, which those who pride themselves on the holy gospel ought to avoid, and it would be good for my gracious lord to exercise such liberty over his people. For with such fornication one annoys the unintelligent more than bringing them to the Gospel; so one is wont to say: DxtrenE äementiae 68t, krustrg 3) niti, et nid.il nisi oäiuin c^uaerere. Thus it is a bad holiness to eat no 4) meat, and yet be full and mad day and night. It is also to be borne in mind that, although my gracious Lord Imperial Majesty is to be subdued. Majesty refrains from eating meat, where such is desired by reason of her Majesty, nothing has been done contrary to the foregoing. For formerly my gracious lord had implored that his electoral grace be spared, and that he should be spared. Grace to be spared, and at such request His Imperial Majesty "Commissary" had the meat eaten. Majesty's Commissary" let happen that my gracious lord needed Christian freedom, and about that that they have taken it into consideration, they have given my Lord no further answer. H. no further answer. Where, however, such a thing would be commanded by reason of HM,

2) Here the manuscript breaks off. It would have to be added: "further than until after the same arrival would allow".
3) Förstemann has krusta in the text, but in the margin according to Melanchthon: krustra.
4) "none" is missing in Förstemann and in 6orp. Lsk.

I respect, Philip, that my most gracious lord may forbear the eating of meat without complaint, but that his C. F. G. protested that his C. F. G. thought it right to eat meat, but she wanted to refrain from doing so for the sake of the king.

923 The Saxon theologians have doubts as to whether the Elector of Saxony and other protesting princes can participate in the Corpus Christi procession without violating their conscience. On the evening of June 15, 1530.

This concern is in Latin in Cölestin, Vol. I, p. 67, in German in Müller, p. 525. From Spalatin's copy in the common archive at Weimar in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. 269. He remarks that the original ends with a comma and is not complete. We have added the time determination according to Förstemann.

On the question whether our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., and others, may with good conscience go in the procession of the Corpus Christi? is our concern:

First, that it is most certain that one abstains completely from the procession, and thinks of ways in which one may present to Imperial Majesty a submissive apology, as well as a clear confession that one does not despise the reverend sacrament with the Zwinglians. First, that it is most certain that one abstains from the procession altogether, and thinks of ways in which one can present to His Majesty a submissive apology, as well as a clear confession that one does not despise the reverend Sacrament with the Zwinglians.

For after two great abuses are in this procession:

First of all, that contrary to all Scripture and the command of God, and also contrary to the papal rights, the sacrament is divided, and only the body or bread, without the blood of Christ and the chalice, is administered, although Christ has appointed the whole sacrament to be used at the same time.

Secondly, the sacrament is not instituted for such a use as to be a service of worship and service, as if such a work were a special service of worship, as the Jews worshipped the serpent, though the same was ordained of God to be regarded.

Now it would be considered as if such abuses were confirmed here, since one should stand and confess what one holds, and is especially required for this reason. And if one then preached against it, this example would be set against it, that they were not bad abuses, for the princes had also gone along at such a time, who had previously let such things fall as an abuse.

E. Of two petitions of the Estates to the Emperor, and his answer.

he Estates petition the Emperor to come to Augsburg soon.

From Cölestin, vol. I, p. 55.

Translated into German by LI. A. Tittel.

Most invincible, most powerful Emperor, always ruler of the Empire, most gracious Lord! Our obedience and most owed services, in deepest subservience before 2c., and do your Imperial Majesty hereby know. Majesty: Since, according to Your Imperial Majesty's Maj. we have obediently assembled here with other princes and estates of the empire, and some of us have now lain here for a long time, with great hardship and expense. Maj. will deign to come here as soon as possible, considering that the important matter and the need itself require it most urgently, lest a mistake be made in taking us away or in bringing us in, and Your Imperial Majesty be delayed for a long time in the country. Maj. be delayed long in the country, but that everything be done properly, at the right time, and in good and convenient order.

Therefore, without measure and with the approval of Your Imperial Majesty, we deem it good. Maj., and are of the opinion that it would be very well done for the better promotion and organization of all things if Your Imperial Majesty were to send someone of your own with sufficient power here. Maj. would send someone of your own with sufficient power here, with whom, because of the departure and arrival, likewise because of the ordering and better promotion of all other necessary things, we would be kindly and properly consulted, so that the princes and princes who are assembled here and will shortly be coming here can take the appropriate means and ways accordingly.

We therefore most humbly request that Imperial Maj. Maj. will graciously accept and note this well-meant and faithful letter of ours. Whereby we most graciously command Imperial Majesty, as our most gracious lord, and persevere with the most humble offer of all owed services.

E. Imperial Maj.

most subservient

Albrecht of Mainz, Hermann of Cologne, Archbishops.
Johannes zu Sachsen, Joachim zu Brandenburg, Churfürsten.

925 The Estates' other petition to the Emperor to order the rank of the German princes on his accession.

In Cölestin, vol. I, p. 55.

Translated into German by LI. A. Tittel.

1. most invincible and most powerful Emperor, always the ruler of the Empire, 2c. most gracious Lord! We four Electors, and the envoys of Trier and the Palatinate, your Maj.'s counsellors in the Holy Roman Empire, having received the letter of honour concerning the departure and arrival, have at once unanimously consulted and diligently considered how and in what manner the same arrival in honour of your Imperial Maj. would be arranged in the most honest and most effective manner. Maj. could be arranged in the most sincere and most convenient way. We have not been able to devise a better way than to adhere to the order of the Golden Bull in such a procession, which, as far as our persons are concerned, we have diligently considered, and in which we expressly state that in Your Imperial Majesty's presence (it is to be acted upon), the procession is to take place in the presence of Your Imperial Majesty. Maj. presence (be it what it may) we, the Archbishops of Mainz and Cologne, go to both sides of your Imperial Maj. Maj. on both sides, and our friend the Archbishop of Treves immediately in front of Your Imperial Maj. Maj., and on his right the Elector Palatine, and on his left the Elector of Saxony and Brandenburg.

(2) As the bull in gold also directs the King of Bohemia in the processions to the place nearest to his Imperial Majesty, and wishes to have such order in riding and walking that no one may pass between them. Maj. and wants to have just such an order in riding and walking kept that no one goes in between, by determining in clear and explicit words to every prince his place unchangeably, and does not want that any other prince, he may be of whatever rank, dignity or honor he wants, is preferred to them: so it also prefers the king of Bohemia unchangeably to all other kings, they may be as high and great as they want, and have arrived from whatever causes it may be, that he^) is above them.

(3) We therefore hold that the order which was used for the consecration and coronation of Your Imperial Majesty at Aachen shall also be used as far as our persons are concerned. Maj. in Aachen for the consecration and coronation, will also be used as far as our persons are concerned. Concerning the cavalry of the Electors, however, we find, among other things, that this order was observed in the reported procession, that my cavalry, that of the Elector of Saxony, first, then that of the Elector of the Palatinate, and then that of the Elector of the Holy Roman Empire.

1) "he" put by us instead of "she".

of Brandenburg, finally the Mainzian, Trierian and Cologne archbishops' cavalry. The same order, we think, is to be kept now, but in such a way that my, the archbishop's, namely of Mainz, cavalry, since the entry takes place in my territory (or dominion), first goes before Your Imperial Majesty. Maj. But since the King of Bohemia, according to the Bull of Gold, follows first behind your Imperial Maj. Maj., we deem it proper that the royal cavalry should go behind the Imperial Maj. Maj. In this way we, the Electors and the absent envoys, have agreed to keep an order in moving in; however, with the mild reservation that in this and similar cases no one of ours will be deprived of anything by this settlement. We also wished to act with respect to the other Princes, but found, after consultation, that between the most prominent Princes of the Empire, as between those of Bavaria and Saxony, those of Brandenburg and Brunswick, the Hessians and the Pomeranians, there have been various disputes for many years about the seat, the migration, and the place, and that no settlement has yet been reached, even though it has often been attempted. It seems that such disputes have come to such a point that, even if all of the same princes were present and acted between them, all trade would be fruitless and would not be concluded.

(4) Since it is easy to conclude that a dispute could arise in the country (or outside the city), we consider it good and necessary to prevent such mischief and rebellion in time, but believe that no one can advise and help better than Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty, to whom such princes might sooner yield. We therefore humbly ask your Imperial Maj. Majesty to consider the matter most graciously for the advancement of this entire work, and with good and proper reasons (in which we do not set any measure for Your Imperial Majesty) to persuade the Princes mentioned that they should, in honor of Your Imperial Majesty, assist in the establishment of the new government. Maj. that they keep the order of riding, which Your Imperial Maj. will prescribe. Maj. will prescribe; however, with the reservation that no one's liberties or rights will be infringed thereby, also with the most gracious promise that Your Imperial Majesty will, immediately after the entry into the country, grant them the right to ride in the same order as your Imperial Majesty. Majesty will, immediately after the entry, take care to settle the dissenting princes therein. If then Your Imperial Majesty Maj. find our proposal acceptable and graciously grant our request, we, the Electors and the absent envoys of your Imperial Majesty, also offer ourselves to your Imperial Majesty's full service and support. Maj. to all our service and favour, and we promise to be of service to you.

humbly request that we do everything possible to resolve this dispute, to unite the minds and to contribute to the honor of Your Imperial Majesty and the benefit of our friends, cousin and uncle. Maj. and the benefit of our friends, cousin and uncle.

(5) This, most invincible Emperor, most gracious Lord, we have done at your Imperial Majesty's request. Maj.'s request, concerning the departure and arrival, we have most faithfully and diligently done and consulted, but in such a way that your Imperial Maj. Maj. we are at liberty to maintain or improve the same, with the most humble request that Your Imperial Maj. Maj. may graciously inform us of what they may wish to do with regard to this consultation and the stated order in the collection and return it to us in writing, so that we know what we, and especially I, the Elector of Saxony and Archmarshall, are to follow with regard to the order in the riding. Wherewith to Your Majesty's Your Majesty's protection and protection most humbly commanded. Given at] Augsburg.

E. K. M.

subject, and in the h. r. Imperial Councilors Albrecht, Herrmann, Johann and Joachim, Electors, and of the Electors of Trier and Palatinate, Envoys.

926: The Emperor's declaration sent to Augsburg concerning the entry.

In Cölestin, vol. I, p. 56.

Translated from the Latin by Ll. A. Tittel.

Carl von GOttes Gnaden Roman Emperor, all times Mehrer of the Empire.

Instruction (or order), concerning which the Reverend Philip, Bishop of Speier, and Johann Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, Coadjutor of the Churches in Magdeburg and Halberstadt; and Wolfgang, noble Count of Montfort and Retenfels, Princes and Councillors, our dear faithful, with the most reverend and most illustrious, our dear friends, cousins and grandparents, the Electors of Mainz, Cologne, Saxony, Brandenburg, and of the envoys of Trier and the Palatinate, who are now assembled at Augsburg, are to act and confer 2c.

(1) First of all, let them report our imperial grace and friendship to them. and friendship to them and wish them every good fortune, and then further state: that we, as our counsellors in the Roman empire, have heard their cries.
The letter, which they recently gave from Augsburg, has been well received. And since they consider, among other things, how they, at our request, have begun to act on the matter of removal and collection, and how and in what way everything should be done and arranged in our honor in the best and most glorious way, they have diligently considered and pondered; for this reason they also consider it good that the way and manner prescribed and set forth in the Golden Bull be observed, with the addition of everything that is expressly touched upon and reported therein by the Elector's person.

(2) We have graciously seen and heard all that is contained in the same letter, and for this reason we thank them; but **they** also see that they either do not know, or have not thought so carefully and have not remembered, or do not want to bring and show us that immediately after receiving the crown of Papal Holiness we decided to set out and make our journey to the German nation of the Holy Roman Empire. We have decided, immediately after receiving the crown from Papal Holiness, to set out on our journey to the German nation of the Holy Roman Empire and to put an end to the disputes pending between them and the other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, and **to** restore everything to an amicable, Christian, and praiseworthy state. To accomplish this the sooner, the better, and the more salutary, we have not only deemed it necessary, but also useful, to take to us an envoy of the papal holiness with full power, who has also been led up to this point and has enjoyed such honor and position as he shall also have when he arrives. Therefore, we have diligently seen to it that we do not, if we act and seduce according to the letter of the Golden Bull or contrary to it, put any obstacles and impediments in the way of the transaction and conduct of other business; which we want to find ready to avoid and avert completely. For this reason we would not argue about the golden bull, but would endeavor to leave it in its value and dignity, and to dispose of everything in such a way that the same collection in our honor (which they desired), as we did not doubt and also saw from their letter, may not be to their detriment or that of other estates and orders, but rather to the benefit, welfare, and promotion of everyone, as it also seems to be necessary for all of us. Which, at our discretion, could thus be done.

003 For since the princes, the absent envoys, and other estates of the realm may well be

1) Added by us.

would know by what business we have hitherto had to postpone the arrival, even against and beyond our thinking, and on what occasion and for what causes, indeed, in what sense we, now that we have received the imperial crown, are minded to come to them: then they could also easily conclude that we want and desire the most illustrious prince, Lord Ferdinand, King in Hungary and Bohemia, our beloved and united brother, and in our absence appointed administrator of the empire, to be and remain with us.

4. Since they have also heard from us for what reasons we, in the most gracious opinion, have taken the legate with us and kept him with us, so that the papal holiness *Legatus a Latere* is not only with us in the same place and as a stranger (to whom it is proper to show honor and respect before others), but also takes their and the Holy Roman Empire's, especially the German nation's, complaints and oppressions very much to heart, and wants to do everything so that they may be removed, relieved, and lessened: Therefore I believed that his arrival would be the more pleasant and pleasing to them, and the more honor and respect would be shown to him. Now, for the present reasons, and because when Papal Holiness and we send our envoys to other princes, Papal Holiness' envoys are always supreme, and our envoys, when they are sent to them, are also preferred to all princes, princes, and estates, we hoped that the electors would not be unwillingly found in this.

(5) Furthermore, because the streets of the city of Augsburg, through which we, God willing! are wide and spacious, so that more than three can ride next to each other, and they have already spent a great deal of money in Augsburg before we can come to Augsburg and begin the Diet because of other business and delays; of which we have already written to them, so that they would not let the time pass in vain, graciously requesting, and enclosing important and high causes that move us, which we now set aside because of the shortness of time.

For these reasons, and that our long-desired arrival may be all the more preferable to them, we wanted to permit and allow the secular princes to come before us dukes, for their love and pleasure, but not out of obligation or according to the contents of the Golden Bull.

6th But from behind the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops with the envoys, namely, three in order (or a row), follow, as namely, the papal nuncio between the king of France's envoy on the right, and the archbishop of Bremen or another bishop on the left.

Then the Venetian ambassador between two other bishops in the middle. After the ecclesiastical princes, the envoys of the Dukes of Milan, of Ferrara, and of the Marquis of Mantua, and others.

8. Between these two ranks of ecclesiastical and secular princes and envoys, as I said, we with our beloved brother, who, as we thought before, because he is King of Bohemia (without which high dignity, in which he stands, we would not otherwise desire such things), should go on our right, but the legate, because of the above-mentioned and other highly important causes, should go on the left under a canopy and between the ecclesiastical and secular princes, so that the princes ride beside us; as the Golden Bull directs.

009 As for the cavalry of each retinue, we would have the cavalry of the Elector of Saxony, as Archbishop of the Empire, go first, then the Elector of Brandenburg and the Palatinate, and then in order that of Trier, Cologne, and Mainz, as Archbishops, and after them our brother Ferdinand, and then our cavalry go first before us.

010 But after the ecclesiastical princes and ambassadors shall our satellites (hatchet men) follow armed.

011 But the whole line or procession shall consist of the cardinals and ecclesiastical princes and ambassadors, and afterwards also of the secular princes and other estates' cavalry.

The third section of the thirteenth chapter.

Of Emperor Carl V's rather long stay at Insbruck and the true cause of the same.

927 Philipp Melanchthon's letter to D. Martin Luther from Augsburg, the 22nd of May 1530, in which he reports how the emperor would not arrive there so soon, informs him about different suggestions of the imperial councils, attaches great praise to the chancellor Mercurinus and adds other important news.

This letter is handwritten in Ms. Manliainiin, p. 15. Printed in Melanchthon's epp. lib. I, sp. 2; eä. r>onä. 1,6P. 2; in Cölestin, vol. I, p. 44 (incomplete); in the Oorp. Rsk., vol. II, p.59 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p.342; German in Chyträus, Hist. p.62 (in part) and in Wilhelm a Vallo, II, d. p. 56.

Translated from the Latin.

Hail! We had already hired a messenger who was to go to you and then to Wittenberg, for Jonas had learned of the death of his son from letters of the scribe Viola. Under the letter, however, your last letters came to me through D. Apel's messenger. Apel's messenger to my hand. Jonäs is quite satisfied after he has learned that his wife is healthy. For he was only worried about her, and I also had no small fear. My suspicion and worry were increased by the fact that you had not sent Pomer's letter, which he had mentioned in a letter to you.

(2) The Emperor is not yet here, and, as I think, will hardly arrive before Pentecost. He has not summoned either the Dukes of Bavaria or Duke George of Saxony to discuss religious matters, for he wants to remain impartial. It is reported that there are two voices in the Emperor's council: one that he should not interrogate the Lutherans, but condemn them immediately by an edict; the other that he should interrogate them properly and abolish the abuses in the church. This latter opinion is said to be held by the imperial chancellor Mercurinus, 1) an excellent and very moderate man; who is said to say that, in his weakness, he followed the emperor chiefly in the hope that he meant that matters of religion would come to a good end, he

1) Mercurinus Arborio, Marchese of Gattinara, Chancellor of the Emperor, died at Jnsbruck on June 5, 1530.

will not take part in violent counsels. We have heard nothing here that would be more worthy of our consideration to write. And I am particularly pleased with this speech and judgment of this highly knowledgeable man. May Christ take care of us and preserve us, and may he govern all actions so that they flourish for peace and the common good. Mercurinus also said this: at Worms it was well seen how nothing fruitful could be accomplished by violent attacks. For he was in the emperor's retinue and council at Worms. We are all, including the Prince, very concerned about your health, and therefore ask God to preserve you for the sake of His word. It is also our request to you that you take good care of your health. Doctor Caspar sends you some medicines through the Elector's messenger, which serve to strengthen your heart and soul. For he loves you very much.

(3) We make many changes to the Confession (*Apologia*) 2) every day. I have taken out the article on vows, because it was a little too small, and put another, more detailed explanation in its place. Now I place the article on the power of the Church. I pray you to overlook the Articles of Faith; if you will find no lack in those, let us fairly draft the rest. For there must always be some change in them, and they must be adapted to the occasion.

(4) The Landgrave of Hesse is now going about signing the speech of ours, and it seems that he can easily be brought to ours; but for this your letter to him is necessary. Therefore I beg you most earnestly to write to the Landgrave, and exhort him that he will not weigh down his conscience by defending any false doctrine. I do not want you to write again to the younger prince; 3) for he now hates no one.

2) By Apologia are here to be understood the Torgau Articles, which form the basis of the second part of the Augsburg Confession; immediately following, "the Articles of Faith" are the Schwabach Articles, the basis of the first part of the same.

3) This is contrary to Melanchthon's earlier letter, No. 902, - the first following reads with the old translator: "for he is now no one more ungracious than you" 2c.

than him, whom he seemed to love more than the apple of his eye. But his mind is very changeable, and that does not come from his young years, but rather, as I think, from nature. Schnepf is a good, steady man. I would like you, in his honor, to write to him on a suitable occasion. As for the Frisians, the Elector has ordered D. Pomeranus to look for an able man who knows the Saxon language and to send him to the Frisians. To this opinion you may reply. I send you a painting of the siege of the city of Vienna. By Apel's messenger we will write more. In the meantime you shall give this messenger of ours letters to your honest wife, for he will be able to bring back answer. Farewell and pray for us to Christ our Lord. Given on Sunday Vocem Jucunditatis [22 May 1530].

928 Letter of the Elector John to Luther from Augsburg. 4 May 1530.

This letter is found in the Altenburg edition, Vol. V, p. 23; with Walch and in the Erlangen correspondence, Vol. VII, p. 327. In a regest with Burkhardt datirt of 20 May. Köstlin, M. Luther, vol. II, p. 653 aä 207 gives the corrective: May 4, which results from the sending of the medicine. Cf. No. 902.

Dear he Doctor! Be in love with all of us, do not let the time be long for you. We are all very concerned about the health of your body, and we ask God to keep you in good health for the sake of his dear word; indeed, we exhort you yourselves to take good care of your health. O. Caspar, our physician, send you medicine by this messenger, to strengthen your head and heart with it; for he is your faithful friend. And we also remain well inclined to you for all graces 2c.

929 Martin Luther's answer to the above letter, whose delay he excuses, and at the same time emphatically consoles the Elector, who began to be annoyed about the Emperor's long hesitation and worried about the threats of the enemies. May 20, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Copenhagen and in the Ooä. Ho8toeli. Printed in Flacius' German collection of letters; with omission of the beginning in Chytraeus' Hist. of the Augsb. Conf. p. 26 b Latin, and German p. 67; also in Cölestinus, vol. I, p. 47.
and in Buddeus, p. 95 translated into Latin and incomplete, also with the wrong date, May 22. Complete in the Altenburg edition, Vol. V, p. 23; in the Leipzig edition, Vol. XX, p. 172; in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54, p. 146 and in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 20. In the latter two editions, the supplement belonging to this letter is erroneously attached to the letter of October 3, 1530.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire 2c., Landgrave in Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord and Saviour, Amen! Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have now long delayed with answer to E. C. F. G. first letter from Augsburg, graciously done to me, with notice of new newspaper, and admonition that I should not let my time in this place be long 2c. And it is truly without need that E.C. F. G. so graciously thinks of me and cares for me, for we should think of E. C. F. G., care for him and ask, as we also truly and faithfully do. The time is not long for me, we live as gentlemen, and therefore these weeks have passed so that it seems to me hardly three days. But E. C. F. G. is and must be in a dull place now; so help our dear Father in heaven that E. C. F. G.'s heart may remain firm and patient in his grace, which he shows us so abundantly [Jac. 1:4, 4:6].

(2) For in the first place, it is certain that C. F. G. must bear such toil, fare, journey, and long journey, truly for the sake of God, since all angry princes and enemies have no other blame for C. F. G. than the pure, tender, living word of God, otherwise they must confess that C. F. G. is an innocent, quiet, pious, faithful prince.

003 Forasmuch then as this is certain, it is a great sign that God has given E. C. F. G., as to whom he so abundantly gives his holy word, and makes them worthy of it [2 Thess. 1,11.], that they must suffer such shame and enmity for its sake [Apost. 5, 41.], which ever makes for a comforting conscience. For to have God for a friend is more comforting than to have the friendship of all the world. On the other hand, we see.

How God esteemeth not the fierce and wrathful princes to know or to have his word. Yea, they are blinded and hardened, blaspheming and persecuting the same, as the froward and foolish: which is a terrible token of his great displeasure and wrath against them: of which they ought to be justly terrified, and to be desolate in conscience, as it must be in the end.

(4) Over and above this, the merciful God shows Himself even more gracious in that He has made His word so powerful and fruitful in E. C. F. G. land. For indeed, the C. F. G. Land has the very best and most good pastors and preachers than any other country in all the world, who teach so faithfully and purely, and keep such beautiful peace. Now, therefore, the tender youth of boys and girls are growing up, so well instructed in catechism and the Scriptures that it makes me feel good in my heart to see how young boys and girls can now pray, believe, and speak more about God and Christ than all the monasteries, convents, and schools were able to do before, and still are able to do.

5. there are indeed such young people in E. C. F. G. land is a beautiful paradise, the like of which is not in the world. And God builds all these things in E. C. F. G.'s bosom, as a sign that he is gracious and favorable to E. C. F. G.. As if he should say: "Well, dear Duke Hans, I entrust to you my noblest treasure, my merry paradise, you shall be father over them. For I will have them under thy protection and rule, and do thee the honour to be my gardener and keeper. This is certainly true. For GOD the LORD, who hath made E. C. F. G. the father and helper of this land, feedeth them all by E. C. F. G.'s office and service, and they must all eat E. C. F. G.'s bread. This is no different from the fact that God Himself is a daily guest and mouth to God, because His word and His children who have His word are daily guests and mouths to God.

006 Whereas, behold, in other princes their rages do harm to the dear youth, that they make of the paradise of God sinful, foul, torn puddles to the devil, and corrupt all things, having also vain devils daily at table and as guests; for they have

are not worthy of honor with God, that they give His word a cold drink of water from all their goods [Matth. 10, 42]. Yes, they have to give vinegar, myrrh and gall to the thirsty Christ on the cross [Matth. 27, 34]. Although many pious people are secretly among them, here E. C. F. G. Paradise and the promised land are eagerly desired, and they heartily ask help for it.

7. because God is so abundant in E. C. F. G.'s land, that he so graciously allows his word to prevail, that through it E. C. F. G.'s office, goods and possessions, all of which go in a blessed custom and service, and actually all of which are vain daily alms and sacrifices, are presented in honor of the holy word of God without ceasing; in addition, E. C. F. G. is gifted with a peaceful heart, which is neither bloodthirsty nor murderous like that theology. C. F. G. is gifted with a peaceful heart that is neither bloodthirsty nor murderous, as that part is, and must be: then E. C. F. G. truly has great cause to rejoice in God, and to take comfort in such great signs of His graces. For it is a glorious great honor that God has given E. C. F. G. has chosen, consecrated, and made worthy that body and goods, land and people, and everything that E. C. F. G. has, stand and walk in such beautiful worship, that His divine word is not only not followed, but is also nourished and preserved. It does not hurt that some of us are not well off; nevertheless, C.F.G.'s service and protection is in the work of preserving the Word.

(8) Lastly, E. C. F. G. have now also previously encouraged faithful, heartfelt prayer among all Christians, especially in E. C. C. F. G. lands, and we know that our prayer is right, and the cause good; wherefore we are also sure that it will be acceptable and heard, 1 Tim. 2, 3. O, the young people will do it, who with their innocent tongues so heartily call and cry unto heaven, and E. C. F. G. as their dear father so faithfully to the merciful God. On the other hand, we know that that part has evil things, and cannot pray, but go about with clever suggestions, putting it all on their wit and power, as one can see before one's eyes; so it stands on the right sand.

9. this my writing E. C. F. G. would graciously accept from me; God knows that I speak the truth, and do not hypocrite; for I am sorry that Satan E. C. F. G. heart

would grieve and sadden. I know him well in part, and know well how he is wont to play along with me; he is a sad, sour spirit, who cannot bear that a heart should be happy, or have rest, especially in God; how much less will he be able to bear that E. C. F. G. should be of good cheer? F. G. be of good cheer, than he who well knows how much is at stake in E. C. F. G.'s heart for all of us, and not only for us, but almost for the whole world, I almost wanted to say, also for heaven itself, because of course a great part of Christ's kingdom of heaven is in E. C. F. G., but also in God. C. F. G.'s country is built up by the salvific word, without ceasing; he knows this, and sees his displeasure in it. Therefore we all owe it to E. C. F. G. to faithfully assist her with prayer, comfort, love, and whatever we can; for where E. C. F. G. is happy, we live; but where she is sad, we are sick.

(10) But our dear Lord and faithful Saviour, Jesus Christ, whom the Father of all mercies has so abundantly revealed and bestowed upon us, may He send His Holy Spirit, the true, eternal Comforter, over all my words, who will always sustain, strengthen and protect E. C. F. G. against all poisonous fiery arrows of the sour, heavy, evil spirit, Amen, dear God, Amen. Given on May 20, Anno 1530.

E. C. F. G.

blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

Enclosure.

Doctor Apel has also asked me, most gracious sir, 1) that I should ask and excuse him from E. C. F. G., that he now takes leave and leaves for Prussia. For he would have liked to do so long ago, but E. C. F. G. has always been so overburdened that he, being very shy and modest, has always not wanted to trouble E. C. F. G., as I see that he will continue to report to E. C. F. G. himself. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously comply with this. Hiemit GOtt befohlen.

1) Doctor Johann Apel, who belonged to the electoral council in Wittenberg (see Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. 126), accepted a call from Duke Albrecht of Prussia as Chancellor, left Wittenberg at the end of May or beginning of June and arrived in Königsberg on July 10. - De Wette has erroneously connected this supplement with Letter No. 1126 in this volume.

930 Imperial Instruction with which the Counts of Nassau and Neuenar were sent to Augsburg to Elector John to request that either he or his Elector Prince travel to the Emperor, or at least that the sermons be stopped until their Majesty's arrival. May 24, 1530.

From a copy in the Weimar archives printed in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 220 and in Müller's Historie 2c., p. 502. Latin in Cölestinus, vol. I, p. 50 and in Chyträus p. 37; German in the latter p. 71.

on GOttes Gnaden, Roman Emperor, at all times Mehrer des Reichs 2c.

Instruction, what the well-born, our and the realm's dear faithful, Wilhelm, Count of Nassau, Katzenelnbogen, Vianden and Diez, and Wilhelm, Count of Neuenar, are to do and advertise to the high-born Johann, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, our dear grandfather and Elector, for our sake, and yet as for themselves, but to show this our Instruction 2).

First of all they shall tell his love our imperial grace and all good. Grace and all good things; and hereafter tell how we have heard of his servile, Christian and obedient offer, that we have received a special gracious and friendly favor, and that we give special gracious and friendly thanks to his love. And that we therefore also to him, Obgenanntem von Neuenar, and to our and the realm's dear faithful, Hansen von Doltzigk, his dear council and skilful, thereupon also on the articles which they and the said von Nassau have requested of us on account of his love, as, loan of the regalia, confirmation of the marriage with Jülich, 3) granting of the fair at Gotha, and on account of the carriage of our dear grandfather and Elector of Brandenburg husband 2c., again give such a gracious good answer, to offer his love promotion, as we have provided, undoubtedly have done, which we would have thought, his love, according to custom and form of all occasion, had and still should have good cause to be well satisfied. Non-Desto

2) As one can see here, the intention was that the envoys should not show these instructions. However, it will have become necessary to show it during the negotiations with the Elector, as can be seen from the following document and No. 932.

3) In the original: Gulch.

It has come to us that his beloved should complain of something of which we are most astonished, especially for these reasons, among others, that his beloved is well aware and has to remember in what relationship and good friendship the noble houses of Austria and Saxony have been for so many years, and how the erroneous cause of our holy Christian faith, from which so many disputes have subsequently arisen, has arisen. Let his beloved know, then, that in the same, they have separated themselves from us and the other five princes of ours and of the Holy Roman Empire, its members, and have despised and suppressed against the edict which we and they, all six princes and other princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, have unanimously considered and decided with us for the best: which then, together with the above-mentioned insanity and discord (we refrain from speaking of us, as a Roman Emperor, their Supreme Head and Lord, and Protector of Holy Christendom, the highest disgrace and contempt proven to us therein), has reached and brought the Holy Empire and almost the whole of Christendom to such an extent that it cannot now easily be recovered and restored; and about that, that also, so his love with those, who became disobedient and repugnant to us in this matter, made and entered into a 1) but understanding and alliance, contrary to us and touched our edict, and which also, as the head, shall still maintain. What bloodshed and cause for further development this has given to many states in the holy kingdom and the whole of Christendom, and may also give in the future, as long as we do not occur to these things by the grace of the Almighty, to his praise, for which we do not want to spare any diligence: that his love, as the understanding one, easily knows how to judge for himself. And that nevertheless all, as to say, unnoticed, we have to burden ourselves on the articles, which his beloved to us, as reported, has requested, to give any time, it is, that his beloved has sent her message to us, or has written, with term and Indult, reception of the regalia half, also confirmation and other things, up to our future in the realm, and that we would like to hear mentioned our dear grandfather and Elector of Brandenburg himself, who would be one of the most distinguished members of our and the holy realm, at all times nevertheless so with most gracious and infinite answer.

1) Förstemann: "in" instead of: "one" and immediately following: "bypassed" instead of: "entered". In the parallel passage in the following number, § 10: "in sondern Verstand und Bündniß 2c. have let in."

that we ever meant [that] his beloved should have no burden at all, but rather should have understood that from us in a Christian mind and but gracious and friendly favor. For his beloved, if she will well consider it, may ever sufficiently take from all this that we, as a Christian emperor and head of Christendom, desire nothing else ourselves, but that the honor and glory of God the Almighty be sought first, also that our height and majesty be recognized as befitting this, and not only be increased, but also be maintained to the least: And then to prove and show us graciously to his beloved ones, who have no alliance, but who, as a laudable prince no less than the others, are willing and obedient to us, as he is entitled to do. And let this main thing in itself be 2) so great and brave that it cannot be done well over land by writings or otherwise. But we nevertheless have this confidence that, if we and his beloved, according to their Christian heritage, were to be personally with one another, that we would both, by the grace of God, compare ourselves well. And therefore, where his beloved, or, where it would not be convenient because of the impossibility of their bodies, his fine son, or both of them, would come to us; in which case, if it would please them, they would take their way to Munich, and further await our newspaper, they would provide that they would welcome us to our arrival, that we also want to be satisfied with good will, as far as the things are concerned, which might happen or be carried out by both of our persons, where they surrender to us, have no alliance, and want to keep themselves as a laudable Elector, and his son, [as] a prince due to us and the Holy Roman Empire, as is reported above. And what then may concern the remaining articles, we may hear with the grace of God and act with good counsel therein. And his beloved, or the son, will now come or not according to their opportunity, that we well desired that they should wait until we arrive at Augsburg, and in these matters, as we hope that the Almighty will grant us grace, give good order, with their preachers to preach them to burden, stand completely still, to avoid much disputation. That our opinion is not at all, as of his love and his Son's future has been reported to us here above, that therefore we should be all the more careful.

2) Förstemann: "half". This mistake could easily have been improved, because these words are repeated in the following answer of the Churfürst.

We do not want to stay here any longer, but that we only want to talk to his or her loved ones before we come to Augsburg. And what they will find to answer to all this and every other thing, they shall let us know again in the most urgent and actual way, and they shall have to keep us to it. In this they do us especially good favour, and our earnest opinion. Given at Jnsbruck, sealed under our imperial imprinted seal, on the 24th day of May, Anno 2c. in the year 1530, the tenth of our empire, and the fifteenth of our realm.

V. Waltkirch.

mandatum OasKarsas 6t Oatdolieas Nas68t. propnuni.

Alexander sweat
Ludseripsite (sßt.).

931 Answer of Elector John, given to the imperial envoys, in which he rejects the above grace, May 31, 1530.

From the copy in the archives at Weimar printed in Förstemanns Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 224, also in Müller 1. e. With different text in Chyträus, sheet 32-38. Latin in Chyträus, pp. 37-42 and in Cölestin, vol. I, sheet 50 b.

1. high and well-born, dear grandfather and special. We have received with the most humble reverence, as on account of our Lord and Emperor, the advertisement sent to us by your love and you on the Imperial Roman Majesty, our most gracious Lord, and delivered to us by the Instruction of God's Grace John, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire 2c., and have understood the same, and also her Majesty's gracious attention, as such: After Her Imperial Majesty's After the arrival of Her Imperial Majesty, as if we should complain about the answer which Her Majesty has given you and ours, also Councillor and dear faithful, Hans von Doltzigk, various days ago, about some of the articles and things mentioned, Her Majesty would be highly surprised about this, especially for several reasons which are listed one after the other in the Instruction. Which nevertheless, 1) as if to say, unnoticed, Her Majesty is not aware of.

1) In Förstemann and Walch: "accordingly", for which according to the preceding writing "nevertheless" is to be read. - The meaning is: although the Elector would not have behaved against the Emperor as it would have been desirable, the Emperor nevertheless took no notice of it, but gave a gracious answer.

to our writings and messages sent, with time and grace, with the most gracious and unending answer, that Her Imperial Majesty would not have been mistaken that we had understood this to be burdensome for Her Majesty's sake; for if we had well considered it, we would have been able to assume from it sufficiently that Her Imperial Majesty would have understood it. Majesty that we would have understood this, on account of Her Majesty, to be burdensome; for if we had considered it well, we could ever have sufficiently assumed from it that Imperial Majesty herself did not desire otherwise. If we had well considered it, we would have been able to assume sufficiently that Imperial Majesty herself did not desire anything else than that the honor and glory of the Almighty be sought first, and that her Majesty's height be recognized as befitting this. But because this main matter is so great and so brave in itself that it could not be well dealt with over land by writings or otherwise, and her imperial majesty would be confident, where her majesty, according to our Christian heritage, would be personally with each other, that her majesty would compare well with the graces of God in both respects.

Therefore, if we, or, if it would not be convenient for us due to impossibility, our son, or both of us, would come to her Majesty, in the case which way would please us, we would then take the way to Munich and await her Majesty's newspaper there, we would be welcome to her Majesty; and as far as the things are concerned, which would be arranged by her Majesty and our person, where we would surrender to her Majesty, would have no alliance, and would hold ourselves as a Prince, and our son, as one of her Majesty's and the realm's Princes, due, as previously reported, would like to be satisfied with good will.

Whatever might concern the remaining articles, their Majesties could, with the grace of God, also hear them and act with good counsel in them; and we, or our son, if we would come or not according to our opportunity, would certainly request their Imperial Majesty that, for the time being and in the meantime, until their Majesties arrive at Augsburg and give good order in these matters, we stand completely still with our preachers, to have them preach, to avoid disputation, with the final imperial request: what you encountered in response to all this and every other thing, that you should let their Majesties know this in the most urgent and proper way. Request: what you encountered in response to all and every one of these things, that you should inform the imperial majesty of these things in a hurry and in the most proper way, and that her majesty should be guided by them.

And at the outset, towards the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, we thank you most humbly for your gracious offer, and especially that your Majesty has been graced and pleased by our submissive and obedient Christian offer.

2. second, that her imperial majesty

and tolerate personally with Her Majesty, and thus graciously request to confer with us, or in the case with our son, on the main matters, but with the difference, as the Instruction allows, of our own person graciously. Now we would have been quite willing, out of humble opinion, to go to Her Imperial Majesty personally, together with us. Majesty personally, together with our son, beforehand and as soon as we learn of Her Majesty's arrival in Jnsbruck. arrival at Jnsbruck, as several other princes have done. For this reason we have ordered some of ours to send a letter to Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Court to have a safe experience of what Her Majesty might or might not like in it. But it has been indicated to us that our arrival might not be considered convenient because of this, that there is some misgiving and suspicion of special action on the part of the other sovereigns and princes, as well as the estates, and also of Her Majesty's arrival at the announced Imperial Diet. The arrival at the announced Imperial Diet could also give rise to some suspicion. So soon thereafter Her Imperial Majesty has also ordered the Majesty here at Augsburg by some of her Majesty's Councillors. So soon after, their Imperial Majesty at Augsburg, through some of their Majesty's counsellors, graciously let us know, besides other indications, how their Majesty's gracious wish would be that we expect them here at Augsburg, where their Majesty would be willing to go. To which Her Majesty's We are now also a month away, since we have, at Her Majesty's earnest imperial request first and foremost, not omitted to attend this Her Majesty's Imperial Diet. We would also have been pleased, upon Her Majesty's present gracious notification, to surrender to Her Majesty once again without delay, upon the requested advertisement and Her Imperial Majesty's Instruction, to report our unavoidable need, also our Christian and subservient mind and answer, to Her Majesty personally thereupon again: we have, however, noted from said Instruction that Her Majesty's mind, will, and opinion is not yet clear. Her Majesty's mind, will and opinion rests on the fact that both of you, Lords and Counts of Her Imperial Majesty, are to be restored to your Imperial Majesty. Majesty in turn to know in the most urgent and actual manner what you will find in response to everything and anything that is held up to us.

Therefore, and so that we, the Imperial Majesty, in obedience to Her Majesty. Majesty in obedience, also to Her Majesty's Instruction. Instruction, we, the Imperial Majesty, wish to order our most gracious Lord and you. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, and you, in the place of Her Majesty, to report the remonstrance made:

(3) And first of all, what concerns us is that we have complained about Imperial Majesty's next answer. Majesty's next answer complaint.

You, Count William of Neuenar, know that when you received us for your return from the Imperial Majesty, we were to be given the right to take possession of the property. Majest. allhie, beside our council, Hansen von Dolzigk, the plot and imperial. Majesty. Majesty's answer that fell on it. We have reported to you that we are aware of the gracious audience and answer that Her Imperial Majesty has given to the fiefdom or to the fiefdom. Majesty's fiefdom or regalia, given to the Electorate of Saxony, with all humility. And although we have renewed and introduced the causes against you, by which we stood in comforting confidence that we would also receive a final and gracious answer to the other articles, as you, Count William of Nassau, may have indicated the same friendly opinion back against Jnsbruck: we nevertheless know by the grace of God that we have complained of such action and answer, that we have not allowed ourselves to be heard of the same in any other way than with all humble notification of our need. [1]) For we should be sorry that we have caused the Emperor's Majesty to suffer us by unseemly actions. Majesty by an unseemly turn of events that might justifiably give rise to misgivings or displeasure on our part; we also believe and well believe that, if it had not been for our disfavored ones and those who are partial in these matters, and too much mild reporting, Imperial Majesty would have been able to take a stand by reporting the matter to Her Majesty. Majesty would not have allowed himself to be moved to such burdensome reproaches against us, as the publicity is capable of, by our reported complaints alone. For the relationship and good friendship between the noble Houses of Austria and Saxony has been a custom for many years, as Imperial Majesty has shown. Majest. Instruction indicates, knowingly, and for this reason have shown us so much more kindness to Imperial Majesty. Majesty so much more gracious will in our favorable matters; as we have also appealed to Imperial Majesty's graciousness and to Saxony's graciousness in our favorable matters. Majesty's gracious and manifold request we cannot do otherwise.

(4) But that even through our reported disfavored ones, the Imperial Majesty was moved against us for the sake of the edict, we could not have provided. Majesty against us for the sake of the edict, we would not have provided for it. For Her Majesty has been reminded in the inexplicable, 2) as if six Electors, and thus also our dear brother, Duke Frederick the Blessed, should have considered the Edict, along with other more Princes and Estates, to be the best; for Her Imperial Majesty, along with the other Princes and Estates, should have considered the Edict to be the best. Majesty, together with the other Electors, will be aware of our brother's blessed mind and of the fact that his

1) From here on there is another redaction of this letter in Spalatin's Annals, p. 236 ff., which several times almost literally coincides with this one.

2) That is, reported without just cause.

For the sake of the same edict, as it was intended to be carried out, he has done so, and furthermore has requested Imperial Majesty to be graciously and kindly reminded of it. Majesty to be graciously and kindly remembered, would also be available in case of necessity to this day.

(5) Thus His Imperial Majesty has graciously considered that the matters to which this edict relates are matters concerning God. Majesty graciously consider that, since the matters to which the edict in question applies are matters concerning God, His Word, and our holy faith, we may not be subjected to any special reprimand from our beneficiaries on account of the other Electors. For what concerns Imperial Majesty, Imperial Highness, and the honor, benefit, and welfare of the Holy Roman Empire, according to God:

6th We hope and know for certain that our dear brother, Duke Frederick the Blessed, and we, in particular glory, have promoted the same with the most submissive will, services, mind and our fortune, and have kept ourselves in it, that we, in particular male reduction, know no one in it before to give.

On the other hand, it has never been proper for our brother and us to oppose God the Almighty and His eternal and imperishable Word (in which stands the only consolation of our blessedness). Those who have brought this to the attention of their Imperial Majesty for our disparagement know well themselves how arduous it has been for the Imperial Majesty to hold almost all the imperial congresses after the Imperial Diet in Vienna. Majesty after the Imperial Diet at Worms, the matters were regarded as burdensome because of the edict, and that for this reason a common free Christian council is considered highly necessary, and has been unanimously agreed upon by princes, princes and estates on several occasions. For this reason, our favored ones would have refrained from complaining to their Majesty about the matter with the edict.

(7) Where these things and their origins are to be discussed and disputed, we would, with the help of the Almighty, like to be heard of the submissive, constant, also truthful and irrefutable report, from which Imperial Majesty should graciously note what ungodly and unchristian abuses, both in sermons and otherwise, have occurred in the empire. Majesty should graciously note what ungodly and unchristian abuses, both in sermons and otherwise, have occurred and are occurring in the empire, also from where all erroneous things and divisions have arisen, and are not to be attributed to us.

(8) If God wills, this shall be heard when we, at the Imperial Majesty's Diet now before us, according to Her Majesty's Christian invitation, like other Princes, Princes and Estates, present our opinion and opinion, as we, with the help of the Almighty, the Imperial Highness of the Holy Roman Emperor, have done.
Majesty to obey what is taught in our principality and lands.

(9) And that for the sake of the edict we should now apply to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty, even if we had acted erroneously in these matters in part, as may not be shown, should have been applied for, we would not have presumed, since the imperial decree clearly entails that we are to be granted the right to the right to the right to the right. The Imperial tender brings with it clarification, and the Imperial Majesty desires to have this matter decided. Majesty to act at this Imperial Diet in such a way as may be decided on account of the confusion and discord, so that this may be done all the better and more salutary, to put an end to the discord, to leave behind unwillingness, to surrender past errors to Christ our Saviour, 2c., and to turn diligently to hear, understand and consider all the good thoughts of every one, to bring them to one Christian truth and to compare them, and also to do away with all that is not rightly directed or acted on both sides, 2c. as then the imperial majesty has decided on this in her decree. Majesty graciously knows to remember such of her decree.

Much less has the imperial gracious decree allowed the same claimants to judge the matters, as touched, unheard and unweighed, for itrig, 1) and to complain to her imperial majesty in this way. Majesty in this manner.

(10) When we are also further complained of to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty, as if we should be in agreement with those who have disobeyed and offended Imperial Majesty in this matter. Majesty in this matter have also become disobedient and repugnant, but have entered into an understanding and alliance contrary to Imperial Majesty and the same edict. Majesty and the same edict, and who also, as the head, again maintain: on such too much mild statement of our adversaries our unavoidable necessity requires to give the following notice to Imperial Majesty:

(11) That no man in all the empire may say with truth, or report to the imperial majesty, that our dear brother blessed, and we, have left ourselves to some covenant in the matters of the gospel. Without doubt, to whom more of the states God Almighty has bestowed grace, he will have relied on God alone, and not on any covenant or human comfort.

After we have nevertheless (as we feel from the advertisement) applied to Imperial Majesty about this: our humble request is that Imperial Majesty should let us, together with those who have been complained of with us, speak against the same accusers before Her Majesty. Majesty would have us, together with those who have been complained of with us, to speak against the same accusers before her Majesty, and to have an answer and an interrogation held here.

1) Förstemann: "zuuertaylenn".

Your Majesty will again hear our need and reply to the same submission, and graciously find that we have been charged with no blame by Imperial Majesty, as if we had made an alliance against Her Majesty. Majesty, as if I had made an alliance against Her Majesty, that we have been charged with guilt and quite unjustifiably.

(12) For with whom we have left ourselves in friendly and tangible agreement, that is not contrary to Imperial Majesty. Majesty, nor contrary to anyone, but only for the natural and reasonable protection and protection of each and his country, people and relatives, against the violence and injustice that may be done in these matters, contrary to equity and Imperial Majesty's wishes. Majesty's absence, wanted to be carried out. Therefore, this could not have been done by the claimants to Imperial Majesty. Majesty should not have been interpreted to any impropriety against us, but should have been considered, in which way we were bound in obligation, and what strange, also burdensome, threatening speech often sounded in the Empire, by which we, together with the aforementioned our friends and others in s^ein) friendly and unrepentant understanding, as touched, for protection and salvation alone, until s^the matter) reached the Imperial Majesty, not unreasonably caused. Where also such pretenders will bring the covenant, so in the meantime and sooner than we and our kinsmen, before Imperial Majesty. Majesty, there shall be no lack of us to make such a presentation, so that His Imperial Majesty may see it, and may not be unreasonable. Majesty to see and note who started it first and gave the other cause for unions).

(13) That we should also leave the preaching in place here, asking the Imperial Majesty most humbly for this, as we also do herewith, we are urged in our conscience to the utmost. 1) For since our preachers preach nothing but the bright truth of God and the Holy Scriptures, as we would not knowingly allow them to do otherwise, it would be frightening to put down God's Word and His truth.

2) So we also, as a man, are of such preaching and proclamation of the divine word, to comfort our conscience and to seek help thereby from God.

1) The preceding passage, which is difficult to understand, reads in Spalatin's Annals, p. 242 f., as follows: "Since even our adversaries will show that alliances have not been made with them before we have united with our friends, we also want to show our necessity in such a way that the Catholic Majesty shall recognize and note which part has raised the first and given the other cause to seek allies. Majesty shall recognize and note which part has raised the first and given the other cause to seek confederates."

In all our troubles, which we and every man daily meet with, to seek him, in all our need, that we may not escape the preaching, if we would have God otherwise before our eyes.

14. 3) To this end, our preachers, after their sermon, daily exhort the people most diligently to pray to God for all the needs of Christendom, and especially that God will grant His Imperial Majesty, as His decreed authority, together with the princes and estates of the Empire, grace in these difficult times to God. Majesty, as His decreed authority, together with the Princes, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, may grant grace to act in these "short runs" for the praise of God, and also for Christian peace and good unity, at this Imperial Diet announced by Her Majesty.

15. 4) They also give a faithful report against the false doctrines that are taught to the people here against the sacraments; for this reason they are burdensome, and for the sake of much improvement, as it is to be hoped to God, harmful, where our preachers should stand still with their preaching. 5) Thus in all ways already and for some years the ambiguous things have been disputed, that now the disputation of it has little to shy away from.

6) Thus it would also be quite burdensome that the preaching of the holy gospel should be omitted for the sake of those who wanted to be unnecessarily angry.

16. 7) And especially because at both imperial congresses at Speier the doctrine of the gospel has been preached most sincerely for us and our friends, also publicly and without any considerable or constant annoyance.

17. 8) For the Imperial Majesty can graciously judge. 8) For Your Majesty can graciously judge that if we and our friends were to stand still with our preaching, it would first of all give many Christian hearts a terrible annoyance, and for Your Majesty's sake be understood to mean that, because Your Majesty's Christian and highly thoughtful invitations and requests for this Imperial Diet have gone out into all the world, how everyone's opinion should be heard and then acted upon for Christian settlement, as if Her Majesty wanted to lay down this doctrine unheard and unacted upon, that Her Majesty no doubt did not want to be told by her, as if Her Majesty's invitation should not be followed.

(18) And if we should advise her Majesty by our relationship, and as we mean her Majesty, out of subservience, to honour and all her Majesty's welfare, we would not know how to advise her Majesty otherwise, than that her Majesty should not by any means neglect the object of her Majesty's tender and bid.

But that in these most important matters, by virtue of which they are to be acted upon in Christian unity and concord, they will be graciously granted: which we have graciously caused the Imperial Majesty to remember, out of good faithful good opinion and in the very best manner. Majesty, out of good faith and in the very best, are humbly compelled to remember; also, in consideration of all these matters, circumstances and occasions, hold it that if it is advised to Her Majesty by someone else, it may not be beneficial to Her Majesty, the Empire and all Christendom, nor may it be meant for the best. And is therefore addressed to the Imperial. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, our most humble request, that he may understand such our necessary and most humble notification, also that we may not commit ourselves nor be heard otherwise than as stated above, not ungraciously, and be our most gracious Lord and Emperor, as we humbly promise ourselves:

(19) Thus, with the help of the Almighty, we wish to remain faithful to the end of our lives to Imperial Majesty as our ordered authority. Majesty, as our authorities decreed by God, in guilty, reasonable, and entirely willing submission and obedience, and then in matters which it is our duty to act with and beside our friends, the Princes, also Princes and Estates of the Empire, for the honor, benefit, and welfare of the same Empire, in such a way as we hope to answer for it to God and subsequently to the Imperial Majesty, also to the said Estates and men. Majesty, and also to the said estates and males, as we hope to answer for the same.

(20) As for the other and remaining articles, we hope that Your Imperial Majesty will, with your gracious consideration, not seek to have anyone complain of a fugue. Majesty, with your gracious consideration, that we do not seek anything that anyone might have a complaint with the fugue, graciously and finally agree to the same, and thus show ourselves in mercy towards us.

(21) We are obliged to do this with our unsaved bodies and goods for the sake of Your Imperial Majesty as our most gracious Lord and Emperor. Majesty, as our most gracious Lord and Emperor, in all subservience.

(22) And it is our friendly and gracious request to both of you Counts in general and in particular, that you, according to the gracious command of Our Lord, bring and let reach Her Majesty this our humble and necessary answer, with the best glimpses and fugue that you know how to do by the grace of the Almighty, which we are also inclined to owe you in friendship, grace, and all good. Given at Augsburg, sealed under our imprinted secret, on the last day of May Anno Domini 2c. 1530.

932: The Elector John's letter to Luther, in which he gives him secret news of the aforementioned delegation. June 1, 1530.

This letter is handwritten in Hamburg. Printed in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 408; in berJenaer (1566), vol.V, p. 25b; in the Altmburger, vol. V, p. 24; in the Leipziger, vol.XX, p. 175; in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 359; in Chyträus, col. 28, and in ^Vilbelrai a Vallo II. b, 62. Latin in Ooelektiii., Vol. I, p. 51.

e of God John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.

To the venerable, highly learned, our dear devotee, Mr. Martino Luther, Doctor, to hand.

(1) Our greeting beforehand, venerable and reverend, dear devotee! We have received your next letter, and the Christian exhortation and consolation that you have given us with it, which you have graciously understood, should also, if God wills, be highly comforting to us in these important actions, by the grace of the Almighty.

(2) And we cannot conceal from you that Imperial Majesty has issued an Instruction to us. Majesty has issued an instruction to us here, in which we have almost been highly praised by her Majesty's edict, as well as for several other things. Thus it has also been requested of us (albeit mildly) that we should leave it with the preaching here until such time as Her Imperial Majesty would come here and put things in order.

(3) But we have again answered her majesty, and her majesty is graciously pleased to hear that we cannot consent to these things as they are intended for us. But what will happen further on, we will hear, God willing.

(4) Thus it is said that His Imperial Majesty has set out from Jnsbruck. Majesty has left Jnsbruck, is heading for Munich, and will come here from there after Pentecost. We did not want to let this go unreported to you, and we are graciously inclined to you. Date Augsburg on the first of June, Anno 1530.

933 Luther's report to Jakob Probst, how there was great hope that the Emperor would act mercifully, since he had written two or three times quite mercifully to the Elector, as others of his court had also done, especially Count

Henry of Nassau. In particular, he had not listened to the three princes, those of Brandenburg and Bavaria, and Duke George, who wanted to make John the Prince of the Church hated by him, and the Grand Chancellor Mercurinus had absolutely rejected violent attacks. June 1, 1530.

See Appendix, No. 2, § 1.

934 Luther's other report to Melanchthon: there was a lot of talk about it in Coburg, nothing came of the whole Diet, and the papists held up the emperor with diligence and tried to play the matter so that he would not come to Augsburg at all. The
2 June 1530.

See Annex, No. 3.8 2.

Of the thirteenth chapter, fourth section.

Of the Emperor's Entry into Augsburg, and what happened after it of the Sermons and Corpus Christi Procession.

935 The Old and First Relation of the Imperial Diet at Augsburg Anno 1530, from the Emperor's Arrival to the Delivery of the Augsburg Confession. Dated June 22, 1530.

This writing, according to the original edition, is printed in Cyprian's Beilagen zur Historie der Augsburgischen Confession, p. 60; a narrative agreeing with it in Cölestin's iiist. comit. tom. I, f>. 68. in von der Hardts ant. Imtli. part I, p. 267, a description of this entry is given under the following title: "Des Allerdlauchtigsten, Grosmächtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Hrn. Carolen, Römischen Kaysers 2c. am Nahmen des V. einreitend auf den Reichstag zu Augsvurg, an Mittwochen St. Veits Tag, der da war der 15. Tag im Brachmonat.
1530." Jn Quart.

A Short Indication and Description of Roman Imperial Riding-in. Majesty's Riding In. First from Jnsbruck to Schwatz, then to Munich, and last to Augsburg to the Imperial Diet, and what has happened there daily in the meantime.
Anno 1530.

I.

Short Directory of both Roman Imperial and Royal Majesties in Hungary "and Bohemia r. Train from Insbruck to ge" Augsburg

Anno 1530.

Both Queens, Maria and Anna 2c. together with their children, have this time remained at Insbruck, and both, the Imperial and Royal Majesty 2c., left Insbruck on Monday, the sixth day of June, and all the courtiers (who do not have to wait for the bodies of both Majesties), for the reason that neither sufficient provisions nor lodgings could be obtained on one road, have been reduced to two rooms, one of which is in the town of Insbruck.

The two imperial and royal majesties have been ordered to ride on the roads to Augsburg, and they have ridden towards Munich and further on to Augsburg, as subsequently touched.

(2) The first, that is the sixth day of June, from Insbruck to Schwatz; (1) there the ore miners marched against 5000 men within half a mile, on a high heath or wide open space, with their long spears, halberds, battle swords, hand pipes, and quite a bit of field artillery, according to Landknecht's usage and manner, and formed themselves into two groups against each other (for this reason there were 70 men in one group) in battle order, about 300 paces from each other, and the field artillery was placed on a central hill. Likewise, on one side a troop of 15 or 1600 boys, with shafts half a spear long, was ordered to fall in behind as soon as the two troops attacked and made a mirror fencing. Afterwards, the reported squires and knaves returned to the village of Schwatz in order.

(3) There, Imperial as well as Royal Majesty (but of the same time as Archduke of Austria) is honestly received in the same first arrival by the mountain lords. Majesty (but of the same time as Archduke of Austria) is honestly received in the same first arrival by the mountain lords, as befits, and with a silver penny, in it in the middle the Roman eagle and on the outside all around Imperial Majesty of all kingdoms and countries coat of arms. Majesty of all kingdoms and countries coat of arms, and on the other side (as indicated to me) imperial. Majesty's title, 1700 florins in value; which penny Imperial Majesty (as well to be expected) has been honoured. Majesty (as well to be remembered) with special pleasure.

1) Schwatz, a market town, three German miles northeast of Insbruck.

and graces, then went to the hostel, and in the morning of the 7th day of June inspected the mine from all sides; from there he rode with His Royal Majesty on the water as far as Kopfstein [Kufstein], and in the morning of the eighth day early Duke Ludwig of Bavaria 2c. posted there about four of them to the Imperial Majesty and rode with His Majesty as far as Rosenheim, a small town belonging to the Princes of Bavaria. Majesty, and rode with his Majesty as far as Rosenheim, a small town belonging to the Princes of Bavaria, where Duke Wilhelm (Duke Ludwig's elder brother) also came to the Imperial Majesty.

4th The same, also the 9th and 10th day, up to Munich, on the way by the dukes Wilhelm and Ludwig such a wandering hunt as one has only seen, was held in honor of the imperial majesty; of which there were three, and the first hunt between Kopfstein and Rosenheim, the other in the middle of the way Rosenheim and Ebersburg. The first hunt was between Kopfstein and Rosenheim, the second hunt in the middle of the way between Rosenheim and Ebersburg, at which place a monastery, where her Majesty camped for the night, and afterwards between Ebersburg and Munich, the third hunt. And there have been seen several times three, four, or five hundred pieces of game, roebucks, and stags.

II.

Entry of the Roman Imperial and Royal Majesty into Hungary re. at Munich, Friday in Whitsun Week. Anno 1530.

(1) When both Majesties arrived on the said tenth day half a mile from the city of Munich, the nobility of Upper and Lower Bavaria, belonging to both Princes, together with the same courtiers, almost well armed with hammers and spears, also with beautiful plumes, and Duke Wilhelm's army timpani and trumpets, and also many other nobles, merchants, citizens, and country folk on horseback and on foot, as follows.

First of all, from the gun.

(2) The aforementioned princes had their main and field guns brought to a place outside Munich, on a quarter-mile road, arranged in an almost proper order, of which there were about a hundred, on wheels, namely whole and half carbines, half serpents, falconets, and mortars. Also a wooden rifle, which was taken from the peasants in the monastery of Salzburg in their war, about 18 shoes long, all bound over with iron rings, and which threw a stone as large as a common snake. Above this two fire rifles, and three specially prepared wagons with hailstones.

Ricey stuff and foot soldiers.

3) Beside the cannon, the cavalry and the footmen were ordered and arranged. Namely, 550 well-equipped horses, among them about 300 horses with good armor, absolutely bright armor, armor and knee caps, plus forehead on the horse, and generally well-mounted, the spears painted black and white, with black fringes. The main colour of the clothing, long pale skirts, which almost disguised the appearance of the armour.

4th Mr. Wolf Dietrich von Knöring, knight, was in charge of the troops, and made an order of battle, drew everything together into a heap, and led it away beside the infantry.

(5) The infantry stood in two bands, a lost band and a main band, generally well armed with armor and clothing, numbering 1600.

6th And when both majesties together with other princes, ecclesiastical and secular, namely: Cardinal Campegius, papal legate to royal majesty 2c. 2c.; Cardinal of Salzburg, Liège and Trent; Bishop of Malten, Passau, Brixen 2c.; Count Palatine Friedrich; both Dukes Wilhelm and Ludwig of Bavaria; Counts Palatine Otto Heinrich and Philipp; Margrave Hans Albrecht and Wilhelm of Brandenburg, also several kings, princes and potentates, ambassadors and other princes, imperial majesty and courtiers. Court servants have come to the city of Munich, has been built in front of the gun in the open space and field on twelve cubits long and wide, foursquare with four towers, like a castle, and around it for the run-up with several servants and hand guns occupied, with a stretched out ensign, almost masterly decorated.

007 Which the servants, out of the orderly bands of the footmen, ran at several times, as if to storm, with a shout of the enemy. Some of the garrison fell out, skirmishing and shooting against each other, and so they kept up an apparent order of war.

8th Subsequently both majesties moved to the heap and moved towards it in good order, and made two turns, and the hail gun just went off.

9th Thereupon both majesties moved to the ordnance, and inspected the same in its order, but the cavalry and footmen again set out for the city in the most graceful order.

010 And when their majesties come to the end of the gun, they are gone out of the wind.

and let the same go off one after the other, and such gun was all directed to the forewarned castle, into which many shots were fired, and thus the same was felled.

(11) There have also been some good fires shot and thrown out of the rifles and mortars or firecrackers.

held pattern, as touched before.

12th When the things were done as indicated, both majesties turned to the city and entered, and in the middle of the way there was a flying dragon in the air almost really judged, which hovered in the air so long until the procession passed.

13th Further, when their Majesties arrived from the bridge over the Jizera, near the city, there were also some small canoes or barges, on which some fishermen dressed in blue and white linen trousers and worms, poked at a coloured barrel, which in the middle of the water flowed strongly against a pillar, and partly fell into the water; it was very handsome. And when one came over the bridge, one shot joy on the towers and walls, as usual custom.

Riding in imperial and royal majesty persons.

14th Imperial Majesty, in this entry into the city, has kept King Ferdinand of Hungary and Bohemia, her brother, on the right, and the Papal Legate, Cardinal Campegium, on the left. Cardinal Campegium, on the left side, and drew Imperial Majesty in the middle. Majesty in the middle. The clothing was a tabard divided with gold and black velvet strokes, the head covered with a black summer hat; Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia 2c. dressed in a gold tabard with silver cloth underneath, and cut over it, somewhat more delicious and apparent than Imperial Majesty. Majesty had been dressed. Cardinal Campegius went in his usual costume, a red scarlet, and had the cross presented to him.

15. bor imperial majesty are the secular princes, namely the princes of Bavaria, Margrave Hans of Brandenburg; and behind their majesty the cardinals Salzburg, Trent, imperial. Majest. Confessor, and the Bishop of Passau.

016 And as the imperial majesty (who had a mere sword and two pillars, 1) each by a cubit

1) "Pillars" - Scepter.

long, on each an imperial crown, have been paraded, also the guardians of honor have ridden in their paludaments 2) into the city, was performed on a stage, so lovely, artificial, and well-ordered, that it astonished everybody, and would not have been well possible to improve, about two hundred paces from the gate, on the right hand the history of Esther, and after that about two hundred paces, also called in the valley, on the left hand the history of Thameri [1orn^ri8j, who thrusts King Cyro's severed head into a tub of blood. And thirdly, in the castle gafse, the story Cambysis Persä, so to flay an unjust judge verschuf. All of living marvellous farces, held in honour of the imperial majesty. And on the square also a castle of linen and woodwork with several hundred key shots made and lit, and so in general the bonfire done there.

(17) After all these things, both majesties rode to Duke William's fortress, as to their lodging. On the eleventh day, however, the princes held a hunt. On the 12th day, the Imperial and Royal Majesties, together with all the Princes, rode to Our Lady's Church, and in the evening a princely banquet was held in the Duke's pleasure garden, called the Rose Garden. After this, the Imperial and Royal Majesties and all the Princes rode to the Town Hall to dance: the Imperial Majesty danced the first dance with Duke Wilhelm's wife, after which they danced for two hours in the night, and everyone rode back to the inn. On Monday, the thirteenth day, the Imperial and Royal Majesties and several princes hunted all day. On the fourteenth day, the Imperial and Royal Majesty went to Fürstenfeld to the monastery, and the other courtiers to Bruck, three miles from Munich, and in the morning of the fifteenth day rode toward Augsburg, as follows.

III.

The entry of the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, into Augsburg has taken place, as follows.

(1) On Wednesday, the fifteenth day of June, at an early hour of the day, about 4 o'clock, the Councils of the Electors met in the Town Hall of Augsburg, and after that, at the fifth hour, the Electors, namely Cologne, Saxony, and Brandenburg, came in person to the Town Hall. After that, at the sixth hour, all the

2) palnänoasuturü - Oberklerd, coat.

other princes, ecclesiastical and secular, also met in the council chamber. And when the said princes and princes and their counsellors were in one room, some imperial counsellors (namely the bishop of Speier, Margrave Hans Albrecht of Brandenburg, and Count Wolf of Montfort) appeared before the said princes and princes with an imperial credentials and commission, and gave their order; and after the same the imperial counsellors and "commissioners" went from the town hall to their lodgings, and soon after rode out to meet the imperial majesty in a village called Kissingen, a mile from Augsburg. Majesty to a village called Kissingen, a mile from Augsburg, in which village the Imperial Majesty ate lunch and prepared to ride to Augsburg the same day, as was done. But after the aforementioned imperial councillors came from the town hall, the electors and princes remained in the town hall until the eleventh hour, conferring with one another to ride out to meet the Roman imperial majesty. At about three o'clock, in addition to the city of Augsburg, the Electors of Mainz, Cologne, Saxony, Brandenburg, and of the other two Electors (Trier and Palatinate), appointed and excellent councillors, as well as all other ecclesiastical and secular princes who had been in Augsburg before the arrival of the Imperial Majesty. Majesty at Augsburg, with all their court servants, almost honestly up to a bridge to meet Imperial Majesty. Majesty, with the exception of the Cardinal of Liège and the Bishop of Eichstädt, who, due to age and weakness, did not appear. Also the bishop of Augsburg, who went to meet the imperial majesty in the city with the whole priesthood in procession, and waited as princes and princes at two hours of the imperial majesty until the same had arrived. Majesty, until the same, with the Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia 2c. and several ecclesiastical and secular princes, namely, two Cardinals, Salzburg and Trent; Archbishop of Bremen, Bishop of Passau, Bishop of Brixen; Duke Frederick, Count Palatine; Duke William and Ludewig, brothers, of Bavaria, Count Palatines; Duke Otto Henry and Philip, Count Palatines, and many other princes more, great and powerful lords, Germans, Welsh and Spaniards, all most daintily dressed and lovely to see, rode before Imperial Majesty. Majesty.

(2) And when the Imperial Majesty, and besides their Majesty the Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia. Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia, also both Majesties' Honourables and Persevants, five (who rode before them), joined the Electors and Princes (who had previously stood on foot) safely at the fifty to sixty paces.
and because the princes and princes went against the K. Majesty, she and her Majesty's brother immediately left the horses. Brother from the horses. The princes and princes (who were waiting for their Majesty to receive them) wanted to prevent their Majesty from dismounting, and hurriedly ran to their Majesty, but their Majesty was too nimble to dismount on foot. So the K. Maj. first, and then the royal Maj. Maj. shook hands with the Electors and Princes, and showed themselves to each other with quite cheerful and lovely faces. Immediately the Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz, as Archchancellor and Prince of the Roman Empire through Germania, received the Royal Majesty on behalf of all other princes and princes with a dainty and brave speech, thus with such words or the like:

eption of Imperial Majesty. Majesty, which the Cardinal of Mainz did.

Most Sublime, Most Great, Most Invincible, Most Gracious Lord! My brothers, friends and superiors, princes, prelates, counts and other estates of the realm and the same embassies, present, and I, who have obediently appeared at Your Imperial Majesty's invitation and request at the Imperial Diet held in Augsburg. Maj. and request to the Imperial Diet held at Augsburg, are present to Your Imperial Majesty, as the most gracious Lord of our blessed arrival in the Holy Roman Empire, do hereby most humbly receive the same, and wish Your Majesty much happiness for the height and dignity of the Imperial coronation received, and a long, peaceful and blessed reign, in the submissive comforting hope that all this shall and will, by means of divine help, benefit Your Majesty, to the highest honour, praise and welfare of common Christendom and the German nation; with the humble offer that we, as the required members of the Holy Roman Empire, will help, advise and act in the most faithful way at the Imperial Diet that may first of all bring honour, benefit and good to God Almighty, to Your Majesty, to common Christendom and to the German nation, and thus we entrust ourselves to Your Majesty as our most gracious Lord.

(3) To this His Majesty answered through Count Palatine Frederick and expressed his thanks. Afterwards princes, princes and their counsellors and courtiers all sat on the horses, and first of all the prince of Saxony, the count Palatine Ludwig, prince, margrave Joachim, prince, arch-bishop of Trier, Cologne, Mainz, duke Wilhelm and Ludwig of Bavaria (who were

invaded by force before Margrave George 2c.), Duke Henry of Brunswick, Margrave George of Brandenburg, and other princes' court servants. After them many counts, lords, and of nobility, K. and con. Majest. Councils, also several Spanish Princes and Counts, all belonging to Imperial and Royal Majesties. Majesties, several Counts and Lords of the Realm, who rode in honour of the Imperial Majesty. Majesty in honor. Afterwards of the Imperial and Royal Majesties Majesties noble boys, on the most beautiful stallions, geldings 1) and Turkish horses, so often seen together. After which K. and royal. Majest. Trumpeters, so with and beside each other ridden and blown, together with a German army timpanist and three drum beaters, K. and kön. Majesty. Thereupon followed three imperial and two royal guard of honour and persevants. They were succeeded by both Majesties' highest court masters, as the Count of Crop, the Count of Rops, and Lord Wilhelm, Baron of Rogendorf 2c., and all secular princes. Last of all, Duke John of Saxony, Churfürst, as Archmarshall in the middle with the bare sword, and on the right side Margrave Joachim, and on the left Count Palatine Louis, Churfürsten, Ambassador, a Baron of Erbach, called Schenk Veltin, before kais. Majesty. And behind him is the Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia. Majest. of Hungary and Bohemia 2c. and all other ecclesiastical Churfürsten, Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, touched above, rode; and beside, behind and before kais. Majest. have gone a hundred German, a hundred Dutch, a hundred Spanish satellites, belonging to kais. Majesty. Likewise royal majesty 2c. one hundred German and Bohemian, also of other electors and princes many satellites; and after the above-mentioned ecclesiastical electors and princes 2c. one hundred imperial majesty equipped hatchets rode. Majesty, and then the Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia, with a thousand horses.

4th And when the Imperial Majesty came near to the city, first of all the mayors and the council of Augsburg fell to the Imperial Majesty on foot for the third time, and received them as was due, and so went on foot beside the Imperial Majesty into the city. Majesty on foot for the third time, and received them as befitted, and thus went on foot beside the Imperial Majesty into the city. When this reception took place and they moved a little further away, on one side there were about 1500 well-equipped horses, of citizens, merchants and Purschen, quite merry to see, with beautiful clothes, feathers and ornaments, and next to them four squadrons of foot soldiers, also all the citizens, merchants and inhabitants of the city over 2000 very bravely and well dressed in silk and silk of the imperial family.

1) "Genetter" (Italian Zinstto) - light horse.

Most of them dressed, together with their armour, of which each had almost one, held in a quartered order of battle; and in front of them, so far that Imperial Majesty and the whole troop might move between the foot soldiers and the cannon, stood twelve falconets. Majesty and the whole troop might move between the aforementioned foot soldiers and the cannon, there stood twelve falconets, all of which were fired at a screen in the presence of Imperial Majesty. Majesty on a screen. Prior to this procession, however, a thousand lansquenets, belonging to His Imperial Majesty, were drafted, and the procession of His Imperial Majesty continued until night. Majesty's entry was delayed till night. And when imperial. Majesty came near the city gate, Cardinal Campegius, papal legate, stopped in a pleasure house, and wanted to ride in beside Imperial Majesty. Majesty; however, the princes and rulers did not want to permit it under any circumstances, neither with the said Cardinal, nor with the Royal Majesty or any other prince, but wanted the Imperial Majesty to ride free alone. Majesty to ride free alone. And when they came under the gate of the city, four of the council carried a beautiful sky, under which his Majesty rode further than the middle of the city; there the Bishop of Augsburg, together with all the priesthood, as reported above, went to meet her with the procession and the sky, and imperial Majesty the Pope went to meet her. Majesty. Reverence. Thus is Imperial Maj. Maj. rode under the same sky, which was carried by some of the six canons, to the cathedral church, there he descended together with the royal Majesty, ecclesiastical and secular princes, princes 2c., and entered the church; there his Majesty, the said Bishop of Augsburg, consecrated him, and read the Psalm Exaudi 2c. together with several prayers and collects; finally, by the imperial Majesty, the bishop of Augsburg, the bishop of Augsburg, the bishop of Augsburg, read the Psalm Exaudi 2c. Majest. Capellan the De vsuna IauäaiQU8 was sung, and thereupon in the Palatinate the Emperor entered his court. Maj. went to his court, and soon the Royal Majesty together with the Princes and Princes also went to their hostel.

(5) But how and what Imperial Majesty, also Princes, ecclesiastical and secular. Majesty, also Princes, Princes, ecclesiastical and secular, together with the same court servants, dressed with gold and silver cloths, pearl ornaments, velvet, silk, feathers and all ornaments, is not to be described, because all this was an unbelievable abundance.

On Thursday, June 16, that is, on the day of Our Lord's Feast of Corpus Christi, Imperial and Royal Majesty together with all the princes and princes, ecclesiastical and secular (without the Elector of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke of Lüneburg, and Landgrave of Hesse) went with the procession. The Cardinal of Mainz carried the Sacrament under heaven; next to it, on his right hand, was the royal crown.

Majest. and to the left Margrave Joachim 2c. gone, and kaiserl. Majest. is behind them outside the sky (first on one side Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, Elector of Brandenburg's son, and Duke George of Pomerania, and on the left Count Palatine Philip, Duke Henry of Brunswick, and Duke of Mecklenburg, carried as far as the chapel on Verlach, after which the said princes changed, and other six princes carried as far as the Holy Cross, and there again other princes carried as far as the cathedral) with bare head and a burning light; then all ecclesiastical princes, cardinal, archbishop and bishops, and before the sacrament all secular princes, before them both Majest. court masters, honorary guardians, persevants, trumpeters, army timpanists, and in front the priesthood, and imperial and royal majesty's court servants, from counts to bishops. Court servants, Counts and Lords, with lighted lanterns.

From the 16th day until the 20th, nothing special was done. But on Monday, the 20th day, the Emperor began to act in the Diet, as follows:

(8) First of all, the Cardinal of Mainz has an office äs spiritu sanoto, the Imperial. Majest. Capellan responded, sang in Our Lady's Church on the high altar, and both sides of the choir were hung with almost exquisite golden cloths and tapestries. First of all, the Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor. Majesty, next to it royal. Majesty, then the Archbishop of Cologne, Elector of Saxony, Elector of Brandenburg, the Trier Embassy, Count Palatine Ludewig's, Elector, Embassy, Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, Duke George of Saxony, Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Count Palatine Otto Heinrich, Duke Heinrich of Brunswick, Count Palatine Philip, Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg, Duke George of Pomerania, Duke Barnim 1) of Pomerania, Electors of Saxony, Electors of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony's son, Duke of Lüneburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and several others have not been able to stand, have been on the Porkirche.

9th On the left side of the choir stood the Papal Legate, Cardinal Campegius, Cardinal of Trent, in place of an Archduke of Austria, Cardinal of Salzburg, Archbishop of Bremen, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and

1) "Barnim" put by us instead of: "Bernhard". - All those named up to now have stood in the church (see Förstemanns Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. 292); whether the register of those "who may not have stood" already starts here is doubtful to us because of the mention of "Duke Georgen of Saxony's son".

Administrator of the office of Grand Master, Bishop of Würzburg, Eichstädt, Speier, and other bishops. And in the midst of the choir some booths were opened, therein stood the king of France, Angelland, and other embassies.

(10) Before the offertory, the archbishop of Rossano made a beautiful oration, recounting all the tyrannies of the Turks that they had committed up to that time, and especially during the past year in Austria, and that the Germans, in whose power all the welfare, happiness, and salvation of the whole of Christendom were, were so very sleepy, negligent, and even divided among themselves, and how difficult it would be for them to be responsible for this 2c. This speech has lingered longer than an hour.

(11) After the offertory had been sung, the Imperial Majesty and all the ecclesiastical and secular princes, cardinals, archbishops, 2c. Majesty and all ecclesiastical and secular Electors, Cardinals, Archbishops 2c. went to sacrifice; and after completion of the Office of the Mass all rode to the Town Hall, and the Elector of Saxony presented the bare sword (which under the Office of the Mass the Hereditary Marshal of Pappenheim constantly held) to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. And when now the Imperial and Royal Majesties, together with the Princes and Princes, came to the Town Hall, and each, as is proper and old custom, was in his session, without the Royal Majesty, about ten paces from and against the Imperial Majesty, on a special platform. Majesty, sat on a special three-tier high chair, covered with gold cloth, as a King of Hungary.

12: Firstly, by order of Imperial Majesty Majesty. Count Palatine Frederick 2c. began to speak orally about this opinion, and told how the Roman Imperial Majesty was initially elected unanimously by all the princes, crowned at Aachen, and later described an Imperial Diet at Worms. There, his Majesty did everything possible to bring about peace, unity, and acceptance of the Holy Roman Empire, as much as was possible in a hurry. Since, however, the same Roman Imperial Majesty could no longer remain in the German nation due to noticeable high wars and other causes, so that his Majesty was challenged, and immediately (but with all princes, princes, 2c. and foreknowledge) to their Hispanic hereditary kingdoms and lands, in the hope of bringing them, together with the whole of Italy, into peace and tranquillity, and then to return to the Holy Roman Empire, and in the meantime the Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia, his Imperial Majesty's dear brother, as a state. Majesty's dear brother, as governors, also councillors and regents, who have all full power (all that sprouts for the good of the Holy Roman Empire).

may) had to act, and in that case his Majesty reserved to him little power, left behind his Majesty, the gracious hope to give the same to his Imperial Majesty. Majest. His Majesty's governors and regiment have acted in his absence in such a way that everyone should not bear any burden, although his Majesty was by no means in the mood to be out of the Holy Empire for so long a year. Rather, when it appeared credible to his Majesty on a daily basis what great error, displeasure and dissension had grown up in the Holy Roman Empire without ceasing, he considered without hesitation, out of his innate imperial mild love and inclination, which his Majesty had always borne to the Holy Roman Empire, and with God's help found ways for his Majesty to cross the sea, with great danger, from the Holy Roman Empire to the Holy Roman Empire, and with God's help found ways for his Majesty to cross the sea, with great danger, from the Holy Roman Empire to the Holy Roman Empire, and with God's help found ways for his Majesty to cross the Holy Roman Empire to the Holy Roman Empire. has come with great danger over the sea, from his dearest wife and children, through the Italian countries (which were mostly hostile at that time, but brought them to peace, tranquility and unity) and again into the holy empire, and has indeed announced an imperial diet, but for the above-mentioned reasons has not been able to appear sooner. Therefore, graciously trust, Princes, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire do not want to have any displeasure or complaint because of this. And since His Majesty sees that the Princes, Princes, and Estates, and their absent embassies, have gathered in such valiant numbers at the request of their Imperial Majesty, he will not be displeased or complained of. Majesty's request, thus show obedience, therefore bear his Majesty's high and gracious favor, undoubted hope, his Majesty. together with the affected Princes, Princes and Estates, will act so bravely, earnestly and beneficially in praise of God Almighty, with the help and comfort of all common Christendom, and especially for the benefit, welfare and uplift of the German nation, and for the resistance of the Turks, that the Turks will be broken off by force, and all peace, unity and praiseworthy order in the Holy Roman Empire will be flushed away 2c.

(13) After these and similar words, the above-mentioned Count Palatine Frederick said that the Electors, Princes, and Estates would continue to accept this and other opinions, for which reason Imperial Majesty proclaimed this Imperial Diet. Majesty had announced this Imperial Diet, would continue to take it according to its length (as written). Thereupon Imperial. Majesty's Secretary, Alexander Schweiß, began to read the lecture; as I have described word for word in another booklet of my own. But the summary content of this is the first article because of the Turkish invasion; the other is what complaints the secular authorities have against the clergy, and again the clergy against the secular, should be made.

Both parties, ecclesiastical and secular, to compose such in Latin and German writings, and to submit them to the attention of the Emperor. Therein Imperial Majesty Majesty seek a gracious, divine, honest, and inexpensive means 2c. The third article is to reject all kinds of concerns, shortages, and discord throughout the Roman Empire, and to consider what is useful for the welfare and better order.

14th After such reading the Electors and Princes stood up and talked with each other for a little while; then Margrave Joachim, Elector, in the place of all the Electors and Princes, first answered for the oral presentation made by Count Palatine Frederick, and thanked His Imperial Majesty for his gracious arrival. Maj.'s gracious arrival, and that the Electors and Princes were most pleased with such arrival 2c. Further to the written presentation, the Electors, Princes, and Estates ask Imperial Majesty in all submissiveness to grant them the right of audience. Majesty in all submission, that the same should send them the aforementioned submission, then they will have it copied, take it in hand, deliberate on it, and thus decide everything possible, on which their Imperial Majesty's gracious favor. Majesty's gracious favor. Palgrave Frederick has again answered this by order of Imperial Majesty, and has granted the read writings to be copied by princes, princes and estates. Thereupon the hereditary marshal of Pappenheim said aloud that the princes, princes and estates should each send a scribe to the town hall at three o'clock and have the lecture copied, which had been read out by the Secretarium of Mainz. After all this, the Imperial Majesty has risen. Majesty arose, and all the Princes, Princes, and with the Imperial Majesty rode home to the Court. Majesty rode home to court, which was nearly one o'clock.

From that day until the 24th of June nothing has been reported here. But on the aforementioned June 24 at three o'clock the Imperial and Royal Majesty together with all the Princes, Princes and Estates appeared at the Town Hall; some Princes and Princes had been at the Town Hall long before, but some rode to the Imperial Majesty and accompanied him there. Majesty and have accompanied them thereon. When all these had talked for a little while with and among themselves, Cardinal Campegius, Papal Legate 2c. Legate 2c. also arrived, to whom the Imperial Majesty together with the Royal Majesty arrived. Majesty together with the Royal Majesty and all the Princes and Princes went to meet him at the steps, and led him forward. After that, the Imperial Majesty Majesty, and all the Princes, each to his own session, and the said Cardinal, as previously announced, sat on the chair, whereon, on the 20th of June, the Royal Majesty stood about ten paces from it.

of and against kaiserl. Majest. sat, and royal Majest. sat this time as a king of Bohemia below that of Mainz.

(16) Now, when Imperial Majesty and all (to whom it is due) were seated Majesty and all (to whom it is due) were seated, the said Cardinal presented his advertisement and order of papal authority in Latin, and, according to the usual old custom, issued to the first Imperial Majesty a letter of credence from the papal authority. Majesty a letter of credence from Papal Holiness. His Majesty gave the letter to the one from Mainz, and then the one from Mainz to his secretary, to read it out; and after reading it out, he, the legate, spent more than half an hour perorating the imperial majesty, the electors and the princes of Mainz. Majesty, princes and chieftains, as members of the Roman Church, that they should not turn away from it, but keep to the old custom and resist the infidels. Holiness, as a governor of Peter and servant of the servants of God 2c., will be helpful in all this, as much as is in his power and ability 2c., and after the speech he, the Cardinal, rode home again. Immediately there came forth Mr. Nicolaus, Count of Salm 2c., Mr. Wilhelm of Rogendorf, Mr. Hans of Lannberg, Mr. Wolfgang Volkra, Mr. Wilhelm of Zelting, Mr. Watzlau of Hofkirchen 2c. on account of the land of Austria under the Ens. item, Mr. Siegmund of Dietrichstein, Mr. Erhard of Polheim, Mr. Laßla Rottenstorfer, Mr. Asmus of Trautmannsdorf on account of the principality of Steyer. Item, Mr. Balthasar Thanhauser, Mr. Moritz Welzer, Georg von Neuhaus on account of the Principality of Carinthia. Item, Mr. Georg von Aursperg, Mr. Siegmund von Weixelburg, Knight, on account of the Principality of Carniola. Item, Count Julius von Hardeck, Johann Fernberger 2c. on account of the land above the Ens. Item, Hans Hofer, Captain at Tübin, on account of the County of Görtz, as appointed Commissaries and Ambassadors to Imperial Majesty. Majest. Electors, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, of all the lands of Lower Austria.

(17) So first of all the said Lord Siegmund of Dietrichstein has orally delivered a dainty and serious speech (to Imperial Majesty the Prince and Estates), Prince, Princes and Estates), with an account of all the evils and cruel acts which the Turk has inflicted on the whole of common Christendom, in very few years and in the memory of men, and especially in the 29th year, in Austria and Styria, and how they, the lands of Lower Austria, have hitherto resisted more than they could possibly have done. So that they are now for

not be able to resist a military attack, let alone such a force. Therefore to Imperial Majesty Majesty as a gracious Christian emperor, sovereign and head of all Christendom, and also to princes, rulers and estates, that they will heed their supreme, unspeakable desire to destroy their wives, children, bodies, honour and goods, and to show themselves with a considerable, brave, persevering, emphatic help against the enemy of all Christendom 2c. And since it would not be possible to announce all this verbally, they ask their Imperial Majesty, also the Electors, to send them a message. Majesty, also Princes, Princes and Estates, that they will (without complaint and annoyance) hear their highest request, as it is written, most graciously, graciously and kindly.

(18) After such a speech, which took place with somewhat more content, von Dietrichstein immediately handed over the aforementioned document, a whole libell, to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and the Imperial Majesty has handed it over to the Majesty sent it to the von Mainz, and the latter to his secretary, to be read out, as then happened. After the reading, which was almost piteous, pitiful, and serious to hear, the said embassies, in place of Imperial Majesty the Elector of Mainz, have been delivered to the Emperor of Mainz. Majesty, Princes and Princes, answered this opinion without difficulty: they have listened to their oral and written presentation and advertisement, and wanted to act on everything that a most gracious Christian Emperor, together with the same Princes and Princes, would consider godly, honest, mean, useful and fair 2c.

(19) When the embassies or envoys of the imperial majesty, princes, and princes gave thanks and resigned, the Elector of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, both Dukes of Lüneburg, and Landgrave of Hesse, from their session on and against the imperial majesty, have now stood up for and against the imperial majesty. Majesty. Then the Chancellor of the Elector of Saxony spoke approximately on such opinion: that his most gracious and gracious lords, Electors and Princes at present, without doubt manifold against Imperial Majesty, Electors and Princes. Majesty, Princes, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire?) as if they had dared to raise new unheard-of sects, heresies, and errors in the Holy Empire of the German Nation in a somewhat unchristian manner, and were a cause of this. Therefore they ask their imperial majesty in all submission, princes and rulers, friendly and neighborly

1) "failed" stated, blackened.

Opinion, they want to listen and hear at length and without annoyance, what his most gracious and gracious lords, Mr. Johann, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Mr. Georg, Margrave of Brandenburg, Mr. Ernst and Mr. Franz, Dukes of Lüneburg, brothers, Mr. Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse 2c, have preached in their principalities and lands everywhere, and what all the articles of their faith contain 2c.

(20) According to these and other speeches of the. Chancellor, as an almost well-reputed, brave and respectable man, speeches, Royal Majesty, Electors and Princes have gone to Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and through N. answered the above-mentioned Princes and Princes and said: Imperial Majesty desired to have the same speeches made by him. Majesty requested that the same articles of their faith and church customs be sent to His Majesty in writing, which His Imperial Majesty would like to receive with the same authority. Majesty will review them with the same council and then give a gracious answer. Thereupon the aforesaid Chancellor of the Elector, by command and in the place of the Elector and the Princes, has again subjected the Imperial Majesty to the laws of the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty again humbly requested that His Majesty hear this publicly. Thereupon Imperial. Majesty again conferred with the Royal Majesty, Princes and Princes and had them say and indicate through N. that the Imperial Majesty, for their gracious favor, would have it publicly read out the next [day], that is June 25, in Her Majesty's Court, in the presence of the Princes and Princes. They have again humbly requested the Imperial Majesty, since his Imperial Majesty does not wish to hear such articles of their faith and church customs this time, that his Imperial Majesty leave the same writings in the hands of his most gracious and gracious lords for reasons (that there may be an etching or other deficiency in them), which they want to earn for the sake of his Imperial Majesty in all humbliness, and in addition, at his Imperial Majesty's request, to read the other writings. Majesty's request, they will appear the next day as the obedient ones. Thus has His Imperial Majesty Majesty again held council with princes and rulers, and finally granted that they, the Elector of Saxony and his followers, might keep the writings in their hands. Thereupon they have expressed their humble thanks to Imperial Majesty. Thereupon Imperial. Majesty rode home in the same court, and several princes and princes with him.

21st On the 25th of June, at three o'clock past noon, by Imperial Majesty's request, the Royal Majesty, Princes and Princes appeared in the same court at the Palatinate, likewise the

Elector of Saxony, together with the four princes above, with their written presentation, read out at length in the presence of Imperial Majesty, Elector, and princes. Majesty, the Elector, and the Princes, and therein their entire faith, with the introduction of the Holy Scriptures, from the Bible, the Prophets, and the Gospels, is presented, along with all their church customs, ceremonies, order, opinion, and intentions with the same clergy, and what their clergy (as the bishops and pastors), their office in the Holy Scriptures shows, and has lasted almost into the third hour.

(22) Therefore the Imperial Majesty has again consulted with the Royal Majesty, Princes and Princes, and answered. Since the articles are difficult for them, and there are many of them, His Imperial Majesty would like to draw up a council on them, and then give a gracious answer as to what His Imperial Majesty intends to do about them. So the Imperial Majesty and all men went and rode into his custody.

On Monday, 27 June, Imperial Majesty and several Princes and Princes came to the Town Hall. Majesty and several Princes and Princes came to the Town Hall, and were led before it by Imperial Majesty's tapestry maker to the balcony, where the Emperor Frederick and Maximilian also stood. Majesty's tapestry makers led them to the bay window, where Emperor Frederick and Maximilian also stood, the Imperial Majesty's exquisite tapestries were opened, and the mayor, city council and community of the city of Augsburg stood before the city hall to administer the usual oath to the Imperial Majesty. So sing to imperial. Majesty Ehrenhold (Caspar Sturm, called Germania) to speak against mayor, council and community: because S. kaiserl. Majesty requires them to take the usual oath, they should pay attention, pay attention and repeat what is read to them, then Imperial Majesty wants them to keep their liberties. Majesty would hold them to their liberties and privileges, confirm and confirm them, and be their most gracious Emperor 2c. So they, mayor, council and community, have taken the oath. According to this, Imperial Majesty After the morning meal, the imperial and royal majesty, as well as several ecclesiastical and secular princes, rode out to hunt, and that same evening both queens, Maria and Anna, joined them in the hunt, and thus stayed overnight outside at the castle, called Wellenburg, which belongs to Salzburg.

24th On After Monday, 1) the 28th of June, early at seven o'clock, both Majesties and Queens, without the knowledge of all the Electors and Princes (the

1) "After Monday" ---- Tuesday.

(The two queens, of course, would have ridden to meet them) rode in quietly, so that they did not see many people. On the same day, the 29th day, most of the princes and princesses rode to the queens and received them, after which many princes and princesses came to them every day.

The Income of the Electors and Princes who rode to Augsburg before the arrival of the Imperial Majesty.

On the 2nd day of May the Elector Duke Hans of Saxony rode in, with him his Grace's son, Duke Hans Friedrich, Duke Franz of Lüneburg, Count Wolf of Anhalt, Count Wolf of Henneberg, Count of Mansfeld, Count of Gleiche, had 160 horses almost well mounted, all carrying shooting gear, in liver-coloured clothing; before them came a large retinue and many wagons, and may have been about a hundred horses.

On the 10th day of May rode in Duke Georgen son of Saxony, with him Prince Joachim of Anhalt, had 30 horse, in liver-colored clothing, and led shooting.

On the 12th day of May rode in the Elector Margrave Joachim, had 100 horses, with him his Grace's sons, were riflemen, in liver-colored clothing. Next, Duke Henry of Brunswick, had at 30 horses, in gray clothes, and led almost all pigskins. More, the Landgrave of Hesse, has 120 horses, in gray clothes, led all -shooting stuff.

On the 14th day of May came riding in the Duke of Lüneburg, the reigning, had at 30 horses, dressed in liver color, led pork kebabs.

On the 15th day of May the bishop of Speier rode in, and had with him 50 horses, red robes, and led sheep.

On the 16th day of May the Elector and Bishop of Cologne rode in, had 60 horses, in red dress, some archers and some led shafts in their manner, and several days before came in reported armour with 40 horses, in his charge.

On the 18th day of May the Elector of Mainz rode in with 130 horses, dressed in red, all carrying spears and light main armour.

On the 22nd day of May the bishop of Würzburg came riding in with 50 horses, dressed in red, and all carrying firearms; the day before 40 horses came, all carrying spears and armour, in his charge.

On the 24th day of May rode in Margrave George of Brandenburg, with his graces a young Duke of Munsterberg, had at 160 horses,
In green garments, and led all light chief armour and spears.

On the 27th day of May Duke Georg and Barnim, 1) brothers of Pomerania, rode in with 80 horses, dressed in red, all carrying pigskins, and were not equipped.

On May 28th Duke George of Saxony rode in and had 50 horses, dressed in livery and riflemen.

On the 7th day of June Mr. Walther von Kronenberg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order 2c., rode in with 40 horses, dressed in black, all carrying shooting gear.

On June 12, the bishop of Eichstädt rode in with 34 horses, dressed in grey, and carrying firearms.

On the 13th day of June the Dukes of Mecklenburg rode in on horse-drawn carriages, about 30 horses, dressed in grey.

On June 14, the bishop of Brixen rode in with 28 horses, which were not equipped, dressed in black clothes, in the French manner.

On the 14th of June Duke Philipp, together with the armour of Duke Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine, came with 150 horses, dressed in red, all bare armour, light main armour and spits, and foreheads at the nags.

On the 15th day of June the bishop of Liège came with 50 horses, dressed in grey. They were beautiful, mean 2) horses, not equipped, his person was led in a litter.

The Roman Imperial Majesty, also the Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia, together with the Princes and Princes of the Roman Empire, who appeared at the Imperial Diet held here in Augsburg in the year 1530.

Carolus, Roman emperor.
Ferdinandus, King of Hungary and Bohemia. Albertus, Archbishop of Mainz 2c, Elector. Hermannus, Archbishop of Cologne, Elector. John, Duke of Saxony, Elector.
Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., Churfürst.
Duke Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine 2c.
Duke Wilhelm, in Upper and Lower Bavaria, Count Palatine.
Duke George of Saxony 2c.
Duke Ludwig, in Upper and Lower Bavaria, Count Palatine.
Duke Erich of Brunswick.

1) "Barnim" set by us instead of: "Bernin".
2) Maybe: "Dutch"?

Margrave George of Brandenburg 2c.
Duke Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine.
Duke Henry of Brunswick, the Younger.
Duke Philip in Bavaria, Count Palatine.
Duke Henry of Mecklenburg.
Duke Ernst of Brunswick and Lüneburg.
Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg.
Landgrave Philip of Hesse 2c.
Duke George of Pomerania, Duke Barnim of Pomerania, brothers. Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt.
Berchtold, Count and Lord of Henneberg.

Follow the spiritual princes.

Matthew, Archbishop of Salzburg 2c.
Christoph, Archbishop of Bremen.
Waltherus, Court Master of the Teutonic Order, in German and Welsh Lands 2c.
Wigandus, Bishop of Bamberg.
Conradus, Bishop of Würzburg, Duke of Franconia.
Gabriel, Bishop of Eichstädt.
Heinrich, Bishop of Worms, Count Palatine.
Philip, Bishop of Speier.
Wilhelm, Bishop of Strasbourg, Landgrave in Alsace.
Christoph, Bishop of Augsburg.
Balthasar, bishop of Costnitz and Hildesheim, vice-chancellor 2c.
Paul, Bishop of Chur.
Ernst, Bishop of Passau 2c.
Erhard, Bishop of Liège 2c.
Bernhard, Bishop of Trier 2c.
George, Bishop of Bressanone.
Georg, Bishop of Lebus and Ratzeburg.

Young princes, who are not reigning, follow hereafter.

Duke Wolfgang, Count Palatine Louis, Churf, brother.
Duke Hans Friedrich, son of the Elector of Saxony.
Margrave Joachim, son of the Elector of Brandenburg.
Frederick and Hans, sons of Duke George of Saxony.
Duke Franciscus of Lüneburg has come to an agreement with the Elector of Saxony.
Margrave Hans Albrecht of Brandenburg.
Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg, provost of the cathedral 2c.
Lord Johann, Prince of Anhalt, has come to an agreement with the Elector of Brandenburg.
George, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg, has come to an agreement with the Margrave of Brandenburg.
Joachim, Prince of Anhalt, has come to an agreement with Duke Georgen of Saxony.
Count Wolfgang of Henneberg, has come to an agreement with the Elector of Saxony.
Duke George of Münsterberg, has come to an agreement with the Margrave of Brandenburg.
Count Ernst of Henneberg, has come to an agreement with the Landgrave of Hesse.
A young Duke of Mecklenburg, has come to terms with Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, his father.
Duke Frederick of Bavaria, Count Palatine and Count of Spanheim.

The absent princes and princes

Messages.

The Archbishop and Elector of Trier, Johann von Metzenhausen, Provost of Trier Cathedral, and Dietrich von Stein.

Des Churfürsten, Pfalzgraf Ludwigs, treffliche Botschaft, Schenk Veltin von Erbach, Freiherr, Ludwig von Fleckenstein, Groß-Hofmeister, und Wilhelm von Habern, Marschall 2c.

The Archduke of Austria is named before.

of the Duchy of Würtemberg) Mr. Georg Truchsess von Walburg, Baron 2c.

Of the Duke of Jülich, Count Weinrich von Falkenstein, Johann von Flatten, provost, and Dietrich von Weilich, hereditary courtier of the principality of Jülich.

Of the Duke of Bavaria, Count of Veldentz, also of the Margraves of Baden, D. Jeronimus Foisch, Chancellor.

Of the Bishop of Osnabrück and Paderborn, Mr. Reinbrecht von Kersenbruch; Otto Beckmann, Licentiate, and Friedrich Widenmann, Official.

Of the Bishop of Münster, Doctor Johann Lilie.

Of the Bishop of Freisingen, Mr. N. Albersdörfer, Canon, Matthäus Lux, Chancellor of Freisingen.

Of the bishop of Regensburg, Mr. Caspar von Gumpenberg, canon, and Augustinus Rofe, chancellor.

Of the bishop of Metz, Doctor Claudius 2c.

Of the Bishop of Camin, Otto Döring, Chancellor.

Of the Abbot of Fulda, Mr. Philipp Schenck von Schweinsberg, dean.

The Abbot of Hirschfeld, Ewald von Baumbach.

The abbot of the Reichenau, Mr. Marcus von Knöringen, in person.

1) "Würtemberg" set by us instead of: "Wittenberg".

The Abbot of Weingarten, personally, Lord Gerwi of Plarer, by force and command of all the prelates of the upper country.

The Abbot of Sanct Gallen, personally.

Several counts and lords ambassador, Doctor Lorenz Wilhelm.

Lord William, Count and Lord of Henneberg, Peter of Gundelsheim, Doctor and Court Master.

Counts and Lords, so for themselves appeared at the Diet.

Hoyer, Count and Lord of Mansfeld.
Felix, Count von Werdenberg.
Wilhelm, Count of Nassau.
Friedrich and Wilhelm, brothers, Counts of Fürstenberg.
Günther, Count of Schwarzburg.
Johann Ludewig, Grass of Nassau.
Albrecht and Wolf, brothers, counts of Hohenlohe.
Ulrich, Count of Helfenstein.
Wolf and Hans, brothers, Counts of Montfort.
Carl, Ludewig and Martin, Counts of Oettingen.
Joachim, Count von Zollern.
Antoni, Count von Eisenberg.
Renhard, Count of Bitsch.
Johann, Count of Jsenberg, Lord of Büdingen.
Philipp, Count of Nassau, Lord of Weilburg.
Christoph, Count of Werdenberg.
Haug, Count von Montfort.
Emich, Count of Beinningen, the Elder.
Mr. Wilhelm von Rapoltstein, Baron.
Adam, Count of Beuchlingen, Chamber Judge.
Johann, Count of East Frisia.
Mr. Walther von Gerolzeck, Baron.

Free and imperial cities follow afterwards.

1.	2.	3.
Cologne.	Colmar.	Lindau.
Regensburg.	Rothenburg an der Tauber.	Bibrach.
Strasbourg.	Goslar.	Ravensburg.
Augsburg.	Schwäbisch-Hall.	Kempten.
Metz.	Mulhouse.	Kaufbeuern.
Nuremberg.	Nordhausen.	Winsheim.
Worms.	Ueberlingen.	Dunce game.
Costnitz.	Wetzlar.	Schwäbischwerd.
Luebeck.	Rothweil.	Weissenburg on the North Gau.
Ulm.	Offenburg.	Cheeks.
Speier.	Heilbronn.	Jßm.
Esslingen.	Gengenbach.	Schweinfurt.
Frankfurt.	Schwäbischgemünd.	Älen.
Reutlingen.	Friedberg.	Bopfingen.
Hanau.	Memmingen.	
Noerdlingen.		

The Roman Imperial Majesty Majesty, also Royal Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia. Majesty of Hungary and Bohemia, together with all other Counts, Lords and those of nobility, who appeared with Princes and Princes at the Imperial Diet as courtiers, will be listed and named in a special print, according to the contents of the handed over slips. Date the 22nd day of June.

936 The answer given by Count Palatine Frederick in the name of the Emperor to the speech delivered by the Archbishop of Mainz in the name of the Electors, Princes and Estates.

From Cölestins kist. eoinit. Vol. I, p. 74. Translated from the Latin.

Röm. kaiserl. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has most graciously heard the speech of the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, in which they congratulate him on the crown received at Bononia, and wish him long life, welfare and all the best for his regiment, and for this he gives great thanks to the Princes, Princes and other Estates.

But since his Majesty, our most gracious Lord, who by divine providence has been elected Roman Emperor and has now been confirmed by the coronation that took place in Bononia, sees in fact in what great and rich numbers the princes, prelates, counts and other estates of the Empire and the same embassies that have been summoned to the Imperial Diet by His Majesty's proclamation are present.

His Majesty is immensely pleased and testifies to this very graciously, and has also resolved to act with special earnestness and zeal with princes, princes, and the estates of the empire that which can be helpful for the glory of the Almighty, for the salvation and welfare of all Christians, for the benefit of the German nation, and especially for the overcoming and chasing away of the Turks, for the salvation and welfare of all Christians, for the benefit and best of the German nation, and especially for the defeat and expulsion of the Turks, and will think of ways and means by which the errors and discord in religion may be eradicated, and general peace and harmony established in the Holy Roman Empire. He will think of ways to eradicate errors and discord in religion and to establish general peace and harmony in the Holy Roman Empire, in the confident hope that God will lend His assistance to such undertakings and guide and promote them according to His wise counsel. But now His Majesty demands that they continue on their way and enter the city.

937. another description of the imperial entry into Augsburg. Entry into Augsburg.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (4569), vol. IX, p. 408d; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 26; in the Altenbürger, vol. V, p. 25, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 201. According to the Wittenberg edition, it is found in des Chyträus Historie der Augsb. Conf., p. 83 "no in the Latin edition of the same, p. 43.

About 6 and 7 in the afternoon, on June 15, the princes and princes assembled here rode to meet their Majesty, and the reception by the Bishop of Mainz took place at the Lech Bridge.

When the Electors and Princes had dismounted, their Majesties also departed. When, after the reception, each of them returned to his horse, Duke John Frederick of Saxony 2c. and next to him Duke Francis of Lüneburg, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, with the Elector of Saxony 2c. Stuff preferred, and thus had the preference due to an archmarshal of the realm.

Following is drawn Palatine Louis, Elector, skilful counsellors, with their stuff.

Following Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, Churfürsten, Zeug.

Following the stuff with bishop of Cologne.

Following the skill of the bishop of Trier with her stuff.

Following the bishop of Mainz stuff.

Although the Princes of Bavaria have to follow the example of other common princes of K. Majest.
Churfürsten stuff, approximately with five hundred armed horses, nai^uziehen penetrated, which narrowness halben of the ways and opportunity did not like to be changed.

The following is the king of Bohemia's stuff, among which there were not many untrustworthy people, but a great number of samplers and silk skirts.

Following is K. Majest. Zeug gezogen, unter denen wenig gerüster Leute gewest, welches die Hatschierer 1) gewest, aber sonst viel sammele und seidene Röcke.

Following are drawn the princes in their own person, Friedrich, Wilhelm, Otto Heinrich and Philipps, brothers and cousins, all dukes of Bavaria.

Landgrave of Hesse, Joachim the Younger, Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke Frederick of Saxony, two Dukes of Pomerania, brothers, Duke Henry of Brunswick, Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg, Duke Ernst of Lüneburg, two Princes of Anhalt of Dessau, brothers, a young Duke of Liegnitz, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg, Margrave George of Brandenburg, and Duke George of Saxony.

Just outside the city, the Elector of Brandenburg received the papal legate in Latin on behalf of the bishops and ecclesiastical princes. Our clerics know so much Latin that a secular prince had to speak Latin for their sake.

The Elector of Saxony followed, and presented the Emperor with the bare sword, as is his office. On the right side the skillful one of the Palgrave, Elector, is drawn to him, on the left side the Elector of Brandenburg.

Before the three Electors is drawn the Bishop of Trier's skillful one, in place of a Elector.

Under the gate stood the abbot of St. Ulrich with a heaven and procession, under which heaven the emperor moved and thus entered. The bishop of Mainz was drawn to him on the right, and the bishop of Cologne on the left, by the foremost rods in the sky; by the rearmost rods the king of Bohemia was drawn to the right, and the papal legate to the left. Legate to the left side.

Following 3 Cardinals, and of the King of France and King of England messages are drawn between them.

After this are drawn the common bishops, the same, and all manner of messages.

1) In the Wittenberg and in the Jena: "Hertzschirer".

According to them are drawn the common secular and ecclesiastical princes witnesses, as then they belong and ordered after each other according to old usage.

And after the Council of Augsburg had received the Emperor's Majesty with two hundred well-equipped horses, two thousand very well groomed servants, and a fine cannon. Majesty, with two hundred well-equipped horses, two thousand very well groomed servants, and a fine cannon, all of which went off after the reception, they had the retinue on the prescribed princes' witness.

As the Emperor's Majesty. came to the square of the wine market, the canons stood with a great procession, many monks and priests, also received her Majesty, and took her under another heaven, thus marching up to the cathedral church; There Her Majesty and all the other princes and rulers sat down, went into the church, sang the Te Deum laudamus there, and rang with all the bells; after that the princes and rulers led Her Majesty into their lot, and after that each one went to his hostel.

Such bragging has granted until 10 o'clock the night.

938 Philipp Melanchthon's letter to D. Martin Luther about the emperor's arrival, about the prohibition of the sermons and the suggestions of the opposite. About June 18 or 19, 1530.

This letter is found in Melanchthon's spp. lib. I, x. 7, and from it in Cyprian's Beilagen zur Hift. der Augsb. Conf., p. 171. Further in the 6orp. Rec. vol. II, p. 118. It agrees exactly in content with a letter of Jonas to Luther, June 18, 1530, Kolde, p. 137. According to this, our approximate time determination. Burkhardt, p. 177 assumes June 19.

Translated from the Latin by I. F.

The day before the Feast of Corpus Christi, in the evening at eight o'clock, the Emperor made his, God grant happy and blessed, entry into the city of Augsburg. Our Elector, as usual, carried the sword before him. When one arrived very late (because the procession was slow) at the Emperor's hostel, the first request was that the sermons be stopped. There was a dispute about this for three days in succession, since our people did not want to stop preaching, until finally, after a long discussion, the emperor ordered both parts to stop preaching). He himself let one preach the gospel and the epistle without the other.

1) This happened on June 18.

I'll read your explanation. In this way, according to my understanding, the papists will harm their cause even more. But you, according to your wisdom, will be able to take much from it.

This is the beginning, and we have no great hope in the imperial court, since Campegius only advises that force should be used against us. Nevertheless, at the entire court, no one is more gentle and merciful than the emperor himself, who, as Duke Henry of Brunswick tells me, softens the bitter attacks of the princes. We have only two princes who take care of our danger, namely the Archbishop of Mainz and the Duke of Brunswick. The Elector Palatine and the Margrave of Baden are not present. The Dukes of Bavaria boast themselves very much. Pray diligently for us. Cornelius 2) thinks that we would still have had some hope of peace if Mercurinus had remained alive; after his departure, however, he knows of no man in good standing at Court who would advise peace; but he is only playing his own way, and seems to take special care that he should not be suspected of being on our side. That helps us nothing. A certain Spanish secret scribe 3) has also promised everything good, and has already held a conference with the Emperor and Campegius, in my opinion. But everything is with God. Farewell.

939 Narrative 4) of the Emperor's grace that the Protestants should cease preaching and attend the procession on the Feast of Corpus Christi, and how the matter proceeded.

18 June 1530.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 409d; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 27; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 26, and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 202. The determination of the time results from the signature.

1. Majesty rode in on the evening of Corporis Christi, safely by three strokes to Augsburg under the heavens, and in riding in,

2) Cornelius Duplicius von Schepper, formerly in the service of King Christian II of Denmark, then became Carl V's secretary of state.

3) According to Burkhardt: VuläbsiuL, des Kaisers Secretär.

4) Walch has added this report to Spalatin, although the Wittenberg and Jena editions have only the heading: "Schrift aus Augsburg gethan, Anno 30." 2c. Likewise with the continuation No. 948 and 950.

5) That is, under a carrying sky.

When Her Imperial Majesty came across the Lech. When her imperial majesty came across the Lech, she had the Lutheran princes summoned to her and requested from her electoral and princely graces that they not allow preaching in Augsburg from now on. Thereupon the princes consulted with each other, and through Margrave Georgen again briefly indicated the reason why their electoral and princely graces could not agree to refrain from preaching; yet His Majesty again had it said that His Majesty could not refrain from their request, and thus twice raised the excuse and the reapplication; and the king himself said seriously that Imperial Majesty could not nor would not refrain from preaching in Augsburg. Majesty neither could nor would desist from it. So the Margrave said to her Imperial Majesty: "Before I want to go back. Majesty: "Before I would deny my God and his Gospel, before I would kneel down here before your Imperial Majesty, I would not be able to do so. Majesty and have my head cut off. Thereupon His Imperial Majesty said. Majesty said: Not head off, not head off; and again based on her request. The princes have taken it into consideration to answer again until the morning, that is, on the true Corpus Christi day.

2nd Early in the morning the young Duke of Saxony, Margrave George, Landgrave of Anhalt, rode to the Imperial Majesty, and the Elector stayed in the inn. Majesty, and the Elector stayed in the inn. After Imperial Majesty Majesty requested in the evening to go along in the procession, the princes answered yesterday's request, and with the aforementioned reason stood by their previous opinion, granted longer than two hours, and thus delayed Imperial Majesty so that he could not be allowed to go along in the procession. Majesty was delayed by the fact that his Majesty did not enter the church until after ten beats. Our princes went home, let the emperor hold the procession with other churls and princes. The bishop of Mainz hath borne the sacrament. And if the sovereigns had been taken away with their servants, not a hundred Augsburgs would have been found to follow the sacrament. And I may well say that in this procession, among all ranks, ecclesiastical and secular, I have seen no more devout, more chaste person than the Imperial Majesty. Carrying a burning light like the others, the whole procession went bareheaded, and, for the sake of the long procession, lasted until one stroke.

(3) But after our princes had been ordered by Imperial Majesty to hand over in writings the cause why they should be troubled with the procession. Majesty, because they refused to go along with the procession, that they should hand over in writings the reason why they were troubled to go along; also why they did not want to let up preaching. This therefore was done
has imperial majesty submitted the same to all the changing princes. Majesty has submitted the same to all the changing princes for consultation, who all met on Friday in the cathedral provostry after noon, and at last formed a committee among themselves, which will come to our princes on Saturday at noon, and most earnestly requested that Imperial Majesty be granted 1) to stand still with the sermon; for Imperial Majesty desired this not from them alone, but also from the opposite party, with this promise: "If all of them refrain from preaching, then Imperial Majesty wants to have the sermon. Majesty requested this not from them alone, but also from the opposite party, with this promise: If all of them refrain from preaching, then Imperial Majesty wants the matter to be settled. Majesty will then take care of the matter and act in accordance with the decree.

(4) Our people have pleaded all their Christian necessity, why they could not consent to it, and because Imperial Majesty has indicated that he is a sovereign of this city. Majesty has claimed to be a sovereign of this city, and that the decree of the first Imperial Diet at Speier would allow that every authority should do so, as it could answer for it to God and the Imperial Majesty. Majesty, our princes, as those who are of their authority and charge, do not want to put a measure to Imperial Majesty in this; but do not want to refrain from preaching, but must suffer and bear their Majesty's business. And in this Brunswick, besides the Archbishop of Mainz, showed itself particularly well, more than one could have provided for. God grant his grace. But Imperial Majesty Majesty wants to appoint preachers from imperial authority, but not from any of the partisan ones, not even the Fabrum. Those whom Imperial Majesty Majesty decree, shall say nothing more than the Gospel with the Epistle, according to the bare text, without all interpretation, and conclude with the Confession Prayer 2).

(5) This was done, and the emperor was given great thanks with a peaceful heart. Thereupon, on Saturday, His Majesty has proclaimed through the entire city, through his heralds, with several trumpets: that no one should preach in Augsburg, with corporal punishment, except those whom His Imperial Majesty has ordered to do so. Majesty has decreed. It is a wild thing here with preaching, for it is full of sacramentalists, and Eisleben has proven himself well against them in his preaching, but has earned badly for them. God grant his mercy; there is good hope everywhere.

(6) The emperor is found inclined to peace and to establish good Christian order, although some great leaders, together with their whole group, are of a different mind and would like to see this game continue, as they decided at Munich, and the imperial majesty has said that they would be happy if they could. Majesty, if only she would command, they would be glad.

1) "herein" is missing in the Wittenberg.
2) To "the Confession Prayer" the Wittenberg and Jena editions have the marginal gloss: "offve Beicht".

that they would do what their majesty desired; as they have sufficiently proven with words and deeds. But God has graciously turned it around. Our princes, praise be to God, have been strengthened by His grace and have remained steadfast, not letting fear deter them. God grant His mercy to them. By Monday, they will begin the Kingdom Day. May the merciful God send His Holy Spirit.

940 Margrave George of Brandenburg's presentation to the Emperor in the name of the Protestant princes and the reasons given why they could not attend the procession, nor abolish the sermons.

From Cölestin's dist. ooru. Vol. I, p. 82.

Ans translated from the Latin by Ll. A. Tittel.

Causes why the Protestant princes cannot be at the solemn company on the Feast of Corpus Christi.

(1) Your Imperial Majesty should not be disconcerted as to why we are not able to keep company with and be present at such frequent invitations and appointments. For we are minded to briefly recount and properly state the important and obvious reasons we have for this. 1) First of all, we are very humbled to have been able to offer this favor and this service to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty this favor and service without neglecting our consciences; however, since 2) Your Majesty's command means that this favor and service must be done without neglecting our consciences. However, since we know that this kind of service is not commanded anywhere in the prophetic and apostolic writings, we cannot in good conscience consent to such a request.

2. Since it is known to all reasonable, learned, and reasonably judging minds, and there is no need of dispute and proof, that the whole and unmutilated use of the true body and blood of Christ was prescribed and instituted by the founder himself in holy scripture, we consider it a burden to our consciences to show, as it were with our applause, that a part of it, which is carried about, namely the body, is according to the commandment of Christ, and not contrary to it; which from our confession, soon to be delivered to your majesty. Majesty, which shall soon be delivered. For what would that be not only for
a rash recklessness, but even desperate wickedness, insolence, and levity, holding that which is instituted and ordained by human power higher than God's commands and commandments, and boldly saying that it is a service of God in the church, when it is written, In vain do they serve me with that which men have commanded.

(3) We do not mean to strengthen and introduce such ungodly and obvious human statutes, which conflict with God's Word and Christ's commands, by our consent; rather, we unanimously declare without hesitation that such unrighteous and ungodly human doctrines (traditions) are to be completely abolished from the Church and destroyed, lest the other still healthy and pure members of the Church be infected and tainted with the same deadly and harmful poison.

(4) Moreover, we know very well that the opposite expressly seeks this and deals with it, as they have also added this declaration that this contact is to be a service of God. For they have believed for certain that we would not have so much trust and confidence in God that we would refuse obedience and submission to His Majesty, who has called us so often and so earnestly, as if one did not know that one must obey God more than men. And if, on the other hand, we were to obey the imperial command And if, on the other hand, we were obedient to the imperial command, and approved the observance by our presence, that this would serve and contribute greatly to destroying and depressing the reputation of our religion and of the divine word, because we had no hesitation in honoring and confirming the observance and the comedic performance of Corpus Christi with our presence, which, after all, is obviously at odds with the word of God and our part of the sermons and church customs, and consequently this would give a beautiful and desirable opportunity to accuse us of a tacit (or secret) recantation in the matter, and to blaspheme us with good causes, about which they would rejoice and exult to the highest, if only they could have such cause and occasion to strike down the prestige of the Gospel and the divine word.

005 For if they had not brought it about by their secret plots and treacherous counsel, Imperial Majesty would not compel us to be in the company. Maj. would not force us to be with them, but would leave it free for us, like other princes and princes. What suspicion Imperial Majesty's Majesty's entry increases with, so just Vigilia, the holy evening, before

The people of Augsburg, who had to arrive on the Feast of Corpus Christi and enter Augsburg, thought that the custom, which had already been omitted, lost, and abolished for many years, would be reintroduced, established, and confirmed by their presence, since [the] opposite flattered itself with the hope that this reestablished custom would then remain easy and continue for many hundred years, that it would agree with the word of God and evangelical truth, or that it would quarrel with it and destroy it.

(6) It can thus be clearly seen by whom it was instigated that Imperial Majesty wanted to enter the Holy Evening before Corpus Christi. Majesty wanted to enter the holy evening before the Corpus Christi feast, since they had to toil all day in the hot sun and dust, and the entry had been prolonged and extended into the late night. And this was not enough, there had to be added still more trouble and toil. For since one had to come home (to the inn) late, and imperial majesty had to take care of the rest. Since it was late to come home (to the inn), and since the Emperor's Majesty would be well disposed to rest, as soon as they got down, they had us called to them, above all other things, and earnestly requested that we cease our preaching and join them in the meeting.

Causes why the Elector of Saxony and the princes related to him in the same religion cannot abolish nor stop their preaching.

(7) And since, furthermore, Her Imperial Majesty has earnestly demanded that we cease and abolish our preaching. Majesty has earnestly demanded that we should cease and abolish our sermons: so I have, on the advice and will of the princes who are related to religion, answered Ew. kaiserl. Majesty thus:

8. 1) That by the grace of God we know for certain and believe without doubt that the doctrine which we profess is founded in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, and is unanimous with and similar to the creed accepted in the Church.

(9) Therefore we cannot and may not revoke or deny them by silence, unless we would esteem the commands and commandments of men higher and more than God's, preferring them to our name's greatest disgrace and the eternal ruin of souls, which God would graciously prevent and avert from us.

10. 2) Furthermore, it is more than too well known that our doctrine is neither heretical nor seditious, but has now been spread and propagated throughout the whole world for many years, and that it is more acceptable to the Christian authorities and to all estates.

than destroy and diminish; therefore no one will deny that men may improve themselves from it, and learn much a more Christian way of life from it; which we heartily desire.

11. 3) And since at all other imperial congresses, which have now been held several times, our sermons have never been hindered or forbidden, we must now be justly disconcerted as to what moved Your Imperial Majesty to urge so strongly that they be stopped. Majesty's reasons for insisting so strongly and so often that they be stopped. Be that as it may, however, we can easily guess and surmise who is behind it, and by whose counsel and operation (which we leave to God's righteous judgment) all this is being arranged and instigated. Therefore, we religiously related princes, whom we most humbly entrust to Her Majesty's high and most gracious protection, most diligently request that Her Majesty not trouble our consciences with such requests in a matter concerning the honor of the divine name and the salvation of our souls.

941 Margrave George's speech to the Emperor on his own behalf.

From Cölestin 1. 6. p. 84.

Translated into German by Ll. A. Tittel.

Most invincible emperor, most gracious lord!

After this has been said by the Elector of Saxony and other Protestant Princes on account of 1) urgent need, I have also presented my opinion to His Imperial Majesty. Majesty my opinion and discover it. Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty cannot be ignorant of the services I have rendered to the House of Austria, how faithfully and steadfastly I have at all times looked after and served it, what dangers I have joyfully and bravely endured and assumed for it, so that I have endeavored to show it not only the obedience owed to it with the addition of my property and possessions, but also with my goods and blood, which everyone will bear me witness to. Nothing to remember of my ancestors' glorious deeds, loyalty and zeal, as they have done for Your Majesty in the Austrian and Hungarian territories. Majesty's ancestors in the Austrian and Hungarian wars. To those of my ancestors as a laudable successor I promise and vow to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty, that also for the House of Austria and Imperial Majesty I will assist. Majesty.

1) "Princes" put by us instead of: "Churfürsten".

I will not lack the right to do so, if only I am not forced to approve in the matter of religion what is contrary to God and His Word.

All this I ask Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty most humbly to move and signify in mercy, and not to be moved by any slander and allegations of the adversaries to believe them and to be of an unequal mind against me. For in this matter concerning God, I am driven by the unchangeable divine commandment to resist such commands and desires and to disobey them, no matter how hard and dangerous it may be, because it is written: One must obey God more than men. Therefore, because of the confession of the doctrine, which I know for certain to be the voice of the Son of God and the eternal, unchanging truth, I refuse to run any risk, even of life, since I have heard that such a risk is threatened and imposed on those who accept the true religion.

942: Written answer and apology handed over to the emperor by the Protestant princes and princes on June 17 that they could not stop preaching.

From the original conception in the Weimar archives, printed in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. 283. Also in Chyträus, p. 88; in Müller, p. 538 and in Spalatin's Annals, p. 201. Latin in Cölestin, Vol. I, p. 86 and in Chyträus, p. 46. The author is D. Brück.

Most Sublime, Great and Invincible Emperor, Most Gracious Lord! After Your Imperial Majesty has given us this day for a farewell, among other things, that we should hand over our complaint in writings to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty we should hand over our complaint in writings, so that Your Imperial Majesty may hold further council on it 2c. As a most humble consequence of your Imperial Majesty's farewell, Your Imperial Majesty has graciously heard from the verbal reports that have been made, which we also inform Your Imperial Majesty of and recover with this document, that Your Imperial Majesty is graciously pleased with it. Majesty should graciously consider it, where we find that our preachers teach or preach news and that which is unfounded in divine holy scripture and contrary to our holy faith, that we knowingly do not want to tolerate such from them, but want to show ourselves with fair understanding against them. But we cannot note otherwise than that they alone preach and interpret the holy gospel purely and correctly, just as it is preached and interpreted.

The following is preached and taught by the Fathers, who are to be considered the most proven 1) and credible in the Holy Christian Church, and the Imperial Decree, made at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg in the 23rd year, publicly admits it. This is what the Imperial Decree, made at the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg in the 23rd year, publicly permits, as it appears to be in the presentation of each opinion and opinion, at the request of Your Royal Highness. Should such a preaching of the holy gospel, as if it were an unrighteous doctrine, be set down, and that the same be approved by us, would be frightening, would also stand against God the Lord (who does not want his holy word to be bound) as a sin in 2) the Holy Spirit, not to be answered for. Thus we, too, as poor sinful human beings, are in great need of such preaching and proclamation of the divine word to comfort our conscience and to seek help from God in all the needs and concerns that we and every human being encounter daily. For as little as we may need the daily food of the body, so much less can we be without the preaching and proclamation of the divine word, since man lives not only in bread, but in all the word that proceeds from the mouth of the Lord. We have informed Your Royal Governor and Brother, Royal Dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, our special dear lord and gracious lord, together with the commissioners appointed by Your Royal Highness at that time, of the same four years ago, at the Imperial Diet at Speier, which was announced by Your Royal Highness.

(2) And even though it would otherwise be preached here, Her Royal Highness and everyone know that there is a discord in the doctrine; for which reason Her Royal Highness, in addition to other causes, has called this Diet of Her Majesty, with the most gracious and Christian 3) notice that every man's opinion and opinion shall be heard here, and then that which would have been done unjustly on both sides shall be set aside. Imperial Diet, with most gracious and Christian notice, that every one's opinion and opinion should be heard here, and then that which would have been done unjustly on both sides should be set aside, and brought to Christian unity.

(3) For this reason, Your Royal Highness may graciously consider how we, for the sake of our consciences, may be helped or advised, even if it were otherwise preached, if we were to hear the same preacher alone, we should drop our sermon.

4) We would also, where we should thus consent to the discontinuance of our sermon, as we otherwise would E. K. M. in everything that is outside 4) divine.

1) Spalatin: "beweresten"; Förstemann: "wegersten". The sense is the same.
2) Förstemann: im.
3) So Spalatin. Förstemann: "most Christian".
4) So Spalatin. Förstemann: .chnser halb".

We are inclined to humbly comply with the law of the Holy Word of Glory and Honor, thereby compelled, against our conscience, to judge our doctrine to be unjust, and the contrary one to be right, before, by virtue of the aforementioned invitation of Your Imperial Highness to this Imperial Diet, the matter is heard, which on both sides is not 1) justified. For from a high imperial understanding, Your Imperial Highness can graciously consider the matter. For Your Imperial Majesty can graciously consider that one thing must follow, if we 2) stop our preaching and hear another sermon, that we are thereby urged in reason and effect to confess that our doctrine, from the fact that it has been stopped, is wrong, and the other, which we hear and accept on that account, is right.

(5) For what is to be done must, by virtue of Your Imperial Majesty's decree, and according to every man's reason, be unjust at the time. Majesty's decree, and also according to every man's reason, must be unjust at the time, and that which is erected for this reason must be just. And thereafter, as we can well judge and respect, little further action in these most important matters, concerning God our Creator, the soul and salvation, will be appreciated as necessary, which would then be immediately contrary to the often reported letter of His Majesty the Emperor. The only thing that is to be done is to take away from the other part as well as from this part, and not from our part alone, what is not rightly aligned on both sides, that is, from the other part.

(6) For if any one should say to the Lord Chamberlain, that novelty, which is burdensome to the faith, and also to vexation, is taught and preached in our part, we have above, and yesterday also, in our oral discourse, humbly informed the Lord Chamberlain, that it shall be found, if our opinion and opinion, according to the letter of the Lord Chamberlain, be heard here, that before 3) us the true gospel, and as it is also preached by the most approved and excellent fathers of the church, with the Scriptures, shall be preached in our part. 3) that the true gospel, and how the most proven and excellent fathers of the church have preached and interpreted it with the Scriptures, and nothing else, nor newness, is preached before us.

(7) And to me alone, and yet contrary to divine truth, and unproven in any way, to have known that abusive novelty was among them: so is E. K. M. also quite unconcealed what frightful news, of and unlike the holy Scriptures and the first fathers' doctrine, on the other hand, both in doctrines, customs, and walk, and daily-

1) Förstemann: "nit"; Spalatin and Walch: "with".
2) So Spalatin. Förstemann: "one".
3) So Förstemann. In the other editions: from.
4) that is, most fruitful, best. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 455, ? 39 and 457, 8 45.

that also the whole world, and the pious before that time, have cried and lamented over it miserably, as still daily. In this regard, Your Majesty graciously recalls the noticeable abuses and the number of them that were brought before Your Majesty at the first Imperial Diet in Worms by the estates, which, along with the other and much more important ones, remain unchanged to this day.

(8) And this we show to Your Royal Highness in the most humble opinion that Your Royal Highness, as the most illustrious Emperor, must graciously accept from this how unequally the matters are demanded from Your Royal Highness by the opposing party and are presented against us.

(9) To this end, we truly hope and know that no one who hears and hears our preachers and their teaching can or may be offended by it with conscience. If, however, there were anyone who had received or would receive such displeasure about our preachers' teaching, we would hold them to that standard, as we have also humbly instructed the previous day, to give every one of them a Christian report and account of their teaching, so that no one should have to complain of any cheap displeasure about them. For it would be a grievous thing in the sight of God Almighty that, for the sake of those who do not desire to be informed and therefore want to be unnecessarily annoyed, the preaching of the holy gospel and the truth of God should be omitted and put down, even though, according to their own rights, the annoyance should give way to the truth and not the truth to the annoyance.

(10) But to what extent we would and would have to offend our neighbor against faith and love, if it should sound from us that we had consented to discontinue the preaching of the Gospel, and thus had judged our doctrine itself to be wrong, can be easily judged by Your Holiness and everyone, and how such a thing, for the sake of our conscience, would stand against God, the strict judge; which Your Holiness, as we are in the most submissive hope of the same, would not allow us, as a Christian emperor, to do in God's judgment and wrath, as we are in the most submissive hope of the same, as a Christian emperor, would not grant us in any way that we should thus throw ourselves into God's judgment and wrath, unproven things, whom we also further want to implore for mercy and call upon to graciously protect us from this and all evil.

(11) Thus, we have also reported to His Holiness that our preachers, after their sermons have been preached, daily exhort the people with the best of their diligence, to pray to God in all distress.

I urge you to diligently pray to the Holy Roman Emperor, to the half of the Church that presides over Christendom, and especially that He will grant grace to His Imperial Highness as His decreed authority, to the Princes, to the Estates, and to us, to act in these dwindling troubles for the praise of God, and for Christian peace and right Christian unity at this Imperial Diet. Which exhortations to omit, because God wills and commands that we should call upon Him and ask Him for the aforementioned need, may not be good, nor beneficial to Christendom.

(12) There is also a faithful report from them against some doctrines, which, for the sake of the sacraments, have been taught to the people here, and for this reason have been quite burdensome, and for the sake of much improvement (as to hope to God) have been harmful, where our preachers should stand still with their preaching.

(13) If we were to consent to such a rejection, our own consciences would and must judge us before God, that we were guilty of the corruption of the deceived. For this purpose, the conflicting matters have now been discussed for several years, and especially at both imperial congresses at Speier, the doctrine of the Gospel has been preached publicly and morally for us and our friends in such a way that especially now, for the sake of discussion, 1) there should be no hesitation, or, as we have been reproached by the Holy Roman Emperor, there should be no fear of trouble.

(14) Thus it is to all this knowingly and at the day, that the parting, which was made a year ago at Speier, though we were not able to heal therein for causes which were indicated there, does not affect us so much as we should now consent to the cessation of the preaching 2) of the holy gospel.

(15) It has also been free and unresisted with Your Royal Highness's ancestors, and also with Your Royal Highness himself, churons and princes (for what happened with us at the two next imperial congresses held at Speier, that the churches were refused to us for the preaching of the Gospel), that every fine preacher may have the divine word preached publicly in the church before him, and whoever else has gone to it.

(16) Your Royal Highnesses are also graciously to judge that if your Royal Highnesses should decree with us the discontinuance of the sermons in this way, it would undoubtedly be understood by men as such.

1) Förstemann: "nhu meher disputiren halben"; Spalatin: "um mer disputation halben".

2) Förstemann and Spalatin: "Prediger", probably read from "preach", which is sermons.

as if E. K. M. wanted to lay down this doctrine on our part, unheard of, also, according to the tender issued by E. K. M., which we nevertheless granted E. K. M., as our most gracious Lord and Emperor, out of subservience, that such E. K. M., because Her Majesty's tender has spread over the whole realm and further. Her Majesty's letters have gone out over the whole Empire and beyond, and everyone, whatever his state, stands in consoling hope of God and of His Majesty. K. M. that these most important matters will be dealt with here in an orderly manner, in right faith and love, for the investigation of the divine eternal and everlasting truth; are also to E. K. M.'s most consoling confidence that E. K. M.'s opinion will not be in any way to allow these matters to be dealt with otherwise than as indicated. And after all this, it is once more to His Royal Highness.., our most gracious Lord, our most humble and most submissive request, as we may and should always most humbly request, as we have also done the past two days, that E. K. M. may graciously consider and ponder this Christian notice and information of ours, given from our rightful, well-meaning hearts, and may graciously spare us the deliberate discontinuation of our preaching, for the sake of faith, love and our consciences, and may not allow Her Majesty to oppose our preachers preaching, as was done before at Speier and has been done here until now. In everything else that concerns our body, goods and property, we also want to acknowledge our guilt according to God's word and command, in order to earn E. K. M. as the same and the kingdom's most subservient Elector and Prince, in all willingness and obedience, and to keep and show ourselves to E. K. M. that in the things, so that we may have E. K. M.'s body and goods unsaved, we will not be held back by E. K. M. in any way, in the things that we may do subserviently, whether God wills it or not, so that we may not be the last. Actum Augsburg, Friday after Corporis Christi [June 17] Anno 2c. 1530.

E. K. M.

most subservient

Johans, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.

George, Margrave of Brandenburg. Ernst, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg.

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. Wolf, Prince of Anhalt.

o concerns regarding the requested refraining from preaching.

I.

Meaning, whether the preaching can be stopped with a clear conscience at Imperial Majesty's request. Majesty's request with a clear conscience? About June 16, 1330.

From the original in the Weimar archives printed by Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 281. By Müller 1. e. p. 546. Contentwise it agrees sentence for sentence with the third objection communicated in no. 918 and this writing seems to us the first draft to that objection.

1. M.'s request that the princes and rulers cease their usual sermon, it is considered that the sermon (to be given to K. M., the answer given 1) is to be handed over this night or in the morning) is nevertheless to be continued, on the grounds that K. M. has not seriously commanded to refrain from such, but only requested it. Now it is permitted to princes and sovereigns that their graces often refuse a mediocre request with good fugues, let alone an unreasonable demand. 2) And it is to be assumed from many circumstances that the Lord's request is more a word of fright than a persevering undertaking, by which one dares to try whether the nail in the wall wants to shake, and one might frighten a hare out of the hedge, so that, whether one commits a small thing in the beginning, confidence and way are made for the adversary to break in further. And if their intentions do not extend at the beginning, their hearts will be so sore that they will not be able to continue their defiance.

(2) Secondly, that, together with the sermon, a public Christian prayer, in which one prays for all the estates of the empire, now assembled at the Diet, is led, and the same is now most necessary.

(3) If, however, the church in which the sermon was preached was closed, it is intended that it should not be opened by force, since the electors and princes here in Augsburg have no authority over the churches, but that our most gracious and gracious lords should return to their hearth, and there have their courtiers recite the word of God in a convenient place in the hearth, which, as a householder instructs his household, he himself instructs or teaches.

A Christian prince is obliged to promote the fear of God in his court by listening to Christian preaching.

(4) If, however, the king would not abide by the request he had made, but would abolish the sermon in the inn with a serious mandate, in that case the consideration has been rejected until the matter actually comes to pass, because there is no fishing before the court, and present actions generally carry the council on their backs by the miraculous prompting of God.

II.

Concerns of Mr. Philip, and causes why preaching might be discontinued for a time. June 18, 1330.

From Cölestin, Vol. I, p. 89. It was not until the 18th of June that the emperor forbade both parts to preach, hence this concern is finely to be postponed to that day. This does also the 6orx. Lei. vol. II, 111 f.

(1) The first reason why it is admitted is because the emperor, since he bequeaths it to both parts, gives no cause for reproach.

2. the other, because he promises to hear our cause.

The third, because a greater good is preferable to a lesser one. If, then, the investigation of our cause were interrupted by such obstinate evidence, what might result?

4th The fourth cause of N. Agricola: because we have been called hither, not to preach; but as one party to answer for ourselves, and to give account of our doctrine.

5. the fifth, because we are not preachers at Augsburg.

944. formula of the prohibition to preach, which the imperial herald has had to proclaim publicly. 18 June 1530.

In Müller's History, p. 551, and in the German Seckendorf, p. 1039.

Hear, hear, hear, what the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has decreed. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, that no preacher here in Augsburg, whoever he may be, preach any more, except those whom Her Majesty decrees, avoiding Her Imperial Majesty's highest punishment and disgrace. Majesty's highest punishment and disgrace.

1) No. 942.

2) Förstemann: "to strike off".

945 M. Luther's letter to Sl. Johann Agricola, in which he praises the fact that the Elector has given way to the authorities, but at the same time opens up his thoughts that the Imperial Diet will come to a bad end in terms of reputation. June 30, 1530.

This letter is found in the Ooä. 3on. L. 24. n. toi. 163 and in Aurifaber, vol. Ill, p. 37; afterwards in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 57, also in Buddeus, p. 119. Incomplete in Cölestin, vol. I, p. 92 d, also in Chyträus, p. 40, and in the German edition p. 96, also in Walch. A small piece, German from the Weimar archives, in Müller, p. 556, and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 194. We have translated after De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ. Of the letters and the silence I write to the others who are with you, 1) my dear Agricola. By the way, of the Emperor's interdict, by which he forbade all preaching, this is my opinion: that our prince did right, that he acknowledged the Lord in a foreign city, and did not seek to rule, however much it may seem to be an act of violence. For one must not resist evil [Matt. 5:39.], and Christ commanded that one should depart, saying [Matt. 10:23.], "If they persecute you in one city, flee into another"; likewise [v. 14.], "Come out of the same house." Thus I hold that the prince, since as a member of Caesar's body he may not depart, yet by his silence fled, as it were, into another city, and went out 2) from that house. He may read and honour the word with Naaman the Syrian in the temple of Nisroch [2 Kings 19:37. 5:18.], yea, even for himself. But the matter serves as an evil example, not, of course, to cause annoyance, but I suppose that a similar end of the Diet may come from it, namely, that 3) the emperor asks the prince to renounce the whole doctrine, as he first asked him to do.

I) On the same day Luther wrote letters to Augsburg to Jonas, Spalatin, Melanchthon and Joh. Brenz, No. 958 and No. 981-983 in this! Volume, also to Duke Johann Friedrich, No. 1180.

2) In Latin here the construction is broken, and instead of the infinitives and exivisso the torupora ünita, namely luZit and oxivlt, are placed.

3) Here we have deleted prirunm because it is too much.

But if, when he is asked, he will not, the same thing follows against the doctrine. Such are my thoughts. And only then will the right crisis of the kingdom (purox^sinus eomitialis) be there, in which the hand of God is to be expected and implored. For it is quite certain that the papists, who have been handed over to the devils, cannot do otherwise than rage. For the blood of Abel oppresses them, and their abominations harden them, so that they cannot live unless they have drunk blood.

Admonish Philip to temper the sacrifice of the crushed spirit, so that he will not finally lack the cost of sacrificing longer. It is indeed a great comfort to know that one is anxious in spirit for the sake of the best cause, for the sake of God Himself, where one cannot doubt that one pleases God like an exceedingly sweet odor, but in things moderation is to be kept. It is sacrifice that is pleasing, not destruction, and God does not want souls to be ruined. This is an addition from the devil. For hoping for the Emperor's mercy is nothing. I think that the papists have urged the emperor to hear the matter, so that, after they have heard our defense, they may then do as they please, and obtain this pretext, that they have heard us sufficiently, and thus the blasphemy, that we are obstinate, may be brought against us all the more freely and apparently, since, after all, we, having been heard and admonished, have not given ear to the emperor either. For what should Satan intend otherwise, or what good can we expect from him? Do we not know fine thoughts, that he turns all things with false appearances, lies, cunning, and guile, so that he is beautiful, but Christ exceedingly ugly? In Augsburg you have certainly not to do with men, but with the gates of hell itself, and that with exceedingly well-equipped and well-practiced, but what is consoling, very angry ones; blinded by this anger, they cannot escape at last that they run against the wisdom of God, and cheat themselves in their prudence. Amen.

It is here with me Caspar Müller 4) with mei-

4) Chancellor of the Count of Mansfeld.

I have been with my brother Jacob, and he has told me what he told you to tell. Therefore this evil must also be added for us, so that we are plagued everywhere with the abominations of the devil. Of this another time. The Lord Jesus, who has sent you all there as his confessors and servants, for whom you also present your necks, feast with you, and give you through a fine spirit the testimony of certainty of faith, so that you may know and not doubt that you are fine confessors. This faith will give you life and comfort, because you are the messengers of a great king. These are trustworthy words, amen. From the desert, on the last day of June, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

946 Letter of the Elector John to Luther, concerning the abolition of sermons and other matters. 25 June 1530.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 411; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 28b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 28, and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 175. Also in Chyträus, German p. 114; Latin p. 69, and in Cölestin, vol. I, p. 139.

e of God John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.

To the venerable, highly learned, our dear devotee, Mr. Martins Luther at hand.

I. Our greetings first, venerable and learned one, dear devotee! We know not to leave unreported to you, in your gracious opinion, the state of our affairs, concerning God's word.

(2) For first of all, as soon as the same came to Augsburg, the Imperial Majesty requested us and our kinsmen to cease preaching. Majesty, as soon as she came here to Augsburg, and was dismounted from her horse, requested of us and our fellow relatives that we cease preaching; against this we most humbly petitioned her Majesty that evening and the following day, with the instruction of many good reasons.

(3) We did not receive it, however, but were finally informed that her Majesty, for movable reasons, wished to forbid preaching on both sides, and to appoint preachers who should preach the gospel loudly and clearly, so that no one should be in want of nourishment, and that the royal dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, her Majesty's brother, should also not allow the Fabrum to preach. Brother, shall also not let the Fabrum preach.

004 And thereupon the emperor commanded that preaching should be forbidden in the city, and that such prohibition should be proclaimed in all the streets by one of her majesty's servants. Servant, who blew two trumpets beforehand, proclaimed this prohibition in all the streets.

005 Now we are told that the preachers whom the emperor ordains commonly speak no more than the text of the gospel; what they teach beside it, fei childish and unskillful thing. Therefore, our Lord God must remain silent at this Imperial Diet. We know, however, not to blame the pious emperor at all, but rather our enemies and the clergy, those who favor the Gospel.

(6) Thus we, together with the other princes and estates who are related to us in this matter, have agreed to surrender our opinion and confession of faith. But our opponents who do not want to surrender it (as we are reported) should be willing to report to the emperor that they have kept the edict and the faith that their fathers grounded and brought upon them, and that they intend to remain so. If, however, the pope, or in his place the legate, together with His Majesty, should direct them to a different faith, and that they should accept a new one, they will humbly hear the emperor's objections.

(7) Therefore, on the day of St. John the Baptist, we appeared with our relatives before His Majesty the King of Bohemia, and also the Electors and Estates, in public audience, and offered to present our articles in Latin and German, according to His Majesty's request, and to read out and hand over the German articles in public.

(8) But we have not been able to obtain the public reading in such a way, despite many submissive requests. For the King and the opposing party have most diligently pleaded for it. But we have received so much that today His Majesty wants to hear the same article in His Majesty's palace. Palace. Therefore it is arranged that not many people can be there.

009 May the Almighty God continue to bestow His grace, that these things may be done unto His praise and glory. Therefore, let you also pray to Almighty God and call upon him diligently, as we have no doubt that you will do so without this remembrance of ours.

010 And how these things shall come to pass, we will also make known. For we are graciously inclined to be gracious to you and to do you good. Date at Augsburg, June 25, 1530.

947 The articles or the short concept of the Protestant and the opposite doctrine, which the emperor demanded from Phil. Melanchthon, and which Melanchthon handed over to the imperial secretary Valdesius.

Walch has taken this writing from Cölestinus, Vol. I, p. 93 under the above title. But already Seckendorf, Hist. Outü. , lik. II, p. 166 8^. has justly doubted that the timid Melanchthon should have written so sharp a document, and even have delivered it to the imperial secretary for his master. In Cölestin this writing has the title: drevis et eruäitn utriuZgue xurtis dootriuurn 6ontin6N8 n O. kdilixxo NeiunedIdone eon8Mpta et Iinx. Oarolo V. exdikitn. According to Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. 461 f., this writing originally appeared in German in another external form, and was republished by Ströbel under the title: "Phil. Melanchthon's Difference between the Protestant and Papist Doctrines, German and Latin. Lehre, deutsch und lat." Nuremberg 1782. octav. Also Förstemann says 1. 6. p. 462: "We are completely satisfied with the most definite certainty that these antitheses cannot have been handed over to the Emperor by Melanchthon at Augsburg in 1530."- According to Melanchthon's letter to Camerarius of June 26 (in this volume no. 976), Valdesius had taken a look at the Augsburg Confession before it was handed over.

Translated from the Latin by Ll. A. Tittel.

Preface.

1. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, when he hung on the altar of the cross, and paid a sufficient ransom to his eternal Father for the sins of the whole world, shortly before, in the presence of his mother Mary and the disciple John, before he gave up the ghost, commanded Mary, his mother, John, and thereby wished to indicate that he commanded his poor church, which is subject to all contempt and persecution in this world, to protect and guard all men, but especially emperors (rulers).

2. Therefore, all people, especially baptized Christians who are members of the church, who have lived from the beginning of the world until now, and who are still alive, should think as if they were standing under Christ's cross, and should look with their eyes and most diligently contemplate the wonderful work that surpasses all human wisdom, since the Son of God bears the sin of the whole world and the heavy wrath of His Father, does enough for us, reconciles us to the Father, and opens the door to eternal life for us. We are to recognize and contemplate these great and unspeakable benefits and praise Him with gratitude, and we are also to earnestly direct all our lives and actions to God's praise and glory, and we are to see to it that the sound, godly and right doctrine of such great and important things is preserved.

and be passed on to their descendants, so that they too may have the opportunity to recognize such benefits and thank God for them. Let us therefore preserve and protect the church, in which this teaching resounds loudly and purely, and God the Father is rightly called upon in the knowledge of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to the best of our ability; which Christ also requires of Petro, when He says: "If you convert once, convert your brothers also [Luc. 22:32].

For it is well established and true among all people who do not deny God, but who have only a spark of true godliness and faith, that every person who has the true knowledge of God, and who wants to know or do more than others, must make every effort and endeavor not to spend his life in silence, like cattle, or to seek only the lusts of the flesh through the temptation and stimulation of the world. The Church of the Holy Spirit is the only church in the world that has the power to teach the pure doctrine of God and to preserve the true faith of the Church.

(4) Which no doubt, out of the impulse of the spirit, Her Imperial Majesty is now considering and contemplating. 4. Which, no doubt, from the impulse of the Spirit, her Imperial Majesty is now well considering and contemplating, for which reason (as can be seen and inferred from many circumstances) she is diligently consulting with learned men, and is anxious with all her might that not everything in the church should go against each other, but that the disputes should be brought before a legitimate church assembly (synod) and settled by peaceful means, but that the abuses should be corrected, and the doctrine of godliness restored. If we did not gratefully recognize these benefits of Her Imperial Majesty, this zealous effort to settle the disputes in the Church, the earnestness and the intention to establish good discipline and to put an end to vicious customs, also to improve the abuses, and heartily thank God for it, we would not only be considered incomprehensible and stupid, but also most ungrateful and unworthy of the name of man with every right.

(5) We therefore beseech God with heartfelt wishes, earnest prayer and supplication of the heart, that He may graciously assist Her Imperial Majesty in her useful and good intentions. Majesty in such a godly, useful and good undertaking, that He may strengthen it and keep it strong against the marvelous cunning of the devil and the plots of evil men, Amen!

006 But the thing itself is, and the greatest need shows and proves it, that this prayer is most necessary at this wretched and miserable time, and in this very miserable state.

007 For first of all he must be wholly blind that

not to see what the devil, as the worst enemy of the human race, endeavors to do; what tricks he uses to hinder the course of the divine word, and how he challenges the true and sound doctrine of God. For he is always bent on, and directs his daily thoughts and endeavors toward, completely exterminating, destroying, and exterminating the confessors of the pure doctrine and of the true God, and on the other hand, introducing all kinds of false, ungodly, erroneous, and inconsistent doctrines, which have absolutely no basis in Scripture, and causing terrible turmoil and miserable wars in the German nation, and thereby causing destruction, plunder, and other mischief and harm.

(8) Such misery as is now told and other misery, of which there is no number, Her Imperial Majesty desires by kindness and gentleness to avert and prevent as much as possible, in which she is doing, in my opinion, a most noble work worthy of eternal remembrance.

(9) For it is incumbent upon their majesty not only not to strengthen or tolerate by their authority open idolatry and worship, which are evidently in conflict with the word of God, and thereby to open the door to others and more of the same, but rather, in order not to be guilty of other sins, to forbid them, to root them out, and to remove them from the church.

(10) Thereafter, Her Majesty also acts as a praiseworthy and godly emperor in this, that she, without any regard to person, graciously tries many ways to bring about harmony, and is not ashamed to defend the word of God; for Your Majesty, as well as all men, is especially created for the end that she may rightly recognize and praise God, and that, as she has already happily and diligently begun (through her), she may be able to bring about harmony. Majesty, as well as all men, is especially created for the end that she may rightly know, honor, and praise God, and that, as she has already happily and diligently begun, (through her) the doctrine of godliness may be restored and the glory of Christ may be propagated and extended.

(11) But since Her Imperial Majesty has sent to me through her councilor and secret scribe, Mr. Alphonsus. Majesty, through her councilor and secret scribe, Mr. Alphonsus, asked me to draw up a brief outline of both our doctrine and the doctrine of the other side and to have it presented to Her Imperial Majesty. Out of the most humble obedience and courtesy, I have, as briefly as possible, compiled both parts of the doctrine in this document; and I ask, in the deepest humility and most dutiful reverence, that Her Majesty may most graciously accept, overlook, and well consider it, and also conclude, pronounce, and judge from it what may serve God's honor and serve and benefit the settlement of the church's disputes. With this I most humbly command myself to their grace.

I. Article.

Of Christ and faith.

The teaching and content of the gospel is this: that God, out of unspeakable mercy and goodness, sent his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, into the world, that he might be completely sufficient for our sin, and take away sin and eternal death, and show us that this is his unchangeable will, that sin is forgiven us only through Christ's merit, that we are counted free from it, and declared righteous before God without any merit on our part, and that we have no other reason to believe and think.

Contrast.

Contrary to this, the antitype does not even think of faith, but argues against it, and teaches that one must always doubt whether one has forgiveness of sins and is in grace. Then he mischievously attributes the honor due to Christ's merit to our works, and boldly says that we thereby obtain forgiveness of sins and are reconciled to God. This doctrine is not only very detrimental to the death, suffering, and merit of Christ, but it also confuses and entangles the conscience in a series of constant and terrible doubts.

II Article.

From the invocation (prayer).

The Gospel teaches that we must call upon God in true and firm faith, not doubting, but believing with certainty that He will hear our prayer.

Contrast.

But the adversaries teach: one must not put aside all doubt in prayer. But this distrust they have in common with the heathen and the Jews. Therefore it is not easy to see and say how different they are from paganism and Judaism.

III Article.

Of good works.

The Gospel teaches that these are only good works, pleasing to God, which He commanded in His word to be kept and performed; e.g., to love God, to trust and believe in Him, to love, confess, praise, and call upon Him, and to thank Him for the benefits received, to diligently practice and spread sound and godly doctrine, to diligently and gladly attend to our professional work, and to direct all works to God's glory according to the Ten Commandments.

Contrast.

But the adversaries devise and forge for themselves good works and special divine services, without God's command, such as monasticism, distinction of food and dress, celibacy, and many other quite childish and ridiculous innumerable antics; And so foolishly and impudently do they proceed, that they hold such divine services, which are instituted and commanded by human will, much higher than what has been ordained by divine command, to the extent that they also call such works excess works 1) and set them above the ministry of the word (or preaching office), marital status, worldly offices, and domestic life.

IV. Article.

How the works please GOD.

The Gospel teaches that the good works of those who are born again, even though they are imperfect and still have sins attached to them, are pleasing to God, if they only recognize their weakness, rise again in faith, and firmly believe that such works are pleasing to God because of Christ.

Contrast.

The adversaries teach that there is no sin left in the saints, so much so that they can also do works of excess and more than the law of God commands. Nevertheless, they always cause man to doubt whether he is in grace. This harmful error, which comes from the heathen, is so ingrained and has gained the upper hand that it can hardly be eradicated.

V. Article.

Of invocation of the saints.

The Gospel teaches that we should call upon God alone, who is one in essence and three in persons, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Spirit; and that we have no other mediator and intercessor than Jesus Christ, the Son of God, for whose sake God will surely hear our prayer. On the other hand, the gospel of all saints reproves and hinders invocation as ungodly and sinful.

Contrast.

The adversaries teach that one must invoke the saints, and they gloss over and excuse this invocation in many ways. But if one considers the right cause, he will find that it is a pagan idolatry, which carries with it a multitude of abuses that defile the name of God.

1) *supererogationis*.

VI Article.

e of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

The gospel teaches that in public assemblies the sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ is to be administered to the people, not that it may be a sacrifice for others, but, according to the words of Christ, to awaken and strengthen the faith, and to remind all of the suffering and death of Christ, by which he reconciled us to the Father. These great benefits of Christ must be appropriated by every man in true faith, and he must certainly believe that he is incorporated into Christ as a branch or member, washed away by his blood, and cleansed from all sins, and that by such highly important things his memory is awakened and kindled to thanksgiving.

This usage has been completely changed in the Papal Mass. This use has been completely changed and reversed in the papal mass and its canon. But since a sacrament, apart from its use, e.g. in sacrifice, silent masses, and transubstantiation, is not a sacrament, or is considered equal to it, everyone can see how horribly and terribly guilty those are who do not shrink from reversing this order and manner instituted by Christ in an entirely false way, and instead introduce idolatrous services and superstitious, ungodly invocation. Moreover, our Lord Jesus Christ has instituted and commanded the Sacrament of His Body and Blood to be taken whole and unmutilated.

Contrast.

The pope, however, with his army (or guard) of priests and monks, teaches that the sacrament of the altar is a sacrifice, and pretends that it (such a sacrifice) earns forgiveness of sins not only for the one who offers it, but also for all living and dead, and that after and with the mere act (*ex opere operato*). Therefore they boldly assert that with such Mass stuff they obtain all kinds of good from God for both the living and the dead; and they say that the priests' nefariousness does not prevent the good that he asks for through such sacrifice from happening to others. After this, they also want to dispute by all means that a mass said for many is not of as much use as if one were said for each person. Moreover, by the playful (and comedic) transference, they have shamefully mutilated and separated the sacrament of the altar; since such ceremonies are not to be regarded as sacraments without their proper use.

This is one of the most noble abuses, to which Christ, as it were, points with his fingers, when he speaks out of Daniel, saying, Let abomination arise in the church, and thereby the true worship of God be destroyed and cut off. For Christ is the priest who sacrificed himself, by whose once perfect sacrifice we are all sanctified, as it is written in Heb. 10:14. Then it is clear from Romans 4:5 that we receive forgiveness of sins through faith, but not through the work of sacrifice.

Afterwards they are also very lacking in this, that they may give the laity (or common persons) only one form, and pretend that it happens that the priest's deeds are the more highly esteemed and valued.

VII Article.

Of repentance.

The Gospel teaches That it is necessary to have a sincere will to recognize and repent of sins, and that we should fear the wrath of God. It also gives the remedy by which we may be helped from such pain, anguish, and terror of conscience, if we believe the promises of the Gospel, and are assured that our sins are forgiven and given to us by grace, freely, without any works or merit on our part, in which faith we feel comfort and the grace of the Holy Spirit working in us.

Nor does the gospel require a recital of all and every sin, but utterly rejects and banishes as ungodly all the shameful and unrighteous lies of human satisfaction, which obscure and render worthless the grace of Christ and the faith.

It also instructs us very usefully how to comfort troubled consciences, by presenting to us such a doctrine of counting lots, by which we are reminded that forgiveness of sins is offered and proclaimed to us through the gospel; and that this doctrine is not to be commonly practiced, but must be specially administered to each one, with the most sweet consolation, that by means of the ministry of preaching, through the doctrine of the gospel, forgiveness of sins is announced to us. This excellent custom of counting lots, and the most delightful consolations to be taken from it for frightened consciences, has been entirely abolished and obscured by the opposite, as may be seen from the contrast.

The gospel adds that repentance or conversion must be followed by new obedience in all good things.

Actions and customs which God approves of, which works God rewards with all kinds of bodily goods; as it is written: "Turn to me, and I will turn to you" [Mal. 3, 7.].

Contrast.

The opposing party uses the name, but leaves the matter as it is. But he does not touch faith, by which we obtain forgiveness of sins, and says that we must doubt, so that our consciences are plunged into despair. So not only does he reproach and revile God, but he also persecutes and severely tortures those who preach and inculcate this faith, by which we obtain forgiveness of sins, before the people.

They also press and weigh down the consciences with a recital of all sins, and say, in contempt and disdain of the reckoning, that it is of little use unless sufficient satisfaction is added to it.

Then they darken the true doctrine of repentance still more, when by their own power they bring self-chosen statutes into the church, and ordain certain works, by which they boldly assert that one can do enough for his sins, and thereby acquire redemption from eternal torment.

Which falsifications of the pure doctrine are so many and great, that we may be justly excused by all the pious, that we have separated ourselves from them. But since there are still many greater and more foolish ones, I hope that with a reasonable mind we will be all the more forgiven. For since they have obscured the true doctrine of repentance, falsified it, and rooted it out of the church, they have brought another, false, lying, and incorrect one into the way. Not to mention that by their fictitious pardon they strengthen and increase other innumerable, harmful and abominable errors, such as the mass, monastic life, pilgrimages, indulgences, purgatory, and innumerable other antics and superstitious customs, which all serve to disgrace and dishonor God.

VIII. Article.

Of the violence of the keys.

The gospel teaches that through the keys we are given power to preach the gospel, to administer the sacraments, and to call to repentance and punish those who are in manifest gross sins, so that they may hear that they are no longer members of Christ, but of the devil, and thus condemned and rejected.

Unless they repent, and enter into the way of salvation from which they have departed; likewise to number them that are righteously penitent and sorrowful for the sins they have committed, and repent.

The gospel also teaches this, that by the power of the keys we are not released to decree anything new in the church, to conquer many countries, and to change the ban into a worldly rule.

Contrast.

The pope uses the keys of the coat of arms and desecrates them shamefully. For, first, he arrogates to himself the power belonging to the church, and teaches that he is set up to be the judge and superintendent of all churches, pastors, bishops, and the whole world, in all spiritual and temporal matters. And secondly, that he has power to appoint and govern bishops, and to introduce doctrines of men into the church, and to use the ban for temporal government, so that he may take away the power and dominion of the kings whom he pleases. All these things are contrary to the word of God, and they are all repugnant to it.

IX. Article.

Of human statutes.

The Gospel forbids the bringing into the church of such services as are not expressly commanded in the Scriptures. For the audacity of man's jesting to create services that God should consider good is a terrible sin that few recognize and repent of.

Therefore the world, which has always been in such darkness, out of blindness has carved new and all kinds of saints (or gods) and offered them for worship. Such examples are to be found among the pagans, some of whom have chosen Jupiter, others Mars, for worship. From which pagan usage our popes and bishops differ little, in that they impose on us the distinction that should be kept in food and clothing in the church, enjoin celibacy, establish new orders and rules, approve and defend the worship of images and the invocation of saints, and also choose certain days of fasting. In which customs and statutes it is not merely a matter of considering and contemplating the fact that eating meat or not is not a great matter, but rather it is to be emphasized and held in high esteem that God does not want, but seriously forbids, to choose such services and to interpret them to others, which do not have the slightest reason or command in his word. Therefore, we must consider it certain that such works do not earn us forgiveness of sins.

God abhors all such falsities when He says: "In vain do they honor Me with the commandments of men" (Matt. 15:9). Therefore, those who abhor and abolish such hypocrisy do not sin, but those who support it become a burden to others by deceiving and confusing the simple, who think they are doing God a great service by keeping and performing such things.

Contrast.

The pope, bishops, priests, and monks, as well as those who have been ordained by men, claim and defend such services as those that merit justification and bring about grace and forgiveness of sins, and say that they are works of excess. Yes, whoever does not keep them, they strike him with the ban, call him a rotten member who has fallen away from the church, and banish him as a heretic, a rebel, and a spirit of the mob; with which thunderbolts and harsh words they frighten the people and force them to do such works forbidden by God.

But they adorn and disguise such errors with human wit, pretending that good order is very necessary for discipline in the church, and that one cannot blame them for having these orders and scales of persons in them, by which the rulers of them are distinguished. Moreover, the ceremonies, the difference in food and dress, and many other things cannot be told now, which they say are useful and profitable for good order.

All this has a fine appearance and seems to be well tolerated, but God does not want to take away the rule or to prescribe services. Nor can he suffer and tolerate that we, disregarding his word and command, follow our own conceit and opinion, from which, as from a rich fountain, all manner of errors have come and are coming forth. In this we have the example of the Egyptians, who worshipped cats and serpents. For this is where we must finally fall when we forsake the word of God and begin to keep and embellish the statutes of men. Nor can it be unknown to anyone that the timid consciences have often not been able to bear such things.

X. Article.

Of the priestly marriage.

The gospel teaches that no one who is capable of marriage should be forbidden to marry, and that the doctrine which does this is brought into the way by the devil. Yea, it commendeth marriage, and testifieth that such chaste

and purity in the faithful pleasing to God; also commanding all persons to be called or to be whoever they will, and in some places also expressly to the priests, speaking of them as 1 Cor. 7 and Tit. 1, that they should marry.

Contrast.

The pope, however, has taken marriage away from the priests, contrary to the order set by God, and thus has opened a large window to abominable lechery and has brought innumerable scoundrels into the world. And although the old church statutes (oanones) merely deprived the priests who married of their church goods and pay, yet the pope was not satisfied with such punishment as had been set before, but with his ancestors began to exercise greater tyranny over them, so that he killed and put away all who took such a stand. These are all abominable sins, and the very marks of the Antichrist, of which the prophet Daniel prophesied, saying, He shall despise women [love of women] [Dan. 11:37.]. Thereby the contempt of the marriage state and abominable lusts are indicated.

XI. Article.

Of monastic life and monastic vows.

The monastic vows, as well as everything else in the same state, are contrary to the gospel and the law of God. For the monastic state abolishes and annihilates faith by robbing and taking away Christ's glory and ascribing it to human works; it asserts that human ordinances and ordinances in the church are equal to the service of God, urges the sacrifice of the Mass and the invocation of the saints, and prefers this holiness of life, as they call it, far above the works and states ordered and instituted by God. All this is obviously contrary to the Gospel.

Contrast.

The monks teach that their vows merit forgiveness of sins and eternal life; that in them there is a holiness and perfection that is valid before God, and that they can be compared to the state of Elijah and Elisha, the prophets, who taught the word of God among the people, and in great tribulations and persecutions helped to carry the state (or the worldly government) with their shoulders, and did not deal with the statutes of men; Whereas in the monastic state nothing but lies, idolatry, and a lascivious life is to be found.

XII. Article.

Bon of Sin.

The Gospel teaches that not only outward works that conflict with the law of God are sin, but also inward wickedness; for example, not fearing God rightly, not trusting in Him, burning with many and various forms of unchastity, all of which are forbidden in God's law and are truly sin.

Contrast.

The adversaries teach that natural inability and inclinations contrary to the law of God are not sin. And consequently, they horribly obscure the doctrine of the law, repentance, sin and grace.

XIII Article.

Of the difference between the law and the gospel.

It is important to know the difference between the law and the gospel, which Paul teaches and describes in Romans 3 and 7 and 2 Corinthians 3. For it gives great light to the word of God to understand this correctly. For the law commandeth and requireth perfect obedience, punisheth all men, remitteth no sin, and taketh not away death, except there be merit.

But the gospel is such a preaching of repentance, which at the same time forgives sins for Christ's sake, without any merit on our part, and thus begins a new and eternal life for us. This high and most consoling article we do not wish to deal with here in its entirety.

Contrast.

The opposite man, who has no understanding, speaks in all his books of three kinds of laws, the natural, the Jewish, and the evangelical, and teaches that all were saved by the law of their time, and that there is no difference between the law and the gospel. Then he imitates the law of Moses, and establishes in the gospel the same priesthood, ceremonies, and sacrifices as are found in Moses. And this is the foundation on which the foolish clergy build their mass.

XIV Article.

Of pilgrimages.

The Gospel teaches and gives that one must call upon and honor God alone, and does not bind Him to a certain place or time; as Christ speaks Joh. 4, 21. ff, therefore much less must one bind the power and help of the saints to this or that image, because they are not omnipotent.

Contrast.

The adversaries teach that God is more gracious and more powerful in this or that image, which is clearly contrary to God's word, in which the worship of images is seriously forbidden. But the adversaries reject this reason, follow their own conceit, attribute a divine power to idols or images, and say that their power is stronger in this or that place. Which idolatry is a manifest impiety, and is nothing else than the heathen custom which they used in the worship of their Diana of Ephesus.

XV. Article.

From purgatory.

The gospel teaches that those who die in the Lord are blessed. Likewise, one should not believe in ghosts, and Paul says in Romans 6:7 that those who have died are justified from sin. Therefore the contrary doctrine, that in purgatory one must do enough for sins, is full of shameful lies.

Contrast.

The adversaries teach that one must atone for one's sins, and on this weak foundation they build purgatory and all the masses. All of which is false and ungodly.

XVI Article.

The gospel teaches that it is incumbent upon the temporal authorities to punish all men, of whatever rank or honor, who are guilty of manifest crimes, and as a member of the church also to abolish all idolatry, and to enjoin and ordain the true doctrine and worship of God.

Contrast.

But the priest and his army broke away from this law and defiled his life with all kinds of fornication and lewdness. In addition, he arrogates to himself the power to set and decide whatever he pleases; on the other hand, he denies kings and princes the right to oppose it, or he does not allow them to pass judgment at all. And this is not enough for him that he asserts and spreads such errors; he also deposes those who punish them from God's word, drives them out and torments them with all torture, and even puts them to death. In this way he shows clearly enough that he is the servant of the devil, the father of lies and murderers, and that he has sworn to be his servant.

Therefore, all who ask about the true religion and their own salvation, which they see so desperately evil, will pay no attention to doctrine and commandments, nor will they let their faith rest on them; but rather they will eagerly and earnestly care how God may be rightly honored and called upon.

XVII Article.

From the fair.

We call such a sacred custom the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. 11, because not only the same words of Paul confirm our opinion, but also the learned antiquity agrees with us in this: in which I find that in former times it was customary that mass was held in all churches, in which the priest might offer such to those who wished to eat and drink the true body and blood of Christ.

Then we believe that the Mass was especially instituted and ordered for this end, that this ceremony is, as it were, the strength and support of the public assembly, in which we may give thanks to the Son of God, our Lord JESUS CHRIST, for the whole work and benefit of the redemption and gathering of the Church, and appropriate His promises and merits to ourselves, and certainly believe that God will receive us. Some of the ancients called this custom Agapen (love feasts), because this communion was, as it were, a covenant of common love among the pious, and because in former times bread and other offerings for the poor were sacrificed or pooled.

Finally, we do not hold fairs to be like vain, empty, and ridiculous spectacles, but that in such meetings the sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ, according to his commandment or commandment, is acted and dispensed.

Contrast.

The adversaries, however, have brought a multitude of abominable errors into the church, and have passed off the mass not only as a sacrifice of thanksgiving or praise, but also as a sacrifice of atonement, and have said that it must be offered for the living and the dead, for sins, punishments, pardons, and other necessities.

And many have written before these times, that in the mass there is a sacrifice for the living and the dead, and that it merits forgiveness of sins and deliverance from the penalties of purgatory to him who does it, and to others, by the mere act (sx oxsrs operato). They have also boldly taught that a bold and unlearned priest may.

by the mere murmuring of the silent mass, not only to themselves, but also to all others who stand by, to bring about and acquire all manner of bodily good, as fresh life, good health, blissful well-being, desirable navigation, rich profit in trade and commerce, victory and happiness in the chase, and the like.

All of which has not the slightest ground in Scripture, was unknown in the old Catholic Church and orthodox antiquity, and obscures the true doctrine of the faith; therefore it is right for me to reject it and abolish it from the Church.

This is now, most invincible Emperor, Major of the Empire, most gracious Lord, the doctrine and opinion of both parts; and I wish and ask from the bottom of my heart that your Imperial Majesty may well and devoutly consider these on both sides in God. Majesty may well and devoutly consider and contemplate such on both sides in God, and may also finally conclude on which side she will incline and agree.

948. report of the gift presented to the imperial majesty and of the action of Valdesius with Philipp Melanchthon.

This document is the continuation of No. 939 and can be found at the locations indicated there.

On the aforementioned Saturday [June 18] the chapter of Augsburg received the imperial majesty and sent their gift, which he personally heard, and ordered the bishop of Hildesheim with eager eyes, so that it would be noticed, to say these words: the imperial majesty accepts the gift with grace, his majesty asks, together with his brother, to want God to give him the gift.

Ask the Almighty for him, as a poor sinner, to send him his Holy Spirit to instruct and teach him, so that he may establish a common and Christian order in these great matters and not anger God. If his eyes are open.

Alphonsus, 1) imperial. Majesty Hispan. Alphonsus, the Chancellor of Spain, and Cornelius, have had some friendly conversations with Philip, and have shown him that the Hispanics are persuaded that the Lutherans should not believe in God, nor in the Holy Trinity, nor in Christ and Mary, so that they thought that by slaying a Lutheran they were doing God a greater service than by slaying a Turk; Although he talked with them a great deal and explained what he was doing, he obtained nothing, and at last they left their opinion.

On Saturday, Alphonsus sent to Philip, informing him that he had been with the Emperor's Majesty that morning and had not had a more convenient place and time to speak with his Majesty for a long time, that he had informed the Emperor's Majesty of all the Lutheran articles, and that they believed nothing against the church. Did the emperor say: Huiä vGunt ä" nionueiiis? And commanded Alphonsus to tell Philippo that he should send a short list to his Majesty without all prolixity. That Philip did so, and therefore also commanded Alphonsus to go to the legate, and to deal with him therefrom, was also done so, and the shock is greatest everywhere in the mass. So, praise God, there is good hope. The emperor wanted to help the cause gladly, God also threw his means to him.

1) Alphonsus is Valdesius. - Cornelius Schopper, formerly in the service of the King of Denmark, now secretary to the Emperor.

The fifth section of the thirteenth chapter.

Of the opening of the Diet, and of the public reading and delivery of the Augsburg Confession.

949: Address of the Papal Nuncio, Vincentius Pimpinellus, to the Emperor Carl V., King Ferdinand and the Estates. King Ferdinand, and to the Estates. 20 June 1530.

This speech is in Latin in Cölestin, Vol. I, p. 105. It was published in German in Augsburg in 1530 in octavo under the title: "eine oralion; oder Rede vor Röm. Kays. Majest. Carolo V. Augusto, King, Princes, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, delivered in Latin at the entrance of the present Imperial Diet, by the Reverend Vincent, Cimpinollo, Hereditary Bishop of Rossano, Papal See. Holiness' message. Most diligently translated."

Translated from the Latin by LI. A. Tittel.

Vincentius Pimpinellus, Archbishop of Rossano, Apostolic Nuncio, sends his greetings to Her Most Holy Imperial and Catholic Majesty. Nuncio, his greetings!

Since, most noble emperor, the Christian religion has been brought about by the sins of men (as I believe), that it has almost never since the birth of Christ been in greater distress, and the little ship of Peter has been driven about in one place by so many sectarian eddies, it has needed a good hero and undaunted ruler in such perilous circumstances. And therefore God has chosen you an emperor, by whose government and institution everything would be kept in good condition, and what is broken and unstable would be mended and restored. For you have heard that the tyrant of the Turks has spread so far on one side that he has now already (after Greek-Weissenburg, Rhodus and Hungary have been taken away) devastated Austria, your ancient hereditary land, last year with fire and sword, as it were from the bottom; and not yet all know what we must wonder more at, whether the insolence of venturing into so distant a land, or the cruelty to all inanimate creatures, let alone to men themselves, without distinction of years.

(2) On the other hand, you see new evangelists and seducers of souls who have torn the Christian faith into so many pieces that it must necessarily either fall altogether or be called back to its former path. All this you alone, though you have your brother Ferdinand to help you, deny.

and the most supportive must bring to an end. And that it will be done happily, and that your excellent deeds will be highlighted throughout the world, for the encouragement (or succession) of all other princes and the immortal fame of the House of Austria, is the wish of Clement, the Roman Pontiff VII by that name, as a most faithful shepherd, every day from the bottom of his heart, and has indeed tried everything to this end so far. Who, although he praises your brother, the unconquerable king, for his spiritedness in all dealings, and admires his courage in the resistance against the Turks, has nevertheless wanted to assign me to him, not as an assistant, but as a visible witness of all his deeds and undertakings, and as a faithful messenger, who in everything, in the name of the apostolic see, would like to assist him with counsel and action (where such was needed against the raging enemies). Which I have also done most diligently.

(3) But to your Majesty, who is happily returning from tranquilized Italy, and wants to fight as an unconquerable Hercules against unheard-of many-headed monsters, he has placed the Cardinal Campegius, apostolic legate, as another Jolaus, 1) at your side, so that what your Durchl. puts down with the mace of imperial power, Campegius holds down with his learning and fiery eloquence. Campegius, with his erudition and, as it were, fiery eloquence, will hold down, and with your prestige prevent the monsters from rising again and gathering anew to our destruction. So there is no small salvation and happiness to be hoped for, since two kings, brothers, are leaders of such undertakings, and such a learned Cardinal-Legate contributes to such praise, and becomes a part of it. May God grant that our time may see you, as in the restoration of Christian harmony as courageous authors, so also in the restoration of the Catholic faith and the overcoming of the enemies as brave victors!

004 But since it is the work of you all to do valiantly, that I also might have something to do in this battlefield, it hath pleased me (by the commandment of our most holy Lord) to speak my mouth.

1) "Jolaus," son of Jphiclus, a constant companion of Hercules.

to make good use of it, and to make known what is necessary to be done. Not that I should first encourage you to do what you already find necessary, but that I might persuade others, who are lukewarm and perhaps do not have the same opinion, to do the same by more than one presentation.

(5) And therefore the most illustrious King Ferdinandus has seen fit to put into public print this, which, with your knowledge and will, was brought before the German princes the other day, with the usual ceremonies. And therefore the most illustrious Kingerdinandus has deemed it good to put into public print what, with your knowledge, was presented orally by me before the German princes the day before, with the usual ceremonies, so that all may read it, and not only Germans but also all other people may be informed of it. But because all your deeds are praised by all righteous men, and our writings are barked at by many envious minds, I did not want to let them go around in people's mouths and hands without protection and protection. Therefore, if they are not protected under your mace and supported by two strong pillars, they may easily fall.

(6) Therefore, I ask your sovereigns and implore them most diligently that what the sovereign Ferdinand has wanted to be issued, you protect with your sovereigns, so that it is read favorably by all, if not for my sake, then for your sake. And if some wish that I would have spoken more learnedly, more delicately, and more neatly, and would have set everything more wisely, as often happens, then they may look to my good intentions and plans, and for that reason refrain from censuring me, even what I was not able to do through lack of wit, they may replace abundantly and make better in the same piece, as they please; if they only do not spurn my bad things, which they see attributed to your Majesty, sanctified and secured, as it were, under your divinity. Farewell, fight and win!

Vincentius Pimpinellus, archbishop of Roffano, apostolic envoy and nuncio, speech delivered at Augsburg, June 20, 1) 1530, to the most illustrious king in Hungary and Bohemia, Ferdinandum rr. in the public imperial diet.

1. for the happiness and salvation of the Christian religion and tranquility of the Roman Empire and the whole world, let us pray to Almighty GOD that what I am about to speak in this place today,

1) In the old edition, by wrong resolution of the date in Latin: "the 19th of June". This was a Sunday. But it was not until Monday, June 20, that the Reichstag was opened. See No. 950.

so that it will not disappear from your hearts, but will be accomplished by you with the greatest zeal and diligence.

002 O God, who wilt not the death of sinners, but that they may be converted and live, look down to the help of Christians, and grant that the adversaries of the holy faith, who persist in their hardening, may, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, diligently return to thy ways from which they have long departed.

Whether I see many reasons, godly Carl and Emperor, all-time ruler of the empire, unconquerable King Ferdinand, and most worthy apostolic Cardinal Legate, Campegius, as well as all you other highborn, great princes, of what rank, honors and dignities you are ! Although, I say, I have many reasons why I could have declined today's duty to speak and left the burden, which is too heavy for me, to other learned and well-spoken men, I have nevertheless considered it more decent for me to be reprimanded by those present here, at my discretion, rather than to neglect my duty in this, because I could not have denied my duty without disgrace to my most holy Lord Clement, who entrusted me with this office.

004 But I am almost sorry for such a thing. For when I look at your fine assembly, which in majesty, nobility, and power is glorious above others, at which I now want to speak first; and if something should slip my mind that is not too well and delicately set, I do not see how it will be held to my credit. Not to mention that, if you should imagine (as tends to happen with new things) that you would hear something special from me, because a Roman, an archbishop, an apostolic envoy, who has long practiced the art of oratory, would necessarily give and present not words, but thunderbolts; not eloquence, but erudition never heard; not the art of persuasion, but the art of persuasion, as something heavenly; and you therefore expect such things and are of the firm opinion that I can do something, for which my ability is too weak, my reputation will necessarily decrease greatly if you see and hear in me not a god but a man, not a speaker of divine (and incomparable) but of human things, and not to wonder but according to ability.

005 But, on the contrary, this again comforts and encourages me, that I believe ye, though high and great, yet will be very

kind and fair judges, listen to me, and, if I should do so today, think that I have not stumbled with will, and that what I have done, I can mend; even if I have been annoyed by the presentation of a hateful and adverse matter, I can once again gain favor in a more pleasant matter.

6th Since it cannot be otherwise, I will speak, first, of the cruel nature of the Turkish war, secondly, how they must be overcome by us, and how easily they can be defeated, and thirdly, if you do so, what honor, benefit, and reward will come to you from it, with your most gracious permission. And now, before I have gone through this recently, I ask, according to your usual kindness, an attentive and highly favored hearing.

(7) If I were to recount here one by one all the terrible and bloody wars with which the cruel Turks have oppressed the neighboring peoples, and have undertaken to conquer and subdue almost the whole world to their empire because of Christian disunity, since they have conquered more countries than others desired (or might desire), and have so far done such great and famous deeds that I cannot express them all in words in so short a time, and therefore I will withhold them. If I wanted to tell you how many years they fought with the Hungarians, whom Christianity once defended so valiantly; what defeats and victories occurred now and then among themselves; how many prisoners were dragged away: it would certainly be annoying for me to tell you all this today, but it would be annoying for you to listen to such things.

(8) But if we want to tell of the unfortunate and lamentable destruction of Vienna and all of Austria, we will, as it were, proclaim our shame, and thereby secretly raise the bravery of the enemy to the heavens. For who must not admire and highly praise the Turks' march from such distant lands? while the Christians' lukewarmness, indeed, their sloth or malice, must be utterly detested?

009 But though I have been willing to describe the cruelty of the Turks, that ye may see therefrom how they, being tyrants, only desire to spoil all things, and to usurp and dominate them more and more, yet, if I should set forth all that hath happened to you to plague you, I will not abuse your patience, nor use vain endeavours therein.

010 For ye Germans know very well, and
I wish you did not know that the cruel Turks plagued you with fire, robbery, blood, destruction, fornication, violence, imprisonment, and other such horrible tortures for years past.

011 Ye Germans know, and God would that ye knew not, that the cities have been burned, the villages devastated, the vineyards uprooted, the seed substituted, the trees cut down, and at last all destroyed to the ground.

(12) You Germans know, and would to God you did not know, that men have been stabbed to death, that some have been cut in two, that others have had their limbs mutilated, that others have been buried in the ground, that others have been hanged in the air, and that others have been killed by hunger.

013 Ye Germans know, and would to God ye knew! you would not know that the women were cut out (torn open), and the womb torn out of the wounded place; the children partly smashed to pieces on stones, partly pierced through the gullets with pointed stakes, partly tied like rabbits to the saddles of horses at the back with their heads hanging down to the ground, before the miserable eyes of the parents, who have to watch such misery of the children, and so quickly dragged away, and soon after strangled (or suffocated).

014 Ye Germans know, and would to God ye knew not, the public cruelty of the enemies, yea, the mockery and public dishonour of the corpses, not that the spoils should be stripped and taken away from them, as war brings, but that, when all the precious things from the head to the legs had been taken, they should lie naked, and the shame of the Christians should be seen. As I have seen her lying naked and bare with my eyes, to the everlasting shame of Christianity and its unheard-of sloth.

015 And ye Germans, knowing this, do ye yet consider yourselves, do ye yet sleep, do ye yet shut your mouths for sloth!

(16) Where is your ancient strength? where is your valor? which before, though it was not seen, yet was feared of foreign nations? Would to God that this tale would not fit you for tears, which hardly puff for women, or for crying and weeping, so nu^for cowardly people; not for lamentation and pity, so only a female mind indicates, but for the fury, anger, hatred and revenge of your and the German nation's innocent blood to ignite and provoke! because today, as another Fabius Maximus, I bear war in the bosom, and no peace; death, and no life; fire, and

No water; revenge, and no kindness. You have lost goods, friends, wives, children, all things which, though they hurt, are to be repaid, and not so much as to be mourned over. For since all things are born to die, it matters not much whether the turn comes to one today or in a few years. For we are born to die. But who will replace our honor, glory, and name again, if you Germans, I say, do not do the same harm and damage to our enemies, even much worse harm and damage, and as they, without anyone's resistance (as could not have happened without your disgrace), have, as it were, come upon the necks of you defenseless ones? So also ye, who are armed, by your valour come to the assault of them, and snatch your spoils out of their hands, that they may be laden, and restore the cities, towns, and countries, which they possess by force, to their former liberty (as is due to valiant warriors)? All this you will easily accomplish with God and with your united might.

017 Ye have now lately heard of the tyrant's murders, and his bloody way of warring, and that he is no human ruler, but a very barbarous and savage executioner.

018 But now hear also how and in what manner he is to be destroyed, and how easily he may be beaten and overcome. We read that P. Scipio Nasica and Marcus Cato, very wise men, endeavored zealously with the Roman council, the one that Carthage, ever emulating the Roman majesty, might be destroyed; but the other that the neighbors and confederates might always be helped even in the smallest wars; that the warlike Romans, when they lived at Rome in the city in peace and comfort, would not learn the trade of war and become womanish; or, having a lack of foreign enemies, would begin internal wars. As long as they kept these rules (but always with zealous worship of their gods), they had such peace at home that they not only kept a quiet city for a long time, but also, because they kept the religion and helped their friends, neighbors, and confederates, they used it to help themselves and expand their dominion.

(19) It is a beautiful thing, noble lords, to keep the sacred orders of your ancestors, and to help others in such a way that you do not neglect yourself; to keep the fire from your neighbor's house so that your own does not burn. Therefore also you, dear Germans, do not despise such great people's rules and admonitions, from which you can hope for peace, your descendants for glory, and the empire for continuity.

020 Are the Germans, who before were so devoted to religion and war, and so strong and experienced in body, warfare, and valor, to lie idle and idle at home, with religion set aside? What a shame it is that those who were accustomed to teach others Christianity are now lacking in it themselves and are being punished for it? and that the Turk keeps on tearing in and destroying everything as he pleases, while the Germans sit quietly by without keeping such devastation from themselves and their neighbors' borders? Beware lest, through the wrath of God, if you do not take foreign wars to heart, you again become entangled in internal ones!

If God had willed, you would have saved and preserved other places according to Cato's example, so that you would not now have to worry about your own. Would to God that you had helped Hungary before it was so miserably oppressed by the robbers! which you could have protected much more easily and comfortably then than you can now save from the enemies.

022 But as ye have denied your power unto your neighbours and confederates, so they have inflicted a great slaughter upon you first, and then also upon Hungary and Austria.

(23) Beware, ah! beware, lest, when you still have to deal with inner dissension, and again keep the enemy low and do not come to the aid of your neighbors, you atone for such unbelief and obstinacy once, but too late. Only look at the wretched and unhappy Austria's misery, which lies torn and miserable before you on its knees, and not without tears begs for help, and cries out to you as friends, allies, neighbors and fathers. And if you do not hold their destruction as well as your own, then I must call you justly hard and inexorable.

024 The council and people of Rome, though they were heathen, and far from the right religion, yet were not so slothful as to keep their religion, nor to suffer their enemies so. For they cared for nothing more than to propitiate their gods, whether they had already been invented, with their usual and own ceremonies, and to avenge their enemies' wrongs and violence, even in the slightest, with force, fire, and sword, always saying, which has now almost become a proverb: if one tolerates the old wrong, one gives rise to a new and different one. For this reason, they have started fierce wars even in the smallest matter, so that the reputation and dignity of the Roman council and people may be preserved in the eyes of the people.

foreign peoples would be preserved unbreakably. But you Germans, who are Christians and worshippers of the true and almighty God, with contempt for the sacred customs of your mother, the Church, want to let the greatest insolence of the enemy and his unheard-of knavery go unsmelled?

025 The Romans believed that Varro, the mayor of Cannae, had fought unhappily with the Carthaginians on account of Juno, whom he had offended; but you Germans think that if you have abolished the true sacrifice, denied the sacraments, cast down the priestly reputation, even against the will of him who is a Lord of hosts, valiant and mighty in battle, you will conquer and smite the enemies?

026 The Romans have sought to pull down and destroy Corinth, a city of great renown in Greece, because they might have heard falsely that their ambassadors were not kept honest enough: and will ye let live them which have afflicted your friends, your kindred, your brethren, your children, with all manner of torments, and have not only heard them, but have seen them with your eyes?

(27) The Romans, because of a false god, Aesculapius, cut down the grove which Turullius, the commander of M. Antony's war, had hewn down to build ships, and when the imperial army overcame Antony, they first had Turullius cruelly beaten in that very place and then cut to pieces: but you Christians will let such robbers of the temples of the true God and destroyers of the sanctuaries live? Virginius, a Roman, though of low estate, yet noble in mind and deeds, has publicly stabbed with a dagger his daughter, whom Appius Claudius, one of the ten men, only wanted to provoke to fornication, and you, of such a noble estate, want to let those who have really violated your daughters, without thinking of your honor, run over them like this and close your eyes to it?

028 Come now, dear Germans, when all the Roman power has come to you; if you wish to be rightly called the heirs of the religion, the dominion, and the warfare of the Romans, keep above that which you have received, and make yourselves ever more worthy of a higher glory, and let no such mischief be done in your lives.

029 Let the miseries of your cities, which ye cannot leave, be a matter of public concern unto you; let the contempt of religion, the profaned sanctuaries, the honour and chastity of your wives, for which ye have the chief care, move you, that this may stir you up to pity, pity to hatred, hatred to war. For ye shall

You will become peasants again, or slaves of the Turks, or lead a miserable and pitiful life as exiles. Neither nobility nor wealth will help you, but rather the enemies will be attracted to attack you and take them away because of your discord. Consider the outcome; consider the cases, and learn (as befits wise men) to avoid your pending misfortune by other means. No repentance will help where there hath been no counsel or forethought.

030 Alas! that ye might hear your captive sons, and the noble women carried away into the worst servitude, speak. Day and night they would ask nothing but that your brave hands might be stretched out to them for salvation, or that death might come upon them, for the quieting of their lamentation and their anxiety.

31. So it is for you to overcome the fierce enemies and to snatch the captives out of their hand. It is for you to bind and to loose the bound. It is up to you to save and deliver Christendom, which you will now do without hindrance, since you may not have been able to do so before.

32 For since you, most invincible Emperor Carl (for so I must address you, the Savior of Christendom), since you, I say, have gone to Italy, where everything was full of war and inner hostility, everything was found sick and, as it were, already decayed by you, you have appeared as a desired physician who, even with the mere arrival, immediately restores the sick and brings them back to life with the promise of health. For you, as if sent by God, have healed all the wounds of Italy with your wisdom, care, patience, and most delicious medicine. How much hatred, strife, and discord have you, as the sun, dispelled! and you have not come there both for your crown, honor, and praise (though all should burst who think otherwise!) and for the love of the Christian faith, the desire for peace, and the hope of calming all in the bet.

033 For when ye saw that the tyrant would come soon after, calling from the former war to another, and from the sword to another, ye yourselves, according to the example of our Saviour Jehovah Christ, whom ye follow continually in all things, sought to lift yourselves up from the uttermost parts of the west, and to bring peace with us. Neither rain, nor weather, nor storm, nor sour ways, nor any other affliction of yours and yours, has been able to keep you from helping us,

and save us from want, fear, and death itself.

(34) Therefore, through your virtue and your word, peace has come: everything that had lain down and wanted to perish before is laughing and living again, which thanks you for its life, salvation and peace. If God had willed, you would not have departed from there in such a timely manner, and could have strengthened poor Italy, which is only now recovering, and left everything in it well and efficiently preserved and cleansed. But so, most wise emperor, it is the duty of a prudent householder to see first of all where the danger is greatest.

035 And therefore, since ye have helped up Italy, which was in danger, and saved her from further fall, ye have risen up in Germany: You have risen up in Germany, that you may restore this sick and devastated empire, which is oppressed by many hardships. Which you will easily do, because you are an excellent, wise and happy physician, and whoever is healed by you will, which is something rare in these days, never again become ill in eternity.

036 Now that the quarrels of the French have been quieted by the emperor, and (for I turn again to you Germans) you will also have quieted your quarrels in the Christian faith, how easily will you not be able to start the Turkish war?

(37) You will not lack Italian power; nor will Clement VII, the Roman Pontiff, who is the most benevolent in name and in deed, arise, but with his fathers, by his prestige and fortune, will help in so great a war, and, according to need, will himself take all trouble, danger, and hardship, that he may be first in such a war, and will by all means omit nothing, by which the salvation and peace of the world may be promoted.

38 You, most noble King Ferdinand, can especially testify to the help, money, and gifts he sent you, so that he would not leave you in your distress. And if other Christian princes had followed his example, they could not only have prevented the defeat of the past year, but could also have chased the tyrant out of Hungary and the Turks away from its borders.

039 Nor will the most Christian king Franciscus come into being, for he should no longer wish to bear this high surname, as all would judge, since he is called the most Christian not only from the protection of the Christians, but also from the extermination of the unbelieving enemies.

40. nor Henry, the king of England, the protector of the faith, he would rather (God forbid!) the same persecutor (or exterminator)
because that is just as much as persecuting when one leaves and does not protect one.

(41) Nor Joannes, the most powerful king in Portugal, who is the diligent successor of his ancestors. Nor the brave and pugnacious Spaniards, whose valour and prudence we shall perhaps praise in some other, more convenient place, where not now, and their victories and praise, which they deserve not to be hidden, with full mouths.

042 Neither shall all other Christian princes, by whatsoever name they may be called, come into being. And if they come into being (which we do not believe), you alone will do it. Let this, you noble Germans, be your own praise!

043 And the multitude of the Turks need not terrify you: for valiant men need never ask, How many are they? but, Where are the enemies? Where are the enemies? He that would rule over many must contend with many. Their power is indeed very great, but God's power is much greater, as it scatters and smites everything before it, wherever it wishes, like dust, chaff, and stubble. It is GOD alone who strengthened and conquered Moses, Joshua, the Maccabees, David, and others who prayed and fought with small multitudes against innumerable ones. He it is whose hand shall help you, and whose arm shall give you strength. It is he who is able to do all things; who gives and takes away, in whose hand is life and death, war and peace. For with God there is nothing so hard that will not be made easy, nothing so firm that will not be easily and completely conquered by you.

044 But so, that, when ye fight against the Turks, ye first fight against yourselves, and reconcile the Almighty God, whom ye desire to have on your side, and so establish the faith of Christ, that ye may be sure that neither can stand without the other. I will not mention the examples, I will not mention the ancient victories, I will not mention the many miracles of our time.

(45) The Turks have plenty of money, but chiefly that which they have torn from the hands of the Christians by force, and which they have acquired almost every year by ransoming your prisoners. But you do not lack money either. You have large numbers of people, and among them more Christians than Turks are soldiers; but you also have enough people. They are swift, and that is the praise of horses. You, however, have much more in the way of cavalry and heart. The Turks always win. But not so much by their valour as by your slothfulness do they overcome all that they will. Awake, and consider all things aright, and ye may have as much or more in all things than the Turks.

(46) Consider only the tradition, consider the way of life. They are base, ye noble. They womanish, ye manly. You weak and soft Asiatic peoples, you hard and strong Germans. They robbers, and therefore fearful; you (as you have always had this praise) faithful, honest men. But if they are superior to you in anything, it is only the wit and strength of the captive Christians that makes them attack you and throw you to the ground, if you do not believe nor arm yourselves properly.

047 But do ye think that all the captives will be able to bear their cruel tyranny and servitude? and that, when they shall see you armed, they will be able to hope that by your help they will obtain the victory over the enemy, and not fall to you, or let any occasion pass, when they shall show themselves the enemies of the Turks? They will be the first to go out with you against the Turks, that they may one day be free from their hand, which is so burdensome to them; the first to fight against the unbelievers.

048 But the Turks especially fight against you with two principal enemies, namely, by your discord, and by their supreme concord, which they love and value as a goddess on earth.

Dear Germans, do not take it amiss if I tell you the truth here. I name (as that one says) no one, therefore no one must be angry with me who will not first show himself met. For the Turks are under one prince, whom they obey; but among the Germans there are many who obey no one. It is the Turks alone by whose unanimous counsel all things go well, but among the Germans there are many by whose discord all things come to ruin.

(50) Those do not think that they are wiser than the ancients, and therefore, by following them, they always gain new kingdoms. But among the Germans there are many who ridicule their ancestors as fools, and therefore acquire the name of new servants. The Turks live under one law, custom, and religion; but among the Germans there are many who are always devising new laws, new orders, new religions, and keeping them as they please, but ridiculing the old as something rotten and stinking. They spoil and destroy the unsewn skirt of Christ, which is already torn into many pieces.

051 The true and most honourable doctrines of Christ, which have been ordered by the consent of so many pious fathers, and confirmed by the Holy Ghost, they corrupt out of devilish conceit, and make of them mere buffoonery and shameful things.

052 But if this monster should give birth to anything, you should at least have had a better, wiser, and holier faith brought forth in the place of the former, that you might have departed without foolishness and shame from the true way of our ancient fathers, which always has been and always will be the best.

(53) Would to God that you had not only deceived the poor, gullible people, but also the pious and prudent princes, with your evil and poisonous teaching! But I have many things to say, which I pass over with diligence, lest I fall into a rich field, over which a great laborer (husbandman) is tilled, who (with your, the princes', permission) will make all the fruits better by his wisdom, diligence, and teaching.

(54) I return to my purpose. How much are Aristides and Themistocles praised among the Greeks, who were always sent away as envoys or commanders; and therefore, even though they were enemies, they were still in the habit of leaving all enmity and injustice at the borders of the Athenian region, and then (if it pleased them) wanted to accept them again on their return.

55 Cretinas and Hermias, who, in the Mithridatic war, contended in the city for the supreme dominion, were also esteemed as worthy of praise; but afterwards, seeing that the commonwealth was perishing through their enmity, they did not refuse to cede the dominion to each other, so that Cretinas at last took possession of the city with his counsel, but Hermias departed with his wife and child, and let go the long-sought dominion.

056 This is true peace, this is harmony, and consequently the salvation of cities and countries, by which small things are lifted up. There is victory, life, and dominion. With peace dwelleth righteousness, with peace truth, with peace bliss. If, then, you consider these things, according to the examples of Aristides and Themistocles, Cretins and Hermits, you will drive out discord by unity, and disunity by unity, and selfishness by common good:

57 If you imitate Father Scipio Nasica, M. Cato, the Roman people, and, after the manner of your forefathers, keep the one holy Catholic faith, you will not sit still at home, but will help your neighbors and covenant relatives, and will respect other people's suffering as well as your own.

058 What fear ye of the Turk? What of the infidel barbarians? What of the whole

What is the world like? Send yourselves to this blessed war, and be loosed from the cords of wicked men, that ye may do this.

59. Poor devastated Hungary waits from you, to whom you cannot refuse help. For if it has resisted the Turk for many years at its own expense, and has covered the whole of Christendom with its power, why, now that it is exhausted and miserably oppressed by its enemies, should not all of you hasten to its aid? since not only your peace, but also the common peace of all, with its salvation and preservation, rests on it.

60 Therefore, if you will (as is proper and right) do with all diligence what we hope of you, only hear patiently and attentively what glory, benefit, and welfare you will have from it.

(61) Two things are chiefly implanted in man, which it is difficult for men who are otherwise sensible (rntioni osäsrckidns) to refrain from, namely, virtue and honor or glory; the one of which is the preserver of souls, but the other is a child (ulrrmnn) of the body. For virtue is repugnant to vice, and he who desires it forsakes all that is shameful, and acquires what is honorable. But honor (or glory) is the reward of our bodies and of our good deeds. And if the desire for honor is not present, it can, as anyone can easily see, be of great benefit to the soul.

(62) Virtue is attained by good morals and a well-directed life, but honor is attained by valiant deeds and great examples. For the sake of virtue, St. Paul, St. Anthony, St. Benedict, St. Hilarius, St. Jerome, and many others went into forests, lonely and desolate places, and sustained themselves with water, dates, sedge, and herbs.

For the sake of honor Curtius threw himself into a pit; the two Decians sacrificed themselves; Mucius Scävola burned his right hand; not to mention others. But how much more blessed will you Germans be, if you will diligently carry out what I advise you to-day. I do not call you to go into solitude to attain virtue; I do not desire that you eat herbs, or drink water, or put on sackcloth and scourge yourselves, or walk barefoot, but that you go to war well armed, well clothed, well fed, yet with restoration of the sacred customs of your ancestors, for which the

1) OMLikus, where it should not be dry figs, 6nrioi8 (Walch). - Perhaps rndieidus (roots) is to be read. For enrioikus (from enrex) is sedge.

Heaven will be opened, but hell will be closed. But if you seek honor, which is the desire of all good souls, what better opportunity can you have for a greater reward and a more glorious recompense than this holy and righteous war, which no man can blame you for? For ye seek not to destroy Christians, but to preserve them; not to shed their blood, but to subdue, or at least to keep off, the enemies of Christendom. Who will blame this? Who will not praise it?

64. After this I exhort you, not to conquer and take away any little spots, huts, or deserts, but great cities, mighty and famous kingdoms, dominions, silver, gold, precious stones, which I hope you will not spurn. And so you may see what tokens of victory, honor, praise, and immortal glory await you.

65. For when ye have stripped off the shells of the wicked teachers, who bring forth none of their own, but have brought forth again to your destruction the sheepish opinions, which have long since been rejected and laid aside by the most holy Conciliarities; And when the godly princes have subdued their wickedness, ye shall pluck the holy city Jerusalem, the sepulchre of our most glorious Lord JEsu Christ, the place of Judaism, Mount Oel, Mount Sion, and other places where our Saviour shed his blood, out of the hands of unbelieving dogs and vile murderers, and shall hereafter gain more kingdoms and countries, and spread the borders of Christendom everywhere.

(66) Soon you will restore the Hungarians, too, such pious and Christian men, who were so useful to you in the past, who protected and preserved the Christian faith for so long, to their property, from which they were driven by the wickedness of the foreigners. To you the pious will entirely ascribe their fatherland and their peace (where they are grateful). All this, as I have promised you, will bring bliss to the soul, and immortal name and fame to the body. So shall ye also ward off war and sedition, as wise men are wont to do, from your borders, because the calamity is on your head and your destruction. Finally you will catch (as they say) two wild sows in one forest (or with one effort create two kinds of good).

67 For you will protect Ferdinandum, your son, foster child (nlumnuin), friend and benefactor, the king in Hungary, against all false kings and wicked adversaries in his kingdom, and save you from many a vexation.

(68) For the good prince knows not to whom he should take refuge, but to you Germans. To whom, if you (as is fair, and his virtue certainly seems to deserve it) will restore his kingdoms and crush his enemies, he will not only not be allowed to continue to ask you for help, money, and assistance, but will rather dedicate all his income, all his kingdoms, principalities, and everything he has or can have to your will and make it your territory.

(69) I ought to state here all the reasons why the Germans should not have refused to help you, most noble King Ferdinand. But it could not be told without your great praise. But since I know that you do not like to be praised at present, because you are so chaste that, when you hear your own praise, you are overcome with distress, and you would rather hear the praise of others and the deeds of brave men, which you also like to do, than your own in your presence, then I will rather with diligence conceal what good you have done in this your youth, both because not everything can be said in a short time, and because you are so great and praiseworthy that you do not need my fame, but are famous before in the whole world.

70. But how will you, dear Germans (that I may come upon you again), be rightly called worthy, if you will bring back and restore the true Christian faith, which has been almost entirely driven out everywhere, so that it may, as it were, come back through you after a long time; if you prepare yourselves for this holy, just, and necessary war; when you shall seize the kingdoms and dominions of your enemies; when you shall protect your neighbors and confederates by the right of nature; when you shall avenge the wrong done you; when you shall drive your enemies from your borders; when you shall restore King Ferdinand, as is right, to his kingdom. All the fairest epithets of the ancients will be attached to you alone. For ye shall be just, godly, friendly, wise men; ye shall be called the vanquishers of tyrants, and the saviours of kings by all right.

(71) Whatever you do, therefore, whatever you contribute to the preservation of religion, whatever you use and direct in this war, all this will be attributed to you. You will have no companion in this, for without you no one will be victorious. The common good rests on you. Others protect the fatherland, others the parents, others their own goods; but you will not only protect all this, but also Christ, the Redeemer of the world.

and the whole world, and preserve them unharmed. You will be quite blessed, and will be praised with one mouth by all Christians. The holy Mother, the Church, will call you children, heirs, and, with disregard for others, saviors. You will be the ones by whose salvation and life our salvation and life will be preserved. To you shall be rightly honoured; to you shall be due reward; to you shall be prepared triumph, crowns, and titles of honour. Those will be considered unworthy of the Christian name who will not pray, vow, and sacrifice for you. And because I firmly conclude from your beckoning and attention that you are quite ready and well disposed for these two necessary and most holy works, that you need no further coaxing from me, I will pass over the rest with silence.

(72) I only have to say that because you, most blessed Emperor Carl, have willingly accepted such points, which otherwise would not be suitable for your Highness and imperial name, that you only want to calm everything down, and you, most invincible (bravest) King Ferdinand, day and night for the entire Germany and other Christian princes. You, most invincible (bravest) King Ferdinand, have been concerned day and night for the harmony of the whole of Germany and other Christian princes, so that you may bring about what is and is called Christian, and that peace in Italy may be sown by you, as much as possible, in such a way that the whole world may reap abundant fruit from it: We must entreat the Almighty God with one another to keep the peace in Italy continually, because it is well seen that life and death, salvation and destruction of the entire Christian religion hang on it as on a delicate thread. And if some maliciously want to prevent such peace from lasting long, nor the Christian religion from recovering; if some do not want to give help against that seven-headed serpent, the tyrant of the Turks; if some do not want to allow Hungary, as the stronghold of our faith, to be conquered again, Austria to be protected, Germany to be defended: then we call you, St. Peter and Paul, of the Christian faith. Peter and Paul, heads and causes of the Christian faith, that you, key-bearer, lift up rock-hard and sluggish hearts of all princes and men; and you, sword-bearer and chosen vessel, cut away, separate, and set apart such unheard-of hardness from the hearts of mortals.

73. Come in the clouds of heaven, scatter the nations that love to war against the Christians, and convert these sorcerers of Simone, these Xttilus and Dotilus, as many as they are, and bring them back to the former Christian faith. And if their wickedness (which God does not want!) is so great that they will not be converted by you holy apostles, they will not be converted by you holy apostles.

If they blindly honor the enemy, the devil, more than they honor God, our Savior; if they concede more to unbelievers than to Christians, and without mercy on the incoming faith will mock and crucify Jesus Christ again: let not, then, thou, redeemer of all men, the human race, which is wholly devoted to thee, be lost through the faithlessness of some wicked men; but smite them, O LORD, smite them, that they may have locusts, moths, and maggots enough; Let them be blinded and ravaged, that their ways be not right; let them lack the fruit of the olive tree, and the fields yield no meat; let the sheep be plucked out of the folds, that there be no cattle at the manger; let death take hold of them, and let them go alive into hell!

(74) But if they think of human weakness, and turn to thee, and set thee, O God, before their eyes; if they will honour thy holy catholic and apostolic church (how just) with a sincere heart; if they will not break the bonds of peace; if they will assist Ferdinand against the Turks: let all things prosper and be well with them continually!

75. Give them, O LORD Almighty, abundant blessings, that the rivers may flow to them with milk and honey, that the earth may bear them seed of its own accord; let them not, O LORD, lack any good. Their flocks, their herds, their flocks, their flocks shall increase and be blessed; their years shall be many and long, that they may see their children's children and their offspring. The fish of the sea and the birds of the air must be obedient to them, so that all may know that you, O LORD, are lord over all, giving to each one according to his works; you alone do great wonders.

950. narration of the previously held mass de Spiritu Sancto and the subsequent opening of the Imperial Diet.

This document is the continuation of No. 939 and 948. The location is given at No. 939.

On Sunday [June 19], His Imperial Majesty received the Sacrament of the Holy Cross. Majesty, according to his usage, received the reverend Sacrament of the Holy Cross, and after noon summoned all the princes to him, and, for the sake of the session, made them friendly, which could never have happened before at any Imperial Diet. On Monday [June 20] the Mass de Spiritu Sancto, with all its glory, was sung; the Archbishop of Mainz officiated. After the Orocko

that orutor xontiüoius a quick Oration in Latin and German language; promise me, it will be printed and scholirt 1). After the oration was done, the Emperor's Majesty went to the sacrifice. Majesty went to the sacrifice, and the Elector of Saxony presented him with the sword. Afterwards the king and all the princes went to the sacrifice, but ours with laughter; only the landgrave did not sacrifice, but was present at the mass.

After Mass, Imperial Majesty rode up to the house. Majesty rode with the princes and chieftains to the house, where the Imperial Diet began, and two things were held before them for deliberation according to length: first, that one should deliberate how one wants to appear before the Turk, and second, that each prince should put his opinion of religion into writings on the morrow of Wednesdays, in two languages, one Latin, the other German. Be it known to me, Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty will act on the matter in his own council, since the princes are opposed to this.

This much is acted hitherto. Be warned with this; if rumor should come that our princes should have given way somewhat, then know that it is not true. They have, at the highest request of Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and especially the Elector for the sake of his office, they could not refuse to go with them to church. However, they protested earlier that the mass is none of their business, and they do not want to pay homage to it, as has happened. To this end, they do not refrain from preaching, but rather interpret the commandment, because the papists are also not allowed to preach, and those whom His Imperial Majesty has appointed from high authority are not allowed to preach. Majesty has decreed from high authority, must say nothing more than the Gospel, without all interpretation. Here the eating of meat, and other things, is not challenged. Ask God to give his Holy Spirit to preserve his divine word and common peace.

951. lecture of Count Palatine Frederick in the name and in the presence of the Emperor to the estates of the Empire, held on Monday, June 20, 1530, at Augsburg.

This document is found in Latin in Cölestin, Vol. I, p. 116 and in Chyträus, p. 53; in German in Chyträus' German edition of the History 2c. p. 99. The second part, concerning religion, is also found in the German editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 442b; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 99 (wrong 92); in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 225, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 213. Also in Müller's Hist. p. 564.

1) "scholirt" will mean: to be provided with bulkheads, glosses.

I.

First proposition point, concerning the Turkish War.

1. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has no doubt that her Majesty's dear friends, nephews, brothers, grandparents, princes and commoners of the Holy Roman Empire have in fresh memory and good knowledge that her Imperial Majesty was first elected by a unanimous vote of God Almighty to the dignity and height of the Imperial office and government of the Holy Roman Empire, and that her Royal Majesty was first elected by a unanimous vote of God Almighty to the dignity and height of the Imperial office and government of the Holy Roman Empire. The Holy Roman Empire was first elected by a unanimous vote, and received its royal crown at Aachen. They received their royal crown at Aachen, held a general imperial diet at Worms, and thereupon they discussed the affairs and necessities of the Holy Roman Empire. They have also been able to act with the highest and most gracious diligence in the matters and necessities of the Holy Roman Empire that existed at that time. When, at the same time, in the Diet that was or is still in progress, her Imperial Majesty was confronted with enemies of the Holy Roman Empire, the Holy Roman Emperor was forced to take action. When, at the same time, in the same Imperial Diet, which was standing or was still in progress, her Imperial Majesty was opposed with enmity against her Majesty, and war and hostile acts were begun and practiced, and her Majesty conceded such great and excellent causes as were possible, that, although she had fully consented to remain longer in the Empire, she had again made her departure therefrom to her Majesty's hereditary kingdoms. Hispanic hereditary kingdoms; however, with the good knowledge and will of the estates of the empire, after that all necessary business and things of the holy empire had been previously established and decided, and with the consent, advice and decision of the estates, her dear brother Ferdinand, of Hungary and Bohemia, whom her Maj. respects no differently than her Maj. himself, to her Majesty's state. himself, as her Majesty's governor, and appointed and established a regiment in the Holy Roman Empire consisting of princes, chieftains and all the other estates; which governor and regiment had all the power, in the absence of her Majesty from the realm, to do and act everything that the realm's necessity and the matters at hand required, as if her Majesty herself were present. (little, content of the order, reserved); and for this purpose also her Majesty's brother and governor, also the regiment, have not spared their persons' trouble, labor and expense, but have at all times done all that has been possible to his love and to them in the form of the things and events that have occurred after such Diet of Worms was held, and have been contrary to the edict and order made and committed thereon, so that at her Majesty's command, for the preservation of peace and rights in the kingdom, the kingdom may be preserved. for the preservation of peace and rights in the Holy Roman Empire. For this reason, her Majesty has left the empire with less complaint to the kingdoms mentioned above.

(2) After which Her Majesty's Re-arrival in Hispania, Her Majesty. has now been informed that not only have some troublesome things occurred, but also that there has been some disagreement between the inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, on account of the Christian religion and otherwise, but also that the hereditary enemy of the Christian name and faith, the Turk, is in the process of damaging some of the Christian frontiers, namely the kingdom of Hungary; as he has begun to do, and has thus conquered by force some of the gates and passes of the place. For this reason Her Imperial Majesty has been pleased with him. Majesty's brother and brother-in-law, King Louis of Hungary, by his and the common country's excellent message, to her Majesty's governor and regiment in the Holy Land. Governor and Regiment in the Holy Empire, thus and besides also with her Majesty's Commissaries and Orator. The Holy Roman Emperor, the commissaries and orators, and also the princes, princes and estates of the Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg at that time, have the invading danger and distress, which they then had to worry about from the Turks, after the capture of Greek-Weissenburg and other passes of the Hungarian country, and have especially indicated, in addition to others, that they, the Hungarians, carrying the complaint of the Turks, would be one thing with the same imperial estates and other Christians, and would bear a common danger on them. And if they, the Hungarians, were not provided with substantial help, that they would be too weak to avert the Turk's authority and force from them; where they would also be assisted in time, so that they, the Hungarians, would not only meet with sufficient salvation for their fortune, along with other help from the empire, but would also intend to conquer again by force what they had been deprived of. If, however, they were ever not supplied with the shell, they would, as is to be feared, be subjected to Turkish power themselves, and thus not only would no longer be able to prove salvation or help to other Christians who were attacked, but would also be forced to act against them as the enemy of the Christians. All with further narration of the same messages, advertising how formerly the Christian empire of Constantinople and Trapezium, the kingdom of Bosnia, Dalmatia, and a large part of Croatia, together with many other kingdoms, lands, and regions, were also conquered by the Turk, thus, that in a short time the Turk has extended his power to such an extent that, besides many other nations and great lands, he has forced two empires and twenty kingdoms under his power, all of which are subjected to him with the most burdensome and humiliating servitude, and must wait and serve him.

3. what complaint and pleading

of the same Hungarian message, also the pressing danger which would certainly arise not only for the Crown of Hungary, but also subsequently for common Christendom, their Imperial Majesty has taken to heart and, in order that this danger might be countered in haste, has issued to their Majesty the order previously presented by the common imperial estates at the Imperial Diet of Worms. Majesty has therefore taken to heart, and, in order that this danger may be countered in haste, has taken the measures formerly taken by the common estates of the Empire at the Diet of Worms for Her Majesty's march to Rome and the attainment of Her Majesty's crown. Rome and the attainment of her imperial crown. And because the same had promised and granted help for such necessary work and rescue of the Hungarians against the Turks, they had willingly agreed to follow it. And because the same aid granted to her Majesty was not followed at that time by the Hungarians, but in part by the Hungarians to the rescue of the Hungarians, and because the Hungarians were not able to shoot them at that time, then that the Turk, after the conquest of Greek-Weissenburg, as reported above, had taken other passes and towns in Hungary, other passes and towns in Hungary were taken, with grievous damage and destruction of the Christian people, and then also overrun not far from Rhodes, and after a hard siege were subdued under his power, which were two strong fortresses and passes against the Turk, on which there was no small comfort to Christendom; And because the reported Turk then directed his power to the Hungarian country, after further conquest of many passes, castles and best places, the above-mentioned King Louis and his warriors, who were thus forced by his, the Turk's, rage and invasion to salvation and resistance, were defeated in the field, and thus the Christian army was laid low with difficulty; So that the same King Louis perished, and the said Turk followed his victory, forced all castles, cities and towns between the rivers Sau and Drava by force, and Ofen, the capital in Hungary, and Pesth opposite, also other towns and cities, so that they were also thoroughly plundered and burned, many Christian peoples beaten, and the survivors dragged away with considerable goods; That he also became insatiable, but from one victory to another to damage and ruin the Christian lands much more meager and eager, then directed his fierce mind on common Christianity and especially on the German nation, and her Majesty's kingdom and principality of Croatia and Kram invaded, burned, devastated and from it led away more than thirty thousand people, male and female, and those who did not want to follow with the robbery, cruelly murdered.

004 And now most recently, in the year next past 1529, with such great power, as before and since the time of Attila, who was a scourger
God, has never been heard, has again and in his own person marched on Hungary, has again thoroughly devastated the same from all sides, has immediately thereafter turned his innumerable military campaign on her Majesty's lands of Lower Austria. There he besieged the capital of Vienna, and with cruel challenge he pressed and coerced it, and besides, with his roving troops, on the side where Vienna is situated, he roamed everywhere with great rage, and destroyed, devastated, and burned everything that was before him, far and wide, near Linz, up to the water, the Ens, old and young Christians and children with inhuman fury, and also many women and virgins, as often happened before, and is his, the Turk's, practice and desire, abused to their worst will, and otherwise dragged away like cattle with them, besides a noticeable plunder.

(5) Whereupon, if the reported hereditary enemy of our Christian name and faith had not departed, her Majesty was completely determined and prepared to put aside all things, and to oppose it personally with all her might, and to put all her fortune into it, as her Majesty wrote to the said her brother, and also to the chief captain of the estates in the Holy Roman Empire, and also to the knights and men-at-arms who were besieged in Vienna. to the aforesaid her brother, likewise to the chief captain of the estates in the Holy Roman Empire, also of the knights and men of war who were besieged in Vienna, and finally put them off, that they should completely leave it, but nevertheless, as her Maj. understood, refrained from the Turk's departure. and, for many good reasons and motives, considered it best and most useful to bring and place the Italian lands in peace and tranquillity before her Majesty's departure; also to dispose of the city of Bononia for Papal Holiness, and to act with her Holiness in this and other matters concerning the welfare of the whole of Christendom, including our holy faith; as is further understood in her Majesty's proclamation of this Imperial Diet.

6th That also hereafter Her Majesty, when she found that the supreme necessity of things, reported in the mentioned notice of this Diet, and especially thought of our hereditary enemy the Turk and of our holy faith, required the same Diet to be held; besides which, she considered and judged it best and most useful to take her royal crown there at Bononia immediately, as she has done; which crown, as being manly knowing, her Majesty might well have taken at Rome without some objection and hindrance. without any objection or hindrance at Rome, dispose of herself thence in her Majesty's kingdom of Neapolis, and of the same excellent objects and things, which are especially present at the time,

and the kingdom's welfare and her Majesty's benefit. But in this case Her Majesty has also set aside them so that she may promote the common Christian benefit, as she has always been and has been inclined to do, and so that they may come and appear here at this Imperial Diet the sooner.

(7) And even though he, the Turk, has not been able to conquer the city of Vienna by the providence of God and by the fortified hand and salvation of the knights and men of war who were in it, nevertheless her Majesty the Archduchy of Austria has suffered such great damage to the land and the people by such ravages that it may not soon be recovered and restored. And even if he, the Turk, nevertheless withdrew at that time, he nevertheless left his followers, Masha and captains, behind him at the borders there and decreed that since then the Kingdom of Hungary and Crabaten [Croatia], also the German nation of Austria, Styria 1) and Carniola, have been challenged with constant assault and incessant damage. Moreover, nothing else and nothing more certain is to be assumed than that he will again break in for his opportunity and his advantage, with previously used and perhaps more power and rage (because he is now unfortunately bordering with Christendom), to persecute Christendom, especially also the German nation, thus without ceasing with constant challenge, and to thoroughly and finally destroy and exterminate it. And what and how much the Turks, before and after the conquest of Constantinople, have taken with no less cruelty and Christian bloodshed, weakened Christendom, and thus forced it into a corner and a place, is partly shown above; and because it may be manly to pity and complain more than is necessary to tell at length.

8. What deeds and rages, which have thus been accomplished with the loss of many Christian lands and people, also with cruel bloodshed, all Christian members and estates should ever consider with heartfelt compassion, and take an example from the past deeds, and thus certainly hold for it, where now, however, as before, they have acted negligently, carelessly, and without restraint, and where the dubious intentions, cruel rage, and introduction of the Turks have not been met with good intentions and braver and more serious counteraction than has hitherto been done.

1) Walch: "Speier".

that some welfare or progress of the Christians could no longer be hoped for, but that one Christian country and region after another would be lost, and that in a short time they would be completely subdued and exterminated by the Turks.

(9) Now, however, in Her Majesty's absence, the concerns and affairs of the Empire, and most especially the unmistakable annoyance of the Turks, and how to counter them, have held several imperial congresses and assemblies, at which Her Imperial Majesty would have liked to appear in her own person in her time, but has always been prevented from doing so because of the troublesome encounters of her enemies and repugnance. Her Majesty would have liked to appear in person in her own time, but was prevented from doing so due to the troublesome encounters of her enemies and repugnance, as her Majesty has indicated in part by her letter and also verbally by her appointed commissioners in the next Imperial Diet and elsewhere, and has been excused for such absence. With which of her Majesty's enemies and adversaries her Majesty has nevertheless united and come to terms, for the sake of the Empire and the common Christian good, so that these complaints of the Turk and others may be the more strongly rejected, and has not considered their benefit, but has left a considerable part of hers for the promotion and confirmation of peace. Has also inquired about this, when her Majesty the Turk's invasion and other above-mentioned ingrown objections in the holy realm appeared more burdensome than ever before, has not wanted to forgive their arrival for a longer time, and has thus departed from the aforementioned hereditary kingdoms, lands and people; has, not with little danger of the sea, in Italy, where at that time still the several part of her Majesty the Turk was an enemy and an objectionable person, has taken up residence in the Holy Land. and also, by the grace of the Almighty, restored peace and unity to the affected Italian lands, which her Majesty has somewhat prevented, so that her arrival at this Imperial Diet has so far been denied; as her Majesty has recently made known to the Electors, Princes, and Estates such prevention and the reasons for it.

(10) And after Her Imperial Majesty has found that at the nearer assemblies and imperial congresses some notes and records have been drawn up of a substantial and persistent help against the Turks, which has been sent beforehand to all the estates of the realm, so that they may consider and discuss it with their subjects, so that such a persistent help might certainly have been decided upon at the next imperial congress following it: but on account of such help nothing is necessary.

neither acted nor resolved. And only on several occasions urgent assistance was undertaken and ordered, which urgent assistance was granted by the estates at Worms at the Imperial Diet, only from her Majesty's assigned request, and thus her own money, for her campaign in Rome to attain the imperial crown. This help was granted by the Estates of Worms at the Imperial Diet, which Her Majesty nevertheless, regardless of her own disadvantage, extended and allowed to follow for the benefit of the Holy Empire and Christendom and rescue against the Turks, even mildly, as mentioned above.

11. And because this article, which concerns the urgent and persevering help, is the most important, not only for the holy kingdom, but also for common Christianity, and because the delay in this is very serious, and every hour of delay may bring disaster, considering the grave and threatening danger, and that the insatiable and scanty tyrant of Christian blood does not celebrate, but with daily and persistent damage harasses and disputes Christendom, and his purpose is ever to bring it under his power and finally to destroy it: so is J. K. M. s friendly and gracious request to the princes, princes and the other estates of the realm, who therefore want to take up this matter of persistent help without delay, and, as the occasion and the necessity require, to apply it to the above-mentioned written and handed over note, or in other suitable and expedient ways, so that the unavoidable and urgent resistance may one day be arranged, ordered, raised, and maintained with strong force and earnestness, shooting warriors in persistent exercise, certain entertainment, and stately execution and emphasis. In order that the same Turk may, by the gracious grant of the Almighty, turn and break his plots and plans of further rage against Christendom, that the Christian empire, kingdom, country, cities, castles and towns which have been wrested from him may be again conquered, and that he, the Turk, may at last feel the Christian defending hand in his lands as well, to compensate for his manifold damage and rage, I. K. M. has decreed that in this case, the Christian hand of the Turkish Empire must be given to him. In this case, her papal sanctity gives her good comfort to advise and help with everything that will be in her papal sanctity's power, as she will then also do, and to refrain from anything that may benefit the present affliction.

(13) So also Her Imperial Majesty wants to be satisfied. Majesty, on the fact that she has not fulfilled the promise made by the common estates of the Empire at the Diet of Worms for her Majesty's accession to Rome and the attainment of her imperial crown. and the attainment of her imperial coronation.

to such necessary work and salvation against the Turks as above mentioned, and afterwards to receive her Imperial Crown at her own not inconsiderable expense. Crown, at their own not inconsiderable expense, also without regard to the fact that their Majest. without having had so many other considerable, excellent costs and expenditures, which amount to many millions of gold, has graciously offered and granted, with all her kingdom's and country's wealth, to keep and show herself so imperial, Christian, and as is due in such a case, that males, high and low, shall publicly feel that in this, with comforting, brave, and respectable help of her K. M., nothing shall lack nor be lacking. M. nothing would lack nor go astray. Her Majesty is also in no doubt that her dear brother, the King of Hungary and Bohemia, who is now the rampart of common Christendom and especially of the German nation against the raging Turks, will prove and hold himself no less comforting, brave and helpful with his own person, all his and his kingdoms, lands and people's fortunes; as he has also done so far, which has also been quite well shot and come to good places.

(13) In addition, His Majesty is confident that all other Christian kings, princes, and potentates will, according to their common need, also keep up this Christian work in a proper, Christian, and good manner, who will then be requested to do so in part by Their Majesties, and will also receive it in a needy manner.

II.

Second propostion point, concerning religion.

Concerning the confusion and discord of the holy faith and the Christian religion, Her Imperial Majesty, soon after receiving her royal crown and accepting her reign in the Holy Empire, heard with a heavy heart how the same confusion and discord had arisen in some places in the Holy Land. Majesty, soon after receiving her royal crown and accepting her government in the Holy Empire, heard with a heavy heart how the same confusion and division had arisen and grown in many places in the Empire of the German Nation. as Roman Emperor, Bailiff and Protector of the Christian faith, religion and church, in consideration of her office, at the first of her Imperial Diet at Worms, to meet the same complaints with temporal understanding, and before they took further root, were prevented and rejected, had diligent consideration, and thus for the rejection of such confusion and division, with the knowledge, counsel and consent of princes, princes and other common estates, issued an open edict and spread it throughout the empire.

of the complete oversight, where this was obediently complied with and lived, such error and grievance would not have been so far torn down. But regardless of all such most gracious, most necessary and well-considered action, Her Majesty has not heard and heard with any small complaint of her mind how since then in more ways the said most gracious action has gone against and contrary to. This has resulted not only in the diminishment and contempt of their imperial majesty, but also of God the Almighty and His commandments, and 1) in apostasy from the superior authorities ordered by God, which then 2) all has been to the detriment of the estates themselves, and not otherwise than to robbery, fire and war, and all that which may have come to the highest displeasure of God the Almighty and contrary to the holy faith, also otherwise to ruin and death; as this has unfortunately occurred in more ways in the German nation, especially in the recent common peasant revolt, also with the rebaptism and other things that have occurred as a result, and may still occur, occur, and occur. Therefore, and now her Majesty, with the great grievance of her mind, has found that such confusion and discord has increased and grown more and more burdensome, and that the manifold, diligent, and most diligent actions that have been practiced here and there have not yet been left alone or settled, her Majesty has considered that these confusions could not be more effectively nor more salutary in the end than by her Majesty's own presence, and that they could be brought back into unity. And therefore, out of innate kindness and gentleness, this path has been taken by virtue of the tender, the final hope, that it will have a favorable reputation with all those who understand, and that it will manfully move and guide that all things be turned around and turned to the best, so that Her Majesty may persevere and remain in her gracious intention, and furthermore, may carry out and accomplish what may be beneficial and good for all beings. And therefore Her Majesty is graciously pleased to take up this matter, to deliberate and to decide how, in addition to the aforementioned averting of the troublesome burden and invasion of Christendom by the Turkish invader, the aforementioned confusion and discord in the holy faith and the Christian religion may and should also be acted upon and decided upon; in a very friendly, gracious, and

Desiring with the utmost diligence and earnestness that Princes, Princes, and the common estates be equal in all this, as much and as this affects each one and is due to him, and that for the advancement of things each one, according to the ability of their Majesties, be able to exercise his discretion and opinion. For the furtherance of the matter, each of them, according to the authority of their Majesty's writings, will set forth and deliver in writing [his] discretion, opinion, and opinion, of the confusion and discord touched upon, and also of the abuses which the clergy may have against the secular, and again the secular against the clergy, or among themselves, or by one another, so that this confusion and discord may be the better heard and considered, and also the more speedily brought back to a unanimous Christian being, and thus settled.

952 Some scholars' concerns for a papist prince, in which they show that it is necessary first to examine the point of religion, and then to deliberate on the help against the Turks.

From Cölestin, Vol. I, p. 122. In Walch with wrong heading: "Bedenken eines Gelehrten, worin erweiset" 2c.

(1) To the question: Which of the articles presented by Her Imperial Majesty [whether of help against the Turks or of] 3) disunity of Christian faith and religion? 3) of the disunity of the Christian faith and religion, of every man's opinion, delusion, and belief, and of the abuses in the church which exist between the ecclesiastical and secular princes, to be written in German and Latin and presented to Her Imperial Majesty. We answer, after having deliberated on the matter, thus:

2. although in kaiserl. Majesty. The first thing mentioned is the tax to be levied against the Turks, and it is added that it is then intended to act on the basis of faith: Experience has taught us that as often as help against the Turks has been spoken of and acted upon at previous imperial congresses, the Lutheran princes and their envoys have never consented to such a request before they had been sufficiently assured that, on account of religion and the Gospel, no displeasure would befall them or any violence would be inflicted. From this it is easy to infer that, if one were first to begin to withdraw from the tax and from the institution against

1) Walch correctly added this "and".
2) In the old editions: "the that".
3) Added by us.

The Turks are to act and to conclude, but not how the religious disagreement is to be settled: so nothing praiseworthy and fruitful will be concluded and brought about.

(3) Therefore it seems to us to be very helpful for the advancement of the cause, if it can be brought about with their imperial majesty that first the matter of religion is settled, and the dispute about the faith is settled. But since some ecclesiastical and secular princes will write down their voice and opinion before your sovereignty, it seems that others, and especially Lutherans, will also ask and insist that the discussion of religion and Christian faith be undertaken first; whereupon your sovereigns will also have the opportunity to accede to such a request.

(4) If, however, all the others desire and agree that a fairly permanent and lasting measure should first be taken against the Turks, your Highness will be able, for many and very important reasons, to present, request, and urge that both matters be dealt with in one and the same treatise, and that council be held on them in due course, according to the necessity of the matter. This seems to be easily done for this reason, since the matter of religion and faith is discussed in writings, and the matter of aid and taxation against the Turks is discussed by the Imperial Majesty and princes, or by the Pope. Majesty and princes, or certain people appointed for this purpose, must necessarily be acted upon.

(5) Concerning every opinion and delusion in faith, your sovereigns can answer this with the utmost confidence and a good conscience, and assert that your sovereigns, before and after the edict issued by the Imperial Majesty, have shown obedience to the Roman Church and the Apostolic See in everything up to this time with the utmost diligence and zeal. Majesty's edict, your sovereigns can answer this with a clear conscience, and assert that before and after the imperial edict, your sovereigns have shown obedience to the Roman church and the apostolic see in everything with the greatest diligence and zeal, and have also earnestly enjoined and commanded their subjects to do and keep the same; for this reason they have also endured much persecution, and have incurred the scorn and ridicule of almost all men. Nevertheless, her daughter had little regard for such ill-minded ridicule and blasphemy, and held that all that the catholic, holy, Christian, and Roman church ordered and decreed must be observed with earnestness and kept above it, as had been held for so long a time, and had been in godly and praiseworthy use, and her daughter had received and handed down, as it were, from hand to hand, from her ancestors. - (6) She had kept and done all this the more diligently mainly because her imperial family had been the first to keep it.
Majesty, by a public edict issued at the Diet of Worms, commanded and enjoined all to observe the same; to which also her sovereigns do not in the slightest degree contravene, but wish to maintain the old laudable order and manner instituted in the church, together with Imperial Majesty's command, until such time as the Catholic and Christian Church, and its united concilio (or spiritual assembly), and her Imperial Majesty's order, are in harmony. Majesty's command, until the Catholic and Christian Church, and its unanimous Concilio (or spiritual assembly), and Her Imperial Majesty, have done something better here. Majesty, something better would be agreed upon and taught in this matter.

(7) Concerning the matter of abuses, their rulers may answer that it may happen that in the Catholic Church some abuses are found among the ecclesiastical and temporal princes; but why their rulers cannot present them written in a Latin and German script, these are the causes, because until now they have not perceived much of the kind in their territories and dominions; moreover, their rulers cannot present them in a Latin and German script. But the reason why she could not hand over and present her letters written in a Latin and German script would be that up to the present time she has not perceived much of the kind in her territories and dominions; especially since from her youth her letters have not been inclined to change or innovate anything in the spiritual and secular state. Should it be admitted, however, that some abuses have crept into the church, they would certainly be written down and handed over by those who had already separated themselves from the church. Maj. would gladly do everything that could be reasonably done and indicated, so that by a general concilium (or church assembly) the abuses would be corrected and abolished from the church in every possible way.

953 Speech of the Papal Legate, Laurentius Campegius, to the Estates of the Empire, June 24, 1530.

From Cölestin, Vol. I, p. 124. - The time given by us is according to the information of Justus Jonas in the 957th Documente. Walch has the 20th of June.

Translated from the Latin by Lt. A. Tittel.

(1) If, Emperor Carl, most Christian King Ferdinand, and you other noble, great princes, of what rank, dignities, and honors you are, the matter of which I am about to speak were mine, and not yours; if it were something peculiar, and not something common; if it concerned the welfare of only one, and not of all: then I should like to fear that Their Majesties and Their Serene Highnesses, if I spoke of it, would not speak of it according to dignities, but only to a few,

...might not well hear me after all. But I must not worry about such things, since, as you know, necessity forces me to speak of important matters. For the miserable evil that gives rise to so much dissension, discord, and enmity, and opens doors and gates wider and wider, continues to eat away at me. I am also not allowed to expound at length in many words what is before everyone's eyes and greatly offends the minds of many godly people, lest I seem to tear open again the wounds that I really want to heal.

(2) For the Christian religion has been brought so far down by the presumption of wicked men, that from the first beginning of our salvation it has never suffered so great distress, and the little ship of Peter, in any place, has never been driven about by so many stormy sects, as we see at this most distressed and miserable time. All of which comes from nowhere else, and has come to such a pass, than because we have forgotten the commandments of Christ, and have forsaken the true way to obtain unity in the church. For he himself, when he prays fervently to his Father, includes not only those whose faith has already been proved, but also those whose still doubtful minds would afterwards believe in him, so that in this way they would all become one, as he in the Father, and the Father in him. To which commandment it is also very true that, when he wished to propitiate the eternal Father for the sin of the whole world, and to depart from this life, he last of all commands his disciples that they should love one another, and that every one would know by such love that they were his disciples. But this is not only evident from what we have already said, and which is proved by the testimonies of Scripture; but we have also other passages of Scripture, from which it may be seen and perceived that Christ had nothing more often in his mouth, and more often and more diligently urged in the ears of his disciples, than cordial love and goodwill towards one another.

003 Paul also, the chosen vessel, taught that love should be preferred to all other virtues, because it is the bond of perfection to love one's neighbor as oneself, and because it is the fulfillment of the law, and that those who do not practice love depart from the true way, and fall into vain babblings, and become as a tinkling bell unfit for all good works.

(4) If we now, dear Emperor Carl, most Christian King Ferdinand, and you other sovereign princes, remembering these commandments, keep them right

If they had had their eyes open and considered them with devotion, there would not have arisen and taken root in the church so many disputes and corruptions (errors), so terrible disorders of horrible opinions, so impudent propositions and strange doctrines, nor so dangerous errors and confusions. But as in worldly government, when some forsake the laws of authority and choose and forge new statutes for themselves, they not only disturb and destroy the common society of the world, but also introduce a terribly wild life and disorder into the commonwealth: So also reckless minds make their dreams, rather than the sayings of the divine word, which they put on the page, their rule, and therefore bring unruly and unpleasant miraculous things (crickets) on the track, and in the church of the same burden godly members and the grafters incorporated with Christ to approve and accept them. Which, unfortunately, some in our time have also been tempted to do, and have brought it about that the love of Christians and common goodness have been abandoned, and the worst enmity has been wrought over it.

005 And this change of doctrine and ceremonies hath not only remained in the church, which it hath miserably rent, but hath also attacked the temporal government, and therein hath raged horribly. For, as it has brought into the latter ungodly doctrines and mad opinions, so it has brought into the former dreadful, miserable, and grim wars and abominable defeats and bloodshed, by which both have been almost entirely reversed and brought to ruin, and the beautiful, highly praised Germany has been so ruined that scarcely a shadow of the flourishing prosperity is to be seen where it was a few years ago.

(6) Some Roman popes have endeavored to help this lamentation and decayed condition, but on no occasion, by no entreaties and entreaties, nor by any legations to the imperial diets in Germany, have they been able to bring about and obtain that these religious dissensions be abolished, the wounded church be healed, and peace and harmony be restored among her teachers. Whose fruitless and futile efforts were not hidden from Clement, of that name the seventh Roman pope and most vigilant shepherd; but he nevertheless, that he might not appear to have left anything undone, or not to have observed his duty in all things, has commanded me, his legate, this office, that with Your Majesties and Serene Highnesses, who are assembled in this magnificent assembly, I shall be present at the first session of the Holy See.

and to diligently exhort them to do everything that can promote peace and harmony, and also to restore, heal, and improve with counsel and action the state of the church, which has fallen into decay and has been almost completely shattered and shattered.

(7) For since the invincible Emperor Charles V ordered this Imperial Diet as a forerunner, so that the dangerous and outdated disease would be countered and controlled with a healing remedy, Clement VII, Pope, has also created the good hope that many would recognize the error and turn back to the dear Mother, the Roman Church, Clement VII, Pope, has also entertained the good hope that many would recognize and abandon the error and turn back to their dear mother, the Roman Church, so that in this way such grievous and dangerous disagreements would be tolerated and the old peace and harmony, which so many pious people have so long heartily desired and longed for, would be restored. For if these heresies remain in the church and continue to spread, and if the enemies of public tranquility are not eradicated, neither will the church be freed from error, nor will it be possible to administer and govern the commonwealth properly.

(8) Which, since Your Majesty and Serene Highnesses, the most invincible Emperor, the most Christian King, and the rest of you Sovereign Princes, are well aware of it, they also see at the same time what a godly and holy business and what a heavy burden we all bear, and what important things rest on our deliberations. and other sovereign princes, they also see at the same time what a godly and holy business, and what a heavy burden we all have upon us, and what important things rest on our deliberations; which, if they be not made up, that we may support the Church's tottering and decrepit state by our reputation, and severely punish the heretics and disturbers of the common tranquillity, we may boldly believe will come to nothing but the utmost confusion of the whole Church, of all wisely ordered commonwealths, complete disruption, of divine and human things, horrible confusion, and that finally the wild and cruel boys will come upon the pious members of Christ, and that nothing at all human will remain on earth. But if we strive in time to prevent such great evils, to quiet the dissension of the church, to break the course of quarrels, and to reconcile the minds; if we endeavor to restore public peace and harmony, and then also to maintain them, the salvation and prosperity of the church will remain unchanged, that we may accomplish our course of life on earth and among men without error, live quietly and honorably, and finally please all righteous people therein.

009 Therefore, since this is so, I beseech Your Majesty and Your Highness for the sake of eternal blessedness, which we have obtained through the intercession and the

If you wish to attain the mediatorial office of our Lord Jesus Christ after this mortal and miserable life, faithfully and brotherly, that you may work in that which serves for unification and common peace in such a manner as befits wise men who have been chosen for such important trade and treaty. And that this may happen the sooner, the heresies be eradicated, and the minds be united, it must be the first and foremost care and endeavor of the noble princes, princes, and other imperial estates to be obedient to the most invincible emperor and to follow him in everything that her majesty will deem good and order in the matter of religion and the articles of the Christian faith. And we believe that it is known and clear to all what great effort and care she has taken so far to restore, establish and maintain the salvation, peace, tranquility, harmony and former prosperity of the church and the common people, to such an extent that her reputation, fame and honor cannot be called into question, mocked or insulted by any man's malice or malicious gossip. For she has at most always made it her business to prefer the common good to the special or her own, to promote and extend the salvation of the church and of the commonwealth, and then to arrange all her actions and deeds not for the benefit of a few who do not understand or judge anything right, but for the benefit of all righteous and intelligent people, and especially for the benefit of the great God who examines hearts and kidneys. And that this is so, no one will doubt or deny who knows to some extent about their diligence, godliness, and efforts to put aside disagreements and to advise the common good. But it would be too long to speak of the glorious virtues of the most blessed emperor in particular, which, because they are so well known and praised everywhere that they do not need foreign words, and the most invincible emperor is so modest and chaste that he does not like to hear such things praised and extolled in his presence, so I will pass over the others, which could otherwise be heard here, with all diligence.

(10) Since now, you German princes, these benefits of Imperial Majesty come upon you, and these great services of the most invincible Emperor for you are well known, I have no doubt that such gratitude will be found in your minds. Majesty come upon you, and these great services of the most invincible Emperor to you are well known, I have no doubt that such gratitude will be found in your minds that you will not only praise and extol the benefits you have received, but also live obediently and compliantly to Imperial Majesty in everything. Majesty in everything willingly obedient and compliant. So then, noble princes, take pains that you present the person you have chosen, and the person you have chosen, and the person you have chosen, and the person you have chosen.

I promise you that you will administer and do the office commanded to you by God in such a way that you will have God alone before your eyes, so that all and everyone will recognize, as in the clear day, that you have taken the best possible care of the holy Catholic and Roman Church (which has always called you its children) and of the common peace and unity. I, in turn, promise all diligence, zeal, and due care to do and maintain everything that the pope can grant and do for the preservation of the holy church's communion and welfare, as well as common peace and tranquility, without offending his conscience.

(11) Having said this, concerning the abolition of error and the healing of the wounds of the church, I now turn to you, ye German princes, to speak also of the other and most necessary part. If I had such eloquence that your minds would be awakened and moved to believe that I have spoken nothing fictitious or false, but the truth, I would consider myself most happy, and believe completely that things would be better for Christendom in the future.

12. But here let it be far from me to think you so imprudent and heedless, or so simple-minded and ignorant, that you do not know that hitherto not once, but many times, the immortal God's temples, dwellings, houses, altars, flocks, the graves of the ancestors, laws, freedom, wives, children, friends, and the dear fatherland itself were in extreme danger, and that your and the whole empire's rights, by the cruel Turkish tyrant's victories, were violated in the corpses of Christians, so that your fields stood flooded with pious but miserably murdered people's blood, and he drove away many thousands of people into the gruesome servitude. This miserable defeat of the Christians will hopefully move, sadden, grieve, and torment you all the more, the more generous and noble-minded you are by nature, and have much more mercy and compassion than they do.

(13) Consider, therefore, you noble princes of Germany, what a miserable and sad state all the German peoples have fallen into at the hands of the cruel Turkish tyrant, and let the great danger that hangs over all our heads move you to earnestly defend the freedom and welfare of our common fatherland, and consider it better and more praiseworthy to die with glorious glory than to suffer shameful servitude and take upon yourselves all ignominy. For that the cruel despot has nothing else in mind and will,

than that he overpowers all Christians, makes them miserable slaves and even destroys them, is clear enough from this: because he does not desist from the old hatred and fury which he harbors against Christians, but increases in it day by day, and usurps more territories, kingdoms, and dominions, with all Christians' harm and shame, increasing and spreading the borders of his kingdom, taking away much from us, but losing little himself, meanwhile, as we ourselves war among ourselves, and think not that so cruel, fierce, and reprobate a nation can sooner be overcome and overpowered, than when we ourselves first by dreadful wars, inward enmities, and miserable combats, are all weakened, executed, and worn out. And that this is so, no one who still has an honest heart will deny; to the extent that many do not at all shy away from the flames, fire, and destruction of the fatherland, that they also help to do this and help to increase it, so that they again arouse and inflame the evil that has already half been quenched, and consider war to be beneficial, but peace to be harmful.

(14) Thus Germany, which is torn and divided into so many disunited and hostile parts, gives the savage enemy a desired opportunity to attack us with war, and not only to clear away the necessities of life, but also to seek our lives and goods. For what violence he uses, what murder, scorching, burning, robbing, plundering, and other inhuman things he commits, has long been known and heard enough. And since your mind trembles at such tales, your ears ring, your skin shivers, and your whole body freezes: who then should not wake up, and take care of the common welfare of all Christians, repel the violence and injustice inflicted, and protect the dear fatherland from such tyranny and supreme cruelty of such a barbarian enemy, and keep above the old honor and our honest name?

Fifteen: O we indolent and slothful people! O we careless, rash, and insensible! O we hard and rock-hearted people! He does us such harm, takes away so many cities and towns, threatens us with such murder, slavery, war and misery (expulsion); but we do not allow ourselves to be challenged by such danger, sit and watch our misery idly, and, to protect our well-being, will not dare to be at one with the fierce enemy.

016 Can it not be concluded and perceived from all such circumstances, that it shall soon come to pass, that we shall all be brought under such a tyrant's yoke, our children, the dearest pawns, from our

eyes be cut as it were for pleasure, and our wives and daughters be forced to surrender and submit their tender bodies to the cruelest enemy of beastly lust, as shameful dung-houses? Now that this danger is at hand, what longer shall we sleep and tarry? Who then has so blinded and hardened our minds and eyes that we cannot understand or see such great and common evils? What kind of drowsiness and dizziness has made us so deafened and taken in, that we do not wake up, even though we hear such terrible things? What unmerciful and hard heart do we have, that it cannot be moved by so great a danger and need of the fatherland and of all Christians?

17. For that we must not be lukewarm and slow, or sluggish and foolish, in our present time and in this matter, we have highly important reasons, since all the shameful and cruel misdeeds and villainies, which the same arch-enemy and scanty persecutor of Christians has perpetrated on others, will soon affect us or our descendants, which the same arch-enemy and scanty persecutor of the Christians has perpetrated on others, will also soon strike and afflict us or our descendants, and how they will not only hear from afar, as now, which is not so miserable, but will even have to see and experience with these eyes of ours. Every one who does not want to be completely blind and foolish must see and grasp the misery and misery, even the shame and dishonor, that will result for us.

(18) If, then, your minds still have something human about them; if your love for your fatherland (for which everyone must be willing to die) is not entirely extinguished; if the welfare of your wives and children and friends is dear to you, wake up, you classes, wake up! let the sad and restless quarrels go! Put an end to the dangerous disagreements, and put your minds, necks, and shoulders together, so that you may put an end to the danger and harm that is hovering over you, if you do not repel and turn it away in time with all your might, diligence, and prudence, and chase the wild and cruel enemy out of Germany, so that he may not first exterminate all Christians, lest he first exterminate all Christians, and noble and highly renowned Germany, the noblest seat of all godliness and learning, when the Christians have been slain, and all estates and orders removed, become a castle or fortress of Mahometan blasphemy, and a den of Turkish murderers (robbers); and that this delay and procrastination, in raising and waging the Turkish war, is not only a disgrace to you, but also the greatest harm and ruin. For if the cruel

If such a powerful, cruel, wicked, lecherous, avaricious, lecherous and cruel enemy is not subdued and chased out of Germany by the common council and combined power of the Germans: what will be left for us to wait for but imprisonment, flight, murder, strangulation, devastation, and all other misery and woe? With what eyes, however, will we be able to look upon such bloody victories of the defiant enemy, and where will it finally end with its insatiable lust, will and desire to devour and ruin everything?

019 For ye must not in the least think that, being already famous by so many victories, and laden with spoils, he will henceforth abate his hatred against the Christians, or be satisfied with his kingdoms; but rather, as an unhappy rumour! rather, as an all too certain rumour goes, out of an immense eagerness to extend and enlarge his empire, he will first of all invade the Pannonian (Hungarian) borders with a mighty army, and thence into Germany, and also attack and devastate other nations in fury and rage. For the way is now open to him, now that Ofen and Belgrade, the strongest cities of the same country, have been conquered and captured, and because the Christian princes are at war among themselves, there is no one who can resist his insolence, resist his fierce attack, or let himself lament for the holy church and the common fatherland's welfare. Accordingly, I ask you, German princes, for the sake of God, that you once become witty, not only through the harm of others, as wise men usually do, but through your own, and that you draw the sword, so that you may stab and strangle yourselves among yourselves for so long, against the cruelest enemies; the mighty power, that ye may destroy Germany, use it against the fiercest fury, and the counsel, that ye may rage against yourselves and your inmost parts, turn to the destruction of the Turks and the recovery of yours.

20. O iron and inhumane people, if you will not be moved here! O nefarious and wicked people, if you will not fight and wield the sword for the glory of God! O foolish and imprudent people, if you do not respect the danger ahead! O loveless and cruel ones, if you do not take the murder of children, wives and friends to heart! For what can keep you from such a necessary war and such a holy undertaking, I do not see, since the enemies, with whom you are to war and fight, are soft.

They are accustomed to dancing, but you are accustomed to arms and weapons; they are unclothed by all things and inexperienced in the art of war, but you are incomparable in the bravery of soldiers and the experience of commanders; they wage unjust wars, but you seek to defend yourselves against injustice; They wage war out of hatred against God, but you seek to save and avenge the honor of God from the shame of such a great enemy; they call upon the Mahomet, their lying prophet, for help and assistance, but you seek protection and help from the power and hand of our Savior Jesus. Now if the matter itself did not exist, whose condition was better and the cause of the war more just, I would endeavor to lay it before you with many and clear reasons and words and to prove it. But now that I think I have spoken enough about the reasons why it is necessary to take up arms and wage war, I must also say by what help it might be easier to start it and wage it better.

021 First of all, ye have on your side the invincible and most mighty commander, who can drive out the strongest army with a wave of his hand, conquer and overthrow the strongest castles without artillery, overthrow the highest towers from the foundation, and without sword and helmet fight valiantly and gain the victory. If you ask who he is, I say: God, who, being angered by so great and many disgraces of our Lord Jesus Christ, will not only save the honor of his name, but will also protect the righteous cause. And he that believeth not these things must be a beast, and not a Christian, but a Turk; not a pious man, but a denier of God.

022 Therefore lift up your minds unto him; put your trust and hope in him. With him let your salvation, welfare, honor, and triumph stand or fall! He will equip you and your peoples with the spirit of joy; he will give you good and useful counsel; he will adjust your battle orders, give you courage, send you provisions (or food) even from heaven, and provide all other necessities, if only you will bravely and joyfully save his majesty and name from the dreadful enemy's highest shame and blasphemy.

023 And if ye also look about for help of men, and ask counsel thereunto, here also am I done with the answer. For all Christian kings, even foreign ones, will help you.
and princes will not arise to their aid. The Swiss, a brave and in war well-tried and famous people, will make themselves known; the French, English, Dutch will help; the Bohemians, Hungarians, Poles will bring their power here and with united spirit and weapons break the enemy's undertakings, chase the enemy away and come back triumphant full of plunder. Even Clement, the pope and most vigilant shepherd, has decided to spare no expense for such a godly, just and necessary war; that I say nothing of so many free imperial cities, whose united power would also be almost alone capable of stopping or driving away this terrible enemy's power. Nor should you doubt that you will win the victory and the spoils, as often as you look at so many princes and heroes, all of whom are so splendid in youth and physique and strength. For their name and fame are so glorious, their stature and strength so great and important, that whoever looks at them easily calculates that the Turks are not only not to be greatly feared, but that one can also expect a certain victory.

024 For ye also have the most experienced captains of war; ye have a fresh and strong people; ye are not only superior to your enemies, but much more valiant; ye defend a more just cause than they; ye make war with authority; ye fight out of necessity, and have an abundance of the expenses of war, and of all the appurtenances thereof. What then could be the reason or cause why so useful, necessary, praiseworthy, godly, and honest a war should not be waged?

025 Why would ye open your mouths, and hear all this as it were in a deaf ear? Why should your minds not be moved by the adduction of such great things and miserable murderous games? Why would you not avenge yourselves on so fierce, ignominious, blasphemous, furious, and cruel an enemy? Ah! you German princes, a people otherwise so feared and powerful, will you now be lazy and indolent, since your virtue and bravery were before not only known to all foreign nations, but also terrible? Will you now be deaf and implacable, since your love and compassion for your fatherland have already been proved by so many trials? will you be so slow and tardy in averting your own danger and inflicted suffering, which you were otherwise so ready and swift not only to avert but also to avenge on foreign nations?

026 Wherefore now also let your courage be even from

and such harmful delay be done away with. Seize the righteous weapons at once; chase the enemy out of the common fatherland, and with united minds, after the abolition of all internal wars, assemble your power; Save and defend your fatherland, cities, towns, villages, villages, castles, houses and farms, freedom, women and children with your old courage and former zeal from the fury and rage of such a great enemy, so that you escape a wretched, miserable life, a miserable slavery, the disgrace and shame of women and children, the devastation of the fields, the desolation and destruction of the cities, yes, murder and death. For if you let the Turkish armies advance further; if you do not keep the tyrannical undertakings, nor drive back the hostile force, then it is not first to be asked how it will go for you, but only to see where any hole is left for you.

27. Now that there is such urgent and great need as has never been experienced before, and that you have been sufficiently torn apart by internal wars and pranks, and that you have come to such a pass through all too long and persistent disunity that not only the Germans but also the foreign peoples have begun to fear violence and tyranny on the part of the Turks, it is your duty, since you are the cause of such evils, to seek to restrain them: It is your duty that, since you are the cause of such evils, you also seek to dampen and avert them; that, since you have inflicted such dangerous wounds on the church and the state, you also heal and bind them up again; since you have thus divided and wrecked the condition of the common fatherland and the church, you now, through unanimous counsel and action, also straighten it out, set it right, and make it firm.

028 If ye do this, ye shall be esteemed prudent and careful; but if not, mad and foolish. If you do it, you will be praised for your care and prudence, but if not, you will be scolded for your carelessness and imprudence. If you do, you will help the common fatherland, increase the majesty and sovereignty of the Roman Empire, and restore the common harmony, but if not, you will completely destroy the rest of Germany's fortune, and shamefully lose the Roman Empire, which your bravery acquired and won, and fill everything with discord and disunity among each other.

029 Therefore, because such terrible evils of war and bloodshed and other mischiefs are hanging over your heads, and common peace and harmony have never been more necessary than now among the German princes, both the Christian religion and the Christian religion.

than to drive out the fierce enemy and restrain his violence and cruel deeds: I beg and exhort, through the death of our Saviour and Redeemer, for your and your fatherland's welfare and salvation, from the bottom of my heart, that you put away your errors, give Christ your suffering, injustice and enmity, unite your minds, and preserve and increase the common peace, the goods and ornaments of the Almighty God, and the glory of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, from Turkish disgrace and blasphemous filth, to defend the freedom of the common fatherland, to extend the Roman Empire, and to spread the glory of your name, to direct all your counsel, all your thoughts, thoughts and deeds, so that you adorn Germany with victory and booty, and tear and save us all from the miserable misery, murder and common danger.

(30) Which Pope Clement, successor of Peter and most vigilant shepherd, bestows and desires his apostolic greeting and blessing on all who go to this war.

May God, the author and governor of all salutary counsels and deeds, rule and guide your minds in such a way that whatever you undertake and conclude at this Diet may be to the glory of His name, to the unity of the Church, and to the peace and tranquility of the common people. Amen.

954 The answer given by the archbishop of Mainz on behalf of the estates to the speech of Cardinal Campegius.

From Cölestin, vol. I, p. 131.

Translated into German by Lt. A. Tittel.

Most Reverend Sir! The unconquerable Emperor Carl, always Major of the Empire, the most noble King in Hungary and Bohemia, Ferdinandus, the most noble Princes and Princes present here, and the absent envoys, and all the estates of the Holy Roman Empire, have devoutly heard and diligently heeded your emphatic, godly, Christian and at these times especially necessary speech.

And since the unconquerable Emperor knows that he, as the supreme bailiff of the Church and the highest ruler of common Christendom on earth, is set and given by God, he also considers it his duty to try and do everything that may lead to the abolition of the disunity of the Church, to the settling of the disputes of the teachers, and to the rebuilding of the Church.

to serve and to serve for the restoration of the former peace.

And since he has experienced the devilish fury and the cruel Turkish rage of Wolfsgrimm for so many years with the greatest sorrow, he also believes that the greatest need requires that from now on all power and all wealth in gold and silver be used for war against the Turk, so that the danger that hangs over the Germans and the wounds that can affect German blood may be averted and prevented, and that the same savage enemy may be snatched from the Roman Empire, conquered again and taken from it.

To whose Majesty the most illustrious King in Hungary and Bohemia, Ferdinand, and others of the Roman Empire, the Princes, Counts and Estates, as assistants to their care and trouble, faithfully accede. princes, counts, prelates, and estates, as assistants to their care and toil, faithfully accede, willingly take upon themselves all labor and trouble, bear the costs that come to them, and, in case of need, give all the property of their kingdoms and countries, yea, to the protection and preservation of the Christian religion, and to the expulsion of the cruel despot from the borders of the empire, and will so show themselves in all things, that their counsels and deeds will first of all be acceptable to the most high God, and then also to our most holy father, Pope Clement VII., Shepherd of Christ's sheep and successor of Peter, and they will also do before men what their duty and office entails.

955 Report of the Elector John to Luther about the reading of the Confession, which was made difficult at first, but was finally approved.

See 946th Document, supra.

956 D. Luther's answer to the Elector, in which he testifies to his great joy at the reading. July 9, 1530.

As Burkhardt, p. 180 states, the original of this letter is in the Weimar archives; as De Wette says, also a simultaneous copy. The same is printed in Flacius' German collection, no. 3. In the editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 420 (wrong 402); in the Jenaer (1566), vol. V, p. 94; in the Altenburger, vol. V, p. 220; in the Leipziger, vol. XX, p. 176; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 82, and in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 169. - It is obvious that this letter cannot be the answer to the 946th document of June 25, given by Walch in the previous number, since Luther says at the very beginning of this letter that he is answering the Churfursten's letter of July 4.

I. Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Most Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I received E. C. F. G.'s letter, given on July 4, today on July 9, and was pleased to hear that E. C. F. G.'s thoughts have been alleviated. For God knows that I do not write such letters to E. C. F. G. for any other reason than that I am concerned that Satan (who is a master of evil thoughts) would grieve E. C. F. G.. Otherwise I know and respect that our Lord Christ Himself comforts E. C. F. G.'s heart better than I or anyone else can.

(2) The work also exists, and bears witness to it; for the adversaries think they have almost done well, that they have forbidden preaching by imperial commandment; but the wretched people do not see that by the written confession more is preached than perhaps otherwise ten preachers might have done. On the other hand, the wretched people do not see that more has been preached through the written confession than ten preachers might otherwise have done. Is it not a fine wisdom and a great joke that M. Eisleben and others must keep silent; but instead the Elector of Saxony and other princes and lords appear with the written confession, and preach freely before the imperial majesty and the whole empire under their noses, so that they must hear it and cannot speak against it. They do not want to let their servants listen to the preachers; but they themselves must hear nuisances (as they call them) from such great lords, and fall silent. Christ is not silent at the Diet, and if they should be mad, they must hear more from the confession than they would have heard from the preachers in a year. So it is that St. Paul says that God's word wants to be unbound. If it is forbidden in the pulpit, it must be heard in the palaces. If poor preachers must not speak it, then great princes and lords speak it. When all is silent, the stones will cry out," says Christ himself.

(3) As to the other matter, however, which E. C. F. G. may request of me, I will humbly state my opinion. Firstly: If Your Imperial Majesty would request that Your Imperial Majesty be allowed to be judge in this matter because

1) So in the original according to Burkhardt. De Wette: broken; Wittenberger and Jenaer: smelled.

Her Imperial Majesty Majesty does not intend to dispute much in this matter: I think that E. C. F. G. could indicate that Imperial Majesty is bringing a letter of invitation to the court. Majesty brings with him a writ of summons to hear the matters graciously. Where this should not happen, however, such a writ would have been without necessity, and Imperial Majesty would also have been able to bring such a judgement within the limits of the law. Majesty might well have done such judging in Hispania, and E. C. F. G. should not have demanded with such heavy trouble and expense to Augsburg, and may also spare other imperial states the same. For where no more could have been obtained nor hoped for, such a reply from Imperial Majesty's postmen would have been of no avail. Majesty's postmen could have delivered such a reply. It would, however, be a great pity for His Imperial Majesty and the whole Majesty and the whole Empire a great disgrace and perhaps great annoyance and trouble, where Imperial Majesty's unheard matter is bad. Majesty wanted to take a bad approach to the matter and be the judge, and not give any other answer. For of course such wise counsel is no one's, but E. C. F. G.'s dear friend N. N.; it is certainly not the Emperor, as everyone will and must say.

4. secondly: Where Kaiserl. Majesty (that is N. N.) wanted to insist that one should let her Imperial Majesty be a judge in this matter, E. C. F. G. can say with all joy: Yes. Majesty be the judge in this matter, E. C. F. G. can say with all joy: Yes, let Imperial Majesty be the judge in this matter, and E. C. F. G. can say with all joy: Yes, let Imperial Majesty be the judge in this matter. Majesty be judge here, and E. C. F. G. will accept and suffer everything, so far and except, that his Imperial Majesty will not be against the light. Majesty does not judge against the Holy Scriptures or the Word of God. For E. C. F. G. cannot set the Emperor above God, nor accept his judgment against God's Word. With this, Imperial Majesty is honored enough. Majesty, because nothing, for only God, who should and must be above all, is preferred to His Imperial Majesty. Majesty.

(5) Thirdly, whether they would claim that one wanted to disgrace imperial majesty herewith, as one would consider her inclined to do against God. Majesty, as one would consider her inclined to do against God, but should believe that Imperial Majesty, as a Christian prince, would not conclude or judge contrary to the divine word. Majesty, as a Christian prince, would not conclude or judge contrary to the divine word 2c. (as they also reproached me at Worms, in the same way as now E. C. F. G.): to this E. C. F. G. will well know how to answer, namely, that God has harshly forbidden trusting in princes and men, as the 118th sV. 8th] and 146th Psalm sV. 3rd] says: should eoulläere in prineipidus. Yea, even that

The first commandment of God suffers not, because he saith, Thou shalt not have other gods. "If the word of their own mouth is right, and if they are Christian princes, they cannot prove it better than that they judge and speak with and according to the word of Christ: Thus saith Christ 2c.

006 But if they judge without scripture, or if they would that their judgment should be accepted without scripture, their own mouth punisheth them, that they would be Christian princes without and apart from Christ: which is worse than to be a lord without land, rich without money, learned without arts: but it is called lusipientiaipsorumingniksstutit.

7) E. C. F. G. be of good cheer. Christ is here, and will again confess E. C. F. G. before his 1) Father, as E. C. F. G. now confess him before this wicked generation, as he saith, "Whoso honoureth me, him will I honour again" [1 Sam. 2, 30.]. The same Lord that began it will bring it forth, amen. I pray for E. C. F. G. with diligence and earnestness; could I do more, I owe it. God's grace be, as before, and multiply in E. C. F. G., Amen. On Saturday, July 9, 1530.

E. C. F. G.

blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

957 Letter of D. Justus Jonas to Luther. June 25, 1530.

From Cölestin, vol. I, p. 135.

Translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace from God in Christ! Her Imperial Maj. Maj. has postponed and forbidden the sermons here in both parts, since it was discussed for almost two days that against the imperial prohibition no action should be taken. The two parts of the city have been postponed, since it was discussed for almost two days that no action should be taken against the imperial ban, but that this should be borne in patience and that Her Imperial Maj. Maj.'s command, especially here in the imperial free imperial city, especially since not only we, but also the papists and sacramentarians, who have had the upper hand here up to now, have been forbidden to preach for the sake of peace, until the matter has been investigated. In the meantime, however, on Sundays

1) De Wette and the Erlanger: "for his father".

The Gospel text, without explanation, together with the epistles of Paul, is read to the people on these days; as Mr. Philip has already written to you about this matter, and I have also already done in my letters.

Yesterday [June 24] 1) the Emperor met with the princes and estates of the empire in the town hall, and heard Cardinal Campegium speak; although his speech was not very long. He exhorted the Germans to peace, and that one should fight against the Turks. Against the Lutherans he said nothing adverse or sensitive. Almost at the same time, an envoy arrived from the Austrians, or from the estates of this empire, who, because of the terrible harassment of the Turks, made pitiful complaints about how they, along with all their possessions, wives and children, were already for the fifth time in extreme danger of their lives. Their instructions were read out as King Ferdinand sat in attendance. This day was also appointed for our princes, so that they might bring in the articles of their confession on the same day, and they signed such: our Elector, the young Prince, then Margrave George, Duke Ernst of Lüneburg, the Prince of Hesse, the Prince and Lord of Anhalt, the Council of Nuremberg, and the Council of Reutlingen. The Landgrave mainly insisted that one should be able to make a statement before Her Imperial Majesty and the imperial estates. Maj. and the imperial estates that the articles be read aloud loud and clear. King Ferdinand, however, in the midst of the session, soon had this, soon that, which he brought out of the way and blew into the ears of the others, and did not rest until he hindered the reading on this day.

(3) But today at 2 o'clock, since the assembly will not be too strong, our articles shall be read out before several princes, although in the imperial chamber. Our articles are to be read out before several princes.

(4) We still hope that if her Imperial Majesty will graciously investigate the matter. I say, we still hope that you, dearest father, shall be called hither by a herald. I cannot tell how many speeches of carnal prudence will be made, as if you will not be safe from secret persecution and violence; but since God has done great wonders before, we will not let our courage sink even now. Although I myself would not like that you should be in

1) After this we have given the time determination of No. 953.

you want to make such a heavy thing suffer and start the dangerous journey. But the Lord will govern all things. There are six cardinals here, also many theologians and Spanish bishops. The Cardinal and Bishop of Trent and Salzburg, the Cardinal of Mainz, the Bishop and Cardinal of Rossano, the Pope's envoy to King Ferdinand; they are all daily in the Emperor's palace, and besides these there is a whole swarm of priests, who stand around their Majesty like bees, and are daily taken up with a new hatred against us and you, and burn no other than the fire in the thorns.

(5) How has your prophetic book, which is a very holy book, been received, I have written to you? But dear God! what is the use of writing, if we poor have the misfortune with our letters that none are handed down. I would gladly see you write to Philip more often; the man is afflicted with a strange sadness, and especially because of the common cause. I have to remember that he takes the Psalm and does not speak to God in his own words but in David's words in such an important matter. But he lets himself be carried away by his affect. The Lord knows, I must confess, that I consider myself bound to you with my life for your psalm, for I have nothing at all to support me in my manifold struggle, but your catechism, of which you tell me that I can find my God at home in it. The golden psalms, thanks be to the Lord Christ! I understand, and the blind adversaries know nothing of them; that one must have more compassion for them than they hate. Ah God! who could give thanks heartily. How much richer is Argula von Staufen than all the bishops who do not know God, and of whom God does not know either.

(6) I beg and implore through Christ that you will not let any opportunity to write to me pass. My heartfelt greetings to N. Veit, as well as to your dear wife, and likewise to your sons and daughters. May the Lord Christ grant, if it be his divine will in heaven, that I may see my own healthy and well, Amen. Given in Augsburg, June 25, on the Saturday after St. John, in the year 1530.

2) In a letter of June 12, which is reported in Kolde, Analecta, p. 126 ff. - By the "truly prophetic book" Luther's admonition to the clergy assembled at Augsburg is meant.

958. D. Martin Luther's Answer to the Letter of Just. Jonas. June 30, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in Ooü. leu. b., Lol. 128, and in Aurifaber, vol. ill. bl. 27. Printed in Oo6l68tinu8, Ilist. VnA. Oouf., torn. I, tot. 136 k; in Chyträus, p. 141; in lluckäeus, x>. 108 and at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 45 (with the incorrect date: 20 June). German in Chyträus, p. 239, and incomplete in Cyprian's Supplements to the Hist. of the Augsb. Conf., p. 176, of which Walch has given an imprint (without date). We have corrected the time according to Köstlin, M. Luther (3), Vol. II, p. 656. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ. At last your letters have come, 1) my dear Jonas, after you have plagued us for three full weeks with your silence, although I have written twice to M. Philip, 2) that you would not be so silent. And certainly, if the nature of the time lice had not hindered me, I would have devised a revenge. But the time of prayer did not permit anger, and anger did not cease to pray. But I have taken care to make you infamous everywhere because of this silence, especially in Wittenberg. Nor is it right for you to accuse the messengers; they have delivered [the letters] faithfully, especially the one hired by you. For from the time when this one delivered your letter, I have received nothing but this last one about the arrival and the entry of the emperor 3) and yesterday the one about your complaints. But this I will avenge in due time.

4) I am very glad and rejoice exceedingly over the exceedingly great gift of God, that our prince has such a steady and calm mind. For I believe that our prayers, which are poured out for this heart, are pleasing in the realm of glory before God, and I predict (*propheto*) that we will be heard in other things as well. 5) This joy of mine has been increased by the fact that our prince has such a steady and calm mind. This joy of mine has been increased in that I know that

1) June 29. Köstlin I. o. p. 655.
2) On June 5 and 7; De Wette, Vol. IV, 32 and 35.
3) The letter of Jonas of June 18 (Kolde, Anatecta, p. 134) was received by Luther on June 29. See No. 980 in this volume.
4) It is only here that Walch comes in.
5) De Wette: vos; Cyprian: nos.

You are very confident in the Lord against this raging of Satan. Philip is troubled by his philosophy and nothing else, for the matter is in the hand of him who may say in the most hopeful way: No man shall pluck it out of my hand [John 10:28.]. I would not, nor would it be advisable, that it should be in our hand. "I have had many of them in my hand, and have lost them all, not keeping One 6)." But the [things] which I have hitherto been able to cast out of my hands upon Him, I have them still intact and whole. For this is the truth [Ps.46:2.], "GOD is our confidence and strength." Who hath trusted in Him, and been forsaken? says the wise man, and again [Ps. 9:11.], "Thou trustest not them that seek Thee, O LORD."

Here I have become a new student of the holy ten commandments, since, becoming a child again, I learn them from word to word, and see that it is true that His wisdom is not a number, and have begun to judge that the ten commandments are the dialectic of the gospel, and the gospel the rhetoric of the ten commandments, and that Christ has all that is in Moses, but Moses does not have all that is in Christ, and I have called [them (the ten commandments)] by a new name. 7)... Thus they seem to me to be indefinite, but a very definite guide (ealouäarius) in all things.

With regard to the letters to be written to your wife, nothing has been omitted. For we also send all your letters immediately to Wittenberg, where they are awaited as it were by a thirsty country, and they write to us very frequently, so that I am ashamed on your account that you are surpassed by them in this service of love, whereas you ought to surpass them. The Elbe has leaked again, although there was no rain, but the greatest heat; so writes my mistress Käthe. 8)

6) So Walch after Cyprian. De Wette: "one"; in the Codices: "one".
7) Here is a gap in all sources. - It seems that the ten commandments (Ü66ulo^u8) are spoken of here (according to this our addition and the translation of the following).
8) The preceding, from the gap on, is missing in Walch. The same news of the Elbe's leaking is already in the letter of June 7 to Melanchthon, De Wette, vol. IV,. P. 35, almost in the same words.

I am glad that the Pope has been given a sign with the mule in childbirth, so that he may have something to show that he despises God even more and will perish all the more quickly. I cannot wonder enough about Ferdinand that he is so oblivious of the Turk, indeed, of the plight of his own. I, if so many people had been snatched from me and killed, would die in an hour, especially if my conscience had added that I had caused it through negligence. But I have never seen an ungodly man perish, except he were hardened and sure, that the truth might stand [1 Thess. 5:3.], "When they shall say, It is peace, and there is no danger. "2c. So shall it be with our bishops. For because there is no hope that they can be changed, I like to see them become obdurate and more angry, as they deserve. Let us only be bold in Christ. He liveth, and we also shall live, though we be dead; and the children and the wives of the dead shall he provide for. He reigneth, and we shall reign, yea, we reign already. If I shall be called, 1) I shall come without doubt, if Christ wills it, though I handle the thoughts that I desire to come also uncalled and uncalled. The grace of God be with you. From the desert, June 30, 2) 1530. Martin Luther.

959. extract from a manuscript of the chancellor Brück, which has the title: Plot of the Religious matter at Augsburg, 1530.

The manuscript of this writing is in the Weimar Archives, Ue.]. L., toi. 3. seckendorf, nist. Initü. , jid. II, x. 202 a already expresses the assumption that Brück is the author of this report. Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p.459, who had this writing printed in his "Archiv", p. 50, speaks of it as a certain thing. Therefore, we have changed the old superscription, as insufficient. Walch correctly notes that this writing is opposed to the report given in this volume, No. 1159. It is found in Müller's History of the Protestation of the Protestant Estates and in Cyprian's Supplements to the History of the Augsburg Confession, p. 105, from which it is included here.

1) This refers to No. 957, §4. This confirms our determination of the time of this letter, against Burkhardt, p. 177.

2) On De Wette the "20th of June".

(1) Because the five princes and sovereigns, 3) as indicated, were thus bound to deliver their opinions and articles, and in three days, as on Friday, their sovereigns and princes have ordered their preachers and scholars to do so. However, since it is feared that it will not be possible to finish and write the same in a pure and proper manner, so that they could be handed over and presented on Friday, it is intended to send to the Archchancellor of Mainz, as the Archchancellor of the Empire, and to ask his Electoral Grace to have the articles and opinions of the Archchancellor of Mainz read by the Archchancellor of Mainz. Grace that the surrender be extended by one day. However, the said of Mainz has given an answer to the skilful one of the five Electors and Princes: "If it is in the power and authority of his Electoral Grace to do so, it is in the power and authority of his Elector. If it were in his power and authority, he would gladly comply with their wishes; but since it had been presented to His Majesty, it would not be in his hands. Majesty, on the same Friday, as on the day of St. John the Baptist, had summoned the Papal Legate, Cardinal Campey. Cardinal Campegium after Vespers, and would then also await such transfer, it would be difficult to obtain a change from Her Majesty. Therefore, Her Electoral and Princely Grace have sent themselves. and princes have had to prepare themselves with the articles, as well as they could in such haste. And because the embassies of the cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen, have indicated to their sovereigns and princes the order of their lords. And because the embassies of the cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen, have indicated to their sovereigns and princes that they should settle the matters with their sovereigns, the same embassies have signed with and according to their sovereigns and princes. The same messages have been signed with and according to their sovereign and princely sovereigns.

2) And as the historian 4) further indicates that over certain four days, including the appointed Tuesday [June 21], the five Electors, Princes, and the two cities of the Imperial Majesty wanted to hand over their Christian articles and opinions in duplicate in Latin and German. Majesty their Christian articles and opinions in duplicate, in Latin and German, so it happened:

3) As the Imperial Majesty, the Cardinal Campegium. Majesty heard the Cardinal Campegium at three o'clock, after Vespers, after the Cardinal's ending, as Papal Legates, publicity and thereupon by Imperial Legates. Legates, advertisement, and thereupon by Imperial. Majesty's answer, after the Cardinal's departure, the five Prince Churfürst and Princes are to be removed from their

3) The "five Churfürst and Fürsten" are the five princely signers of the German Confession, which are given in the St. Louis edition of the Concordienbuch, p. 50; also in the next following number.

4) The unnamed papist author of Report No. 1159 in this volume.

They have assembled together with the two related cities in the opinion that they should present their confession and articles of faith in simplified form to the Catholic Majesty in the presence of the royal dignities of Hungary and Bohemia. Majesty, in the presence of the royal dignities of Hungary and Bohemia, and also of the other princes, princes and estates, to present their confession and articles of faith in twofold form.

4. Majesty has held talks with the King, and also with several Electors and Princes, and has ordered the Elector of Brandenburg to be their Elector and Prince. and the embassies of the cities, and have them notified: Her Majesty graciously requests that they be forgiven a little with their request. For her Majesty wished to hear the Austrian, Carniolan and Carinthian embassies, which wished to present their objections to her Majesty and Estates on account of the Turk. After that, her Majesty also wanted to hear her electoral and princely graces.

(5) The aforementioned five princes, rulers, and embassies of the two cities have allowed this to happen, and the aforementioned embassies, because of their burdensome duties, have gladly escaped.

006 Now that the same messages have been heard, and their departure therefrom obtained, the said electors, princes, and cities have caused them to be recited:

(7) After Her Imperial Majesty had appointed this Diet. 7. Since Her Imperial Majesty has appointed this Imperial Diet, among other things, because of the discord that has arisen in our holy religion, in such a way that every man's opinion, opinion, and opinion shall be graciously heard, and thereupon, at the beginning of the same Imperial Diet, in Her Majesty's lecture, has graciously agreed to submit such articles and opinions of every part, in Latin and German, in writings. And thereupon, at the beginning of the same Imperial Diet, at Her Majesty's lecture, it was graciously intended to submit such articles and opinions of each part in duplicate, in Latin and German, in writings, and it was also indicated to Her Majesty by the Committee of the Electors, Princes and Estates that the said five Electors and Princes would present and submit such their opinions, articles and opinions from today, Friday; and although the time was somewhat short for their electoral and princely graces, they would nevertheless have taken care, as much as was possible in a hurry, to bring their articles together in writing and in both languages. They have them all there in hand, and ask Imperial Majesty in all submissiveness. Majesty in all submission that they want to be free to hear them read together with royal dignitaries, princes, princes and estates. Afterwards they wanted to hand them over to their Majesty humbly, confident that the other Electors, Princes and Estates would now also present their opinions and views in the same way.

(8) It has been demanded, however, that Her Majesty hold council and discussion with several Electors, Princes, and embassies, and Her Majesty has given the five Electors, Princes, and the aforementioned! and the cities mentioned above: that Her Majesty has given her Electoral and Princely Grace and the confession of the cities. It is now almost late and in the evening, it would also be an unnecessary delay. For since the matters were written in documents, Her Majesty requested that the same documents be sent to her, as if Her Majesty wished to consider and consider them according to necessity.

(9) On the other hand, the five Electors and Princes have charged that their Majesty should graciously consider that they would so reluctantly burden their Majesty with unnecessary things as they could well consider that it would be inconvenient for their Majesty and other important business. But it would have this form, that her high and princely graces It would, however, be in such a form that her majesty's and prince's graces would have been carried out by her detractors on account of the faith, and what was pending in the matter, as they would have come to believe, with her majesty, as well as others in and outside of the realm, as also in days to come, as if they had such articles held for themselves and preached in their lands and territories, which should be contrary to God and his holy gospel. So that their majesty and all men who are present may hear that such an imposition is done to them for vain innocence:

(10) Their great and immeasurable need requires them to seek this from their Majesty humbly, and they would again ask their Majesty in all humility and for the sake of God not to be burdened to hear these articles together with the royal dignities and also the other princes, princes and estates; so it would also be the case with the writings that they would be gathered in haste and would be difficult to read, therefore the electoral and princely graces of their servants would have ordered one to read these articles as quickly as possible and not to delay their Majesty in particular. Therefore, the electoral and princely graces of their servants have ordered one to read these articles as quickly as possible and not to delay their majesty in particular.

(11) Thereupon Her Imperial Majesty again consulted with the Princes. 11. Her Imperial Majesty then spoke again with the Princes, as well as with several Princes and embassies, and almost renewed the previous opinion, and before that requested to hand over the writings to Her Majesty, who also wanted Her Majesty to read them and listen to them, as they heard Her Majesty now and this time, with the request that the same would not be meant for any disgrace to them.

012 Wherefore the five princes, sovereigns, and embassies of the cities have spoken again, saying, that out of loyalty they were high, that they would

If their Majesty should further request to hear their confession: now, however, they urge, for the above-mentioned reasons, in particular, that they could not spare their Majesty and other estates so great a burden, as they would otherwise gladly do; and if their Electoral and Princely Graces, even those of related cities, should ever have anything to ask of their Majesty, it would be just this, and that their Majesty would graciously grant them this request. And if their electoral and princely graces, also the related cities, ever had anything to petition their Majesty, it would be just this, and that their Majesty would graciously grant them in this.

(13) Thus also Her Imperial Majesty has hitherto Her Imperial Majesty has hitherto always abided by the gracious imperial will towards everyone. That her Imperial Majesty has not refused such a thing to anyone in much lesser and unimportant matters. Majesty had not refused anyone in many lesser and unimportant matters. These, however, are matters that are of concern to their sovereigns and princes. Their kinsmen's souls and oaths 1) were concerned.

(14) Their most imploring request and entreaty to Her Majesty would again be that Her Majesty would graciously hear their petition for God's sake. As they also wanted to put off this to her Majesty in all subservience without refusal. However, may it be their sovereign and princely graces and the messages of the cities. If, however, their electoral and princely graces and the embassies of the cities should not receive it from their Majesty, they would have to command it to the eternal God, but for their honor, necessity, and Christian glory, and to praise God, they would have done their part. For they could consider that it was not their intention to set their Majesty's measure further than their Majesty's gracious will; with the most humble request that their Majesty would not understand this otherwise than for their unavoidable necessity and for no disgrace.

(15) Thereupon the Imperial Majesty has again indicated. After a discussion, His Majesty again announced that His Majesty would not do such a thing to the electoral and princely graces of His Majesty. and princely graces, as well as to the related cities, to no disfavor, but that for the reasons stated, they had this time refused to do so. However, so that Her Majesty should not feel any lack, Her Majesty wished to hear their writings on the morning of Saturday after the eighth day of Corporis Christi [June 25] in the presence of the royal dignitaries, Her Majesty's brothers, and also electors, princes and estates according to length.

16 The above-mentioned Electors, Princes, and Embassies of the two cities have expressed their gratitude in all submission, and have offered to wait for the gracious decision in all submission. On the aforementioned Saturday almost at four o'clock in the evening, His Imperial Majesty, now reported. Majesty, according to the now reported departure, held audience in the presence of the King,

1) Maybe: "honor"?

Princes, princes and embassies, also estates, in their majesty's chapel. The church, from which those who are not the princes' and lords' counsellors have been ordered to escape.

(17) And after a short speech of submission, which the above-mentioned Electors, Princes and the embassies of the cities have made before the Imperial Majesty, the German Confession has been publicly and brightly read by the Chancellor of Saxony. Majesty, the German Confession was publicly and brightly published by the Chancellor of the Elector of Saxony, so that everyone could note the substance, before the Imperial Majesty, in the presence of the states affected. Majesty, in the presence of the affected estates, and thereafter both writings were handed to Her Majesty herself, and Her Majesty, through Count Palatine Frederick, after the reading and handing over of the affected writings, had this safely announced.

(18) After Her Majesty had heard the writ presented, and after it had been delivered to Her Majesty, Her Majesty wished to have this transaction, which would be great and important to Himself, moved, and to show Himself in it earnest and without reproach.

(19) And thereupon the said Count Palatine, as by command of the Imperial Majesty, immediately petitioned the five princes, lords, and embassies of the cities that they did not want the confession now read without the Imperial Majesty. Majesty, the five Electors, Princes and Embassies of the cities were persuaded that they did not want the confession now read out without Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Majesty's prior knowledge.

20th Thereupon His Princely Grace, the said Elector, Princes and Cities. Grace, the aforesaid Elector, Princes, and Cities replied that they would rely on such Imperial. Majesty. Majesty's request without reference.

21 And although it is true that at that time no more than two of the cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen, were related to their confession, yet soon after four more cities, namely Weissenburg, Heilbrunn, Kempten, and Winsheim, turned to them and asked that they be represented to their sovereign and princely graces and to other two cities in their Christian confession. and other two cities in their Christian confession. Which has thus come to pass. Thereafter, in the actions that occurred for the sake of faith, they were also consulted by their electoral and princely graces. Their messages were present at that time. Therefore the historian praises God that he has increased the lowly household even in weakness, and [not] 2) diminished it, as it will be in the end, should have reported the same also, or afterwards, when he has not done so, therefore he should have reported the same to the one, in which GOt-

2) "not" added by us. It would also like to be read: "and has reduced their number". - But the author of No. 1159 has reported in § 9 of his report in passing that "in the meantime four other cities have joined them".

the miraculous work of art, has written too little.

22) But he writes too much mildly soon after, since he indicates that the five electors, princes, and associated cities should have requested to have their confession publicly read out in the town hall, that they sought the chance or the listening of the people.

23 For he has heard it from those estates which the imperial majesty has at that time called in her majesty. Majesty at that time in her Majesty's Council and Conversations. Council and Conversations, it may well be inferred from this that the public reading in that place has been prevented, that is, by them, as those so partial, for these inexplicable causes, or the scribe, who must himself have invented it on the five Electors, Princes, and Cities: for although he further appends in his booklet that Imperial Majesty, when she understood such a thing, has given her Majesty the Princes and Cities the right to read it, it is not possible for him to have done so. Majesty, understanding this, did not wish to grant the petition of the princes and cities; yet other causes, namely that it was late in the evening, and not these, were brought forward by her Majesty.

(24) But since such a confession was not to be publicly read and heard, what would have been so great about it that it would have been considered harmless by the Elector of Mainz, even though their electors and princes and the cities had first delivered such a written confession on the aforementioned Saturday? and the cities would have handed over such a written confession first on the aforementioned Saturday, but his C. F. Grace would still have been angry about it. F. Gn. was still unhappy and little comforted, since the day for such a transfer had been set for Friday, as the Imperial Majesty had also ordered it to be made on Saturday. Maj. would be in the house without it, together with the fact that the other part does not even hand over their opinion and discretion. For since it was to be a mere handing over, there would have been no need for the Imperial Majesty to be present in person with it. Maj. in his own person, since the writings could have been handed over to her Majesty's Councillors by some of the Electors' Councillors on Friday or early on Saturday.

(25) Therefore it is a palliation, which has neither truth nor reason, and which the historian or his pretender has used to glorify and supposedly cover up their disgrace, which they incurred at that time with males, that they, in having the truth of God's word publicly read out, prevented Imperial Majesty the Holy Roman Emperor from believing that the five electors, princes, and related cities had, for cause, asked to hear the writings publicly, which their electors, princes, and related cities had written. Majesty had prevented them from believing that the five Electors, Princes and related cities had asked to hear the writings publicly, which their Electors and Princes and they, as in the case of the Holy Roman Emperor, had not heard. Gn. and they, as above mentioned, have pleaded, as namely, the
because they would have been highly incriminated and reviled in the Imperial Majesty and other high and low estates, both within and outside the Empire. Majesty and other high and low estates, both within and outside of the empire, would be highly burdened and disparaged on account of their faith, that for this reason they would like to be heard publicly, in which 1) the matters of faith would be on their side. For that they would thereby seek favor with the common people is evident from the assumption, which they have for themselves without this, that their opinion would have been more Christian, better, and more right, since it would have been more favorable to their electoral and princely graces through history. and princely graces would have been perverted by the historian and his followers with untruth, it is to be understood sufficiently that Pimpinellus 2) shortly before in a public audience, where everyone, being of the estates and their councils, might have listened, their chur- and princely graces and their fellow kinsmen, had been able to hear that the Pimpinellus was a Christian, better, and more right opinion of theirs. and their co-relatives, only that he had not named them, had challenged them in the highest and most burdensome way for the sake of faith, and had challenged the Imperial Majesty and everyone else. Majesty, as well as everyone else, against their electoral and princely graces. He has also violently insisted on the fact that he has not named them, and that the Imperial Majesty, as well as everyone else, has violently insisted against their electoral and princely graces.

26) Besides that it is to be understood clearly from several reports indicated before, namely from the Instruction, 3) which was sent to the Elector of Saxony from Insbruck, and in addition from the trade that at the hour of Imperial Majesty's arrival at Augsburg and the following days with her electors and princes the Emperor of Saxony is to be sent to Augsburg. Majesty's arrival at Augsburg and the following days with her electoral and princely graces. All this, as well as other things that are still in progress, should have given the five Electors and Princes sufficient cause to request a public reading.

027 Consider every man what he would esteem his need to be in such a case, since it concerns much lesser things than his soul, honor, and conscience.

(28) Thus the audience at the Town Hall has not been such that males who have not been elected by Imperial Majesty, nor by royal dignitaries, princes, and estates, have been allowed to go up. Majesty, nor of the royal dignities, princes, princes and estates, were permitted to go up. For the doorkeepers and guardians have been ordered at the slams of the doors not to permit the same: with what truth then may the historian indicate that the much-vaunted elector, princes and cities sought the favor of the people, and yet were not present?

029 Wherefore every one may conclude with him with more reason this supposition, that the her-

1) wherein" put by us instead of: "why".
2) Document No. 944.
3) Document No. 930.

the prevention of the opposing party on such pretence as the five electors, princes, and cities sought with the public reading applause of the people, to have practiced with imperial majesty that they had such. Majesty that they had such, because they and their followers had their electoral and princely graces at the imperial Majesty's disposal. They have practiced such before the Imperial Majesty with applause of the people, that they had such, because they and their followers had disparaged their electoral and princely graces noticeably and greatly beforehand with the Imperial Majesty and other estates, should the Christian confession of the five Electors, Princes and related cities be read out publicly, it would be understood from this, that they had accused the same Electors, Princes and their relatives of untruth for unjust reasons.

(30) It is also safe to believe that they would have preferred, as much as they could, to prevent the same confession from being publicly read, either at that time or afterwards, if the affected princes, princes, and cities had not so often, in all submission and for God's sake, admonished Imperial Majesty as a noble emperor, with necessary and permanent causes. Majesty, as a laudable emperor, with indication of necessary permanent causes.

31 For the truth is, when the same confession was read on the next day in the Palatinate, many pious Christian and good-hearted people, who were not of the common people, said that the things were shown to them much differently by the aforementioned prince, princes, and cities than they understood from the public reading of the confession. Some also let themselves be heard, how much they did not want to take for it, that they should not have been at the reading.

032 For Christ, the mouth of truth, testifieth that every one that shuneth the light love not the truth; but he that shuneth not the light love the truth. Since the five princes, rulers, and related cities have requested that their confession be read publicly, let every reader know whether the people will favor them in it. For what good would it have been to them, if they had gained the favor of twenty or thirty unintelligent people for an hour or two, and yet, if they themselves had understood that the articles presented had no truth on them, they would have had to expect mockery again from the great merchants and the most intelligent of their foolishness?

033 For whether the same confession, when it was publicly read, might have been mocked or ridiculed by any, even by them, the adversaries themselves, and that it was not rather heard with great silence and earnestness, let every one that was present at that time bear witness with a fine conscience of his own.

(34) Therefore the historian should have refrained from displeasing the five electors, princes, and adhering cities with their request, which they made several times for the sake of God, which name they did not want to use uselessly for vanity, and to set themselves up as judges against the office of a historian, or he should have judged according to open and probable truth.

(35) It is also certain that the aforementioned historian must condemn himself in that in which he wanted to judge the five electors and princes, namely, to gain the common people, among whom these books were to be spread, by accident, and to roll the displeasure onto the five electors, princes, and attached cities.

036 That he hath been sufficiently overcome with these accusations, which are now heard, in hope that he hath thereby restored his folly and reproach, and that of them who peradventure have provoked him to it with gifts and promises. 1)

960.

The Augsburg Confession

or Confession of the Faith of Several Princes and Cities, Delivered to the Imperial Majesty at Augsburg, Anno 1530 (Read on June 25, 1530).

The original of the Augsburg Confession has not yet been found, but there are a large number of manuscripts of it, namely ten Latin, fifteen German and one French, which J. T. Müller describes and discusses in detail in his historical-theological introduction to the symbolic books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, p. 4XII ff, as does Förstemann in his Urkundenbuche, Vol. I, p. 369 ff. It is not our task to report on them in detail, therefore we refer the reader to the aforementioned sources. It should only be mentioned here that both declare the so-called second Ansbach manuscript to be a collation with the original, and to be one "which gives us the text of the Confession in a form which has a high degree of conformity with the copy handed over to the Emperor". Of the Mainz manuscript Müller says I. o. S. I. XXVII f., that this, whose text the Concordienbuch is based on, has not a few errors, namely spelling mistakes, omissions, and sentences disfigured by transposition. But it cannot be denied that its text mostly agrees with that of the best manuscripts, and its errors are easily improved according to the same and according to the *editio princeps.*

1) As this last paragraph is senseless in Walch, we have put Deß instead of "Das"; overcome instead of "überfunden"; his instead of "his"; him instead of "them"; habe instead of "heben".

so that we have no reason to abandon the ecclesiastically received text and accept another one in its place, of which we also cannot prove that it is closer to the original. - The Emperor had indeed demanded of the Protestant estates that they not allow the Confession to be printed without the Emperor's prior knowledge, and they had consented to this (see the previous number, §§ 19 and 20.), but without their knowledge and will, seven different editions appeared already during the Imperial Diet and soon after its conclusion, six German and one Latin, all without indication of the place of printing, the editors, and the publishers. They are all printed from one copy, the first four of the German editions under the title: "Arpeiguug vnd bekantnus des Glaubens vnd der lere, so die adpellierenden Stände Key. Maiestet auff yetzigen tag zu Augspurg öberantwurt habend. NVXXX.", in quarto, in Upper German dialect; the fifth in Lower Saxon, probably by Bugenhagen; the sixth in High German. They differ little from each other; the first four abound in misprints; the fifth is more correct, and still more so the sixth. The Latin edition has the title: Eonkessio exNiditu irr
oornitiis ^uZustas ^nno NVXXX 2c., also in quarto. It approaches the Ansbach manuscript in its peculiarities and also has many printing errors. The unreliability of these prints induced Melanchthon to organize an edition of the Latin and German text. This is entitled: "Eonksssio Kicker exüiklta inviotiss. Eussari XuZ. in Eormoiik. ^nno
NOXXX. Xckckita sst ^poIoZia Eonkoskionis. Both, Deudsch vnd Latin. IVitsbsrgae. " At the end: ,,Inaprskkurn per OsorZiuni Rdau. NOXXXI. " Quart. - "Confessio odder Bekantnus des Glaubens etlicher Fürsten vnd Stedte: Vberantwort Keiserlicher Maiestat: zu Augspurg. Anno N. V.XXX. Apologia of the Confession." Quarto. At the end: "Printed at Wittenberg by Georgen Rhaw. Anno VI. v.XXXI." On this Müller remarks l. o. p. QXVI: "From this date it must not be concluded that this edition did not appear until 1531," and gives evidence that the Augsburg Confession was completed and issued as early as 1530, but that the date refers only to the Apology. This edition was arranged in such a way that either the German or the Latin alone, or both together, could be issued, and copies of both types exist. Therefore Walch (table of contents! of the 16th volume, p. 48 b) is surprised that in the copy available to him "both German and Latin" is promised on the title page, but the German text is not included. In quick succession several editions appeared, about whose differences Bindseil has reported most completely in the 26th volume of the Oorp. Rok. has reported. The just mentioned quarto edition, as Walch states, is considered the pure, improved, and genuine one. But Melanchthon made changes already in other quarto editions of 1531, and still more in the Latin octavo editions, which were followed by the German ones of 1533 and 1536. This caused no further sensation, since the alterations were confined merely to the wording and expression, and by no means in any way approached the Lutheran doctrine. Although Wigand, in his Ilist. de X. 6. Königsberg, 1574, has stated that righteous people (bonls) would have been annoyed by the changes made by Melanchthon in the octavo edition of 1531, we have the sure testimony to the contrary in the main defense of the Aug.
apfels, Cap. 21, p. 336: "In the first ten years from anno 1530 to almost 1540 no change occurred in rsulibu8, and in the points so concerning the articles of faith." It was not until the year 1540 that a new Latin quarto edition was published by Georg Rau in Wittenberg, the so-called vuriatu, in which the doctrinal content of the Augsburg Confession was impaired in the 10th article, which therefore never received ecclesiastical validity, but has been regarded as a private writing of Melanchthon, even by himself (See J. T. Müller 1. c. p. bXXI.). The editions of the Augsburg Confession are so numerous that even J. T. Müller refrains from giving only a somewhat complete account of it, and refers to Bindseil in 6orp. Rsk., vol. XXVI. In the collections of Luther's writings it is printed, as Walch says, after the Wittenberg octavo edition of 1531, namely, in Latin in the Jena (1570), tom. IV, lob 191, with Melanchthon's preface; German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol.IX, bl.304b; in the Jena (1561), vol.VI, bl, 362; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 29, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 9. "Most alleraccuratesten man sie an trifft (sagt Walch) in der nothwendigen Vertheidigung des Augapfels, both Latin and German." Further, in Cölestins bi8t. oorn. ^uZ., toni. II. p. 151; in des Chyträus bi8t. oonb, p. 78 according to the Latin and p. 118 of the German edition; in Müller's Historie der evangelischen Stände Protestation, Book III, Cap. 19, p. 595; in Cyprian's Beilagen zur Hist. der Augsb. Conf., p. 3, and in Pfaff's writing, "Neue nach dem in der churmainzischen Reichskanzlei befindlichen Original errichtet Edition der Augsburgischen Confession," 2c. Walch has taken as his basis the copy found in Müller's Historie, comparing Chyträus and Cyprian. We have retained Walch's text on the whole, but have consulted Förstemann and J. T. Müller. This writing has been translated into many languages, such as Greek, Hebrew, Spanish, Dutch, Slavonic, French and others. Of course it is found more or less correctly in the editions of the Concordia formula and in the various oorporu clootrinas, as, the kbüippioo, DburinAwo, Vomerurueo, krutsnwo, lnlio, XoribsrZioo 2c. See I. T. Müller 1. o. p. 6XXII ff.

Preface.

Most noble, most powerful, most invincible emperor, most gracious lord!

When your Imperial Majesty shortly afterwards graciously announced a general Imperial Diet here in Augsburg) with notice and earnest request of matters concerning our and the Christian name's hereditary enemy, the Turks, and how the same may be resisted with persevering help, also how for the sake of the divisions in the holy faith and in the Christian religion may be acted upon, to advise, and to take diligence, all of every one's discretion, opinion, and

1) By Document No. 890.

To hear, see, and consider the opinions between ourselves in love and kindness, and to bring them to one Christian truth and to compare them, to do away with everything that would not be rightly interpreted or acted on either side, and to accept and keep one united and true religion through all of us, and as we are all under one Christ and contend, so also to live all in one fellowship, church, and unity. And we, the below-named Electors 1) and Princes, together with our relatives, like other Electors, Princes, and Estates, are required to do so, so we have exalted ourselves to such an extent that we come here with the first ones in particular glory.

And when also Your Imperial Majesty Majesty, to most humbly comply with your Imperial Majesty's Majesty, and in accordance with the same, touching on the faith in these matters, graciously requests of Princes, Princes and Estates in general, also with the utmost diligence and earnestly, that each one, by virtue of the aforementioned Your Imperial Majesty's Letter, may express his discretion, opinion and opinion of the same. Majesty's request, that each of them should put in writing and hand over his discretion, opinion and opinion of the same errors, discords and abuses half 2c. in German and Latin. Therefore, after due consideration and advice, Your Imperial Majesty was informed last midweek [June 22], as if we wanted to present ours in German and Latin on our part, by virtue of Your Imperial Majesty's presentation. Majesty's presentation, in German and Latin for today, Friday. Therefore, and to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty, we present and hand over our pastors, preachers and their teachings, as well as our confession of faith, what and how they preach, teach, hold and teach in our countries, principalities, dominions, cities and territories on the basis of divine holy scripture. And are against Your Imperial Majesty Majesty, our most gracious Lord, we are obliged in all submissiveness, if the other princes, princes and estates will now also do such simplified written transmission of their opinion and opinion in Latin and German.

1) In the St. Louis edition of the Concordienbuch erroneously "Churfürsten", because it was only Ein Churfürst, the one of Saxony; also in Latin it is Lleotori. Even the German Wittenberg edition has this error.

2) that we will gladly converse with their loved ones and with them in convenient and even ways, and unite them as much as is always possible in accordance with equality, so that our mutual, as parties, written arguments and differences between ourselves may be dealt with in love and kindness, and these differences may be led to one true religion, as we all are and contend under one Christ, and should confess Christ, all according to the oft-repeated decree of Your Imperial Majesty, and according to divine truth. Majesty's decree, and according to divine truth. Therefore, we also call upon God the Almighty with the utmost humility and ask him to grant us his divine grace, amen.

Where, however, with our lords, friends, and special ones, 3) the princes, princes, and estates of the other part, the action is such, as Your Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor. Majesty. Majesty's letter: "among ourselves in love and kindness convenient action", 4) does not want to be provided nor be profitable, than nevertheless at us in none, which can be or may be serviceable with God and conscience to Christian unity, erwinder 5) is to be, as Your Imperial Majesty also reported our action to the Electors, Princes and Estates of the other part. Majesty also reported our friends, the princes, princes, estates and every lover of the Christian religion, to whom these things occur, will have to graciously, kindly and sufficiently hear from the following confessions of ours and ours.

After Your Imperial Majesty has graciously given to understand, and especially by a publicly read Instruction, 6) at the Imperial Diet held at Speier in the year of the lesser number 26, that Your Imperial Majesty is to conclude in matters concerning our Holy Faith, 7) for reasons which have been mentioned at that time, that the Holy Faith is to be respected. Majesty, in matters concerning our holy faith, to conclude, 7) for reasons which thereby arose, that we are not to be held accountable.

2) "Their beloved ones" are the princes; "to them" the non-princely estates. - We have thought it necessary to note this here, because even highly learned people have not had this distinction of rank in mind, as can be seen at the beginning of the next paragraph.

3) So, as I. T. Müller p. 790 notes, in all manuscripts and prints, but which he has changed to: "especially the" 2c.

4) This is a free citation from No. 890, in this volume Col. 627 at the beginning.

5) "erwinden" -miss, lack.

6) Document No. 804 in this volume.

7) "to let conclude ... not gemeinet", that is, not been of the will to finally determine something. In Latin: from full" Hnick^nnrn cketerin innre.

but wanted to apply to the pope for a concilium and to stop it. And a year ago, at the last Imperial Diet at Speier, by virtue of a written Instruction) to the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, by His Majesty the Governor of the Empire, the Royal Dignities of Hungary and Bohemia 2c. Maj. Governor in the Empire, Royal Dignities of Hungary and Bohemia 2c., together with E. K. Majest. Orator and decreed Commissars, have, among other things, presented this and have indicated: "that Your Imperial Majesty has granted the same State of Hungary and Bohemia. Majesty has considered the same governors, administrators and councillors of the Imperial Regiment, as well as the embassies of the absent princes, princes and estates, which were assembled at the announced Imperial Diet at Regensburg, and has also found it fruitful to establish the General Council. And because these matters have come to a head between His Majesty the Emperor and the Pope, they have been discussed. Majesty and the Pope to good Christian sense, that His Imperial Majesty would be certain that the General Council would be a success. Majesty would be certain that the Pope would not refuse to hold the General Council, it would be His Majesty's gracious command to demand and act that the Pope be the first to proclaim such a General Council, in addition to His Majesty. Majesty for the first time and that there should be no lack of it". Thus, we hereby request Your Majesty to grant us this General Council. Majesty, we hereby, in all submissiveness, and in addition in the case in question, furthermore, ask for such a common, free, Christian council, to be held at all imperial congresses held by Your Imperial Majesty in the course of her reign in the Empire. Majesty held in the course of her reign in the Empire, by Princes, Princes and Estates, made up of high and brave movements, to which also, together with Your Imperial Majesty, we commit ourselves on account of these great events. Maj. we have, on account of this most important matter, invoked and appealed to in a legal manner and form, at various times; to which^) we hereby remain pending once again, and by this or subsequent action (unless these conflicting matters are finally heard in love and kindness, in accordance with Your Imperial Majesty's letter, considered).

1) In Document No. 816 in this volume, § 2 and § 3.

2) In the old editions: "things"; this is the singular. In Latin: ounsu.

3) "the"; to be added from the foregoing: "appeal" or "appeal". "The legal manner and form" of the appeal is found in Document No. 820 in this volume. In Latin, instead of "the" it is oui uxpellationi.

and compared to a Christian unity), of which we hereby publicly testify and protest. And 4) is the confession of ours and of ours, as follows from article to article.

Articles of Faith and Doctrine.

The I. Article. 5)

First of all, it is unanimously taught and held, according to the Concilii Niceni, that there is one divine Being, which is called, and truly is, God, and yet there are three Persons in the same one divine Being, equally powerful, equally eternal, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, all three One divine Being, eternal, without part, without end, of immeasurable power, wisdom, and goodness, one Creator and Sustainer of all things visible and invisible. And by the word ksrsona is understood, not a part, not a quality in another, but that itself exists, as the fathers used this word in this matter.

Therefore all heresies contrary to this article are rejected, as Manichaei, who have set up two gods, one evil and one good. Item, Valentiniani, Ariani, Eunomiani, Mahometists, and all such like, also Samosateni, old and new, who place only one person, and make sophistry of these two, Word and Holy Spirit, and say that they must not be distinct persons, but that Word means bodily word or voice, and that the Holy Spirit is a created impulse in creatures.

The II Article.

Further, we are taught that after Adam's fall all men who are born naturally are conceived and born in sins.

4) Thus the Wittenbergers and the Jenaers. With I. T. Müller: "seind".

5) In Walch's Hist. der evangelischen Stände Protestation, Ub. 3, eup. 19, p. 595, all articles lack the superscriptions found in the Concordienbuche, as: "Von GOtt", "Von der Erbsünde" 2c. Likewise in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. 381 ff, in the copy brought home from Augsburg by Margrave George of Brandenburg, and in all old editions of Luther's works.

That is, that they are all full of evil lusts and inclinations from their mother's womb, and can have no true fear of God, no true faith in God by nature; that also this inherent pestilence and original sin is truly sin, and condemns all those under God's eternal wrath who are not born again through baptism and the Holy Spirit.

Besides these, the Pelagians are rejected, and others, who hold not original sin to be sin, that they may make nature godly by natural powers, to the dishonour of the passion and merit of Christ.

The III Article.

It is taught that God the Son became man, born of the pure virgin Mary, and that the two natures, divine and human, are thus inseparably united in one person. One Christ, who is true God and man, truly born, suffered, crucified, died, and was buried, so that he might be a sacrifice not only for original sin, but also for all other sin, and atone for God's wrath.

Item, that the same Christ descended into hell, was truly raised from the dead on the third day, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God, that he should reign and rule over all creatures forever, that he should sanctify, cleanse, strengthen, and comfort all them that believe in him by the Holy Ghost, and should also give them life, and all manner of gifts and riches, and should protect and shield them against the devil, and against sin.

Item, that the same HErr Christ shall at last come publicly to judge the living and the dead 2c., according to the L^mdoli ^.postolorum.

The IV. Article.

Further, it is taught that we may not obtain forgiveness of sins and righteousness before God by our merit, works, and sufficiency, but that we receive forgiveness of sins and are justified before God by grace, for Christ's sake, through faith, if we believe that Christ suffered for us, and that for His sake sin is forgiven us, righteousness and eternal life.

is given. For God will count this faith as righteousness before Him, as St. Paul says to the Romans, 3, v. 28, and Cap. 4,5.

The V. Article.

To obtain such faith, God has instituted the ministry of preaching, and given the gospel and sacrament, through which He gives, as a means, the Holy Spirit, who works faith wherever and whenever He wills in those who hear the gospel, teaching that it is through Christ's merit, not our own, that we have a gracious God, if we believe this.

And are condemned the Anabaptists and others who teach that without the bodily word of the gospel we obtain the Holy Spirit by our own preparation, thoughts, and works.

The VI Article.

It is also taught that such faith should bring forth good fruits and good works, and that one must do good works, all things that God has commanded, for the sake of God, but not to trust in such works to merit grace before God; for we receive forgiveness of sin and righteousness through faith in Christ, as Christ Himself says, Luc. 17:10: "If ye have done these things, ye shall say, we are unfit servants." Thus also the fathers teach; for Ambrose saith, Thus it is decreed with God, that whosoever believeth in Christ should be blessed, and not by works, but by faith alone, without merit, have forgiveness of sins.

Article VII.

It is also taught that there must always be and remain a holy Christian church, which is the assembly of all believers, where the gospel is preached purely and the holy sacraments are administered according to the gospel.

For this is enough for the true unity of the Christian church, that the gospel is preached with one accord, according to a pure understanding, and the sacraments are administered according to the divine word. And is it not necessary for the true unity of the Christian church that

ceremonies of the same kind, instituted of men, are held everywhere; as Paul saith Eph. 4:4. 5. "One body, one Spirit, even as ye are called unto one hope of your profession, One Lord, One faith, One baptism."

The VIII. Article.

Item, although the Christian church is really nothing else than the assembly of all believers and saints; however, because in this life there are many false Christians and hypocrites/) even public sinners among the pious remain, the sacraments are nevertheless powerful, although the priests, through whom they are administered, are not pious; as Christ Himself indicates Matth. 23, 3.: "On the chair of Moses sit the Pharisees" 2c.

Therefore the Donatists and all others are condemned to hold so differently.

The IX Article.

It is taught of baptism that it is necessary, and that by it grace is offered, that one should also baptize the children who through such baptism are delivered to God and become pleasing.

For this reason the Anabaptists are rejected, who teach that infant baptism is not right.

The X. Article.

The Lord's Supper is taught that the true body and blood of Christ are truly present in the form of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, where they are distributed and taken. For this reason the contrary doctrine is also rejected.

The XI article.

Thus it is taught of confession that one should receive *private absolution in* church, and not fall, though in confession it is not necessary to tell all iniquities and sins, since such is not possible. Ps. 19:13: Who knoweth iniquity?

1) This "are" (sein) is missing in the Ansbach and Munich manuscripts, also in the Wittenberg and Jena editions; likewise in Latin.

The XII. Article.

Of repentance it is taught that those who have sinned after baptism may at all times, when they come to repentance, obtain forgiveness of sins, and that they shall not be denied absolution by the church. And true right repentance is actually. To have remorse and sorrow or terror over sin, and yet besides this to believe in the gospel and absolution, that sin is forgiven and grace obtained through Christ, which faith again comforts and satisfies the heart.

After this also repentance is to follow, and that one should cease from sins; for these are to be the fruits of repentance, as John saith Matt. 3:8, "Work righteous fruits of repentance."

Here are they rejected that teach, that they which once were godly should not fall again.

After this 2) the Novatiani are also condemned, who refused absolution to those who had sinned after baptism.

They also are rejected which teach not that sins are forgiven by faith, but by our redemption.

The XIII article.

Of the use of the sacraments it is taught that the sacraments are not instituted merely to be signs by which Christians may be outwardly known, but that they are signs and testimonies of divine will toward us, to awaken and strengthen our faith thereby; for which reason they also require faith, and are then rightly used, if one receives them3) in faith, and strengthens the faith thereby.

The XIV article.

It is taught by the church government that no one shall teach or preach publicly in the church, or minister the sacrament, without a proper profession.

2) In the Ansbach, Munich and Hesse manuscripts: "Es"; "Darnach" in Walch; "Dagegen" in I. T. Müller, in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

3) "mans" - man them.

The XV article.

Of church ordinances made by men, those are taught which may be kept without sin, and serve for peace, for good order in the church, as certain festivals, feasts, and the like. But instruction is given that consciences should not be troubled, as if such things were necessary to salvation. It is taught that all statutes and traditions, 1) made by men to propitiate God and merit grace, are contrary to the gospel and the doctrine of faith in Christ; therefore monastic vows, and other traditions, from difference of food, days, 2c., by which one supposes to merit grace, and to be sufficient for sin, are unfit and contrary to the gospel.

The XVI article.

It is taught of the police and secular government that all authority in the world, and orderly regiments and laws, are good orders created and instituted by God. And that Christians may be without sin in the office of sovereignty, prince, and judge, pronounce judgment and justice according to imperial and other customary laws, punish evildoers with the sword, wage lawful wars, fight, buy and sell, and take oaths. To have one's own, to be married 2c.

Here are condemned the Anabaptists, who teach that none of the things denounced are Christian.

Also those are condemned who teach that Christian perfection is to leave house and home, wife and child in the flesh, and to express oneself in the pieces touched before; for this alone is right perfection, right fear of God, and right faith in God. For the gospel teaches not an outward, temporal, but an inward, eternal nature and righteousness of the heart, and does not dispute about worldly government, police, and marital status, but desires that all these things be kept as the true order of God, 2) and in such states

1) "Tradition" is plural; Latin: *traditiones*. The plural endings are very often repelled by the ancients, as. in the next article "regiment" for: Regiments.

2s So in the Wittenberg and in the Jena edition, also in Latin. In l. T. Müller "GOttes" is missing.

Christian love and right good works, each according to his profession. Therefore, Christians are obliged to be subject to authority and obedient to its commandments in everything that may be done without sin, for if the authority's commandment may not be done without sin, one should be more obedient to God than to men. 5, 29.

The XVII article.

It is also taught that our Lord Jesus Christ will come to judge on the last day, and raise up all the dead, and give eternal life and joy to the faithful and elect, but condemn ungodly men and devils to hell and eternal punishment.

For this reason the Anabaptists are rejected, who teach that devils and damned men will not have eternal torment and torture.

Item, here are rejected some Jewish doctrines, which also now appear, 3) that before the resurrection of the dead the holy and pious will have a worldly kingdom, and will destroy all the ungodly.

The XVIII. Article.

Of free will it is taught that man has a free will to some extent, to live outwardly respectable, and to choose among the things which reason apprehends; but without grace, help, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, man is not able to become pleasing to God, to fear or believe God heartily, or to cast out of the heart the inborn evil desire; but this is done by the Holy Spirit, which is given by the word of God, for Paul saith 1 Cor. 2:14: "The natural man heareth nothing of the Spirit of God."

And that it may be seen that no novelty is taught in this, these are the clear words of Augustine on free will, as now written, from the 3rd book of the Hypognosticon: "We confess that in all men there is a free will, for they have all natural, innate understanding and

3) In Walch: "ereignen", which will be a false resolution of "ereugen" (to let oneself be seen).

Reason, not that they are able to do anything with God, but to love God with all their heart, to fear God; but only in outward works of this life they have liberty to choose good or evil. Good 1) I mean that which nature is able to do, as to work in the field or not, to eat, to drink, to go to a friend or not, to put on or take off a garment, to build, to take a wife, to do a trade, and the like, something useful and good, all of which is not, nor does it exist, without God, but is all of him and through him. On the other hand, man can also do evil of his own choice, as kneeling down before an idol, to strike a death blow 2c.

The XIX article.

Of the cause of sins we teach that, though God Almighty created and sustains all nature, yet the wrong will works sin in all the wicked and despisers of God; as then is the will of the devil, and of all the ungodly, who, when God hath removed his hand, immediately turneth it from God to evil, as Christ saith John 8:44, "The devil speaketh lies of his own."

The XX article.

Of faith and good works.

It is untruthfully charged against ours that they forbid good works, for their writings of the Ten Commandments and others prove that they have given good useful report and exhortation of right Christian morals and works, of which little was taught before this time, but mostly in all sermons on childish unnecessary works, as rosaries, saintly service, becoming monks, pilgrimages, appointed fasts, celebrations, brotherhoods, etc., are practiced. Our opponents no longer praise such unnecessary works as highly as they did in former times; in addition, they have now learned to speak of faith, of which they preached nothing at all in former times; nevertheless, they now teach that we are not justified before God by works alone, but that we put our faith in God.

1) In Latin: *Bonis dico* == I say of good.

Faith in Christ in addition, speak: Faith and works make us righteous before God; which speech may bring more comfort, 2) than if one teaches to trust in works alone.

Since the doctrine of faith, which is the chief thing in Christianity, has not been practiced for so long a time, as must be confessed, but only the doctrine of works has been preached in all places, such instruction has been given by ours:

First of all, our works do not reconcile us to God and earn us grace, but this happens through faith alone, when we believe that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, who alone is the mediator to reconcile the Father. He who thinks he can accomplish this by works and earn grace despises Christ and seeks his own way to God, contrary to the gospel.

This doctrine of faith is publicly and clearly treated in Paul in many places, especially in Ephesians 2:8: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast. And that in this no new understanding is introduced, may be proved from Augustine, who treats this matter diligently, and also teaches thus, that we obtain grace by faith in Christ, and are justified before God, and not by works; as his whole book *de spiritu et litera* shows.

Although this doctrine is greatly despised by untried people, it is nevertheless very comforting and salutary to the troubled and frightened conscience. For the conscience cannot come to rest and peace by works, but only by faith, if it is certain that it has a gracious God for Christ's sake, as Paul also says in Romans 5:1: "If we have been justified by faith, we have rest and peace with God."

This consolation was not preached in the past, but the poor consciences were driven to works of their own, and many works were done; for some of them have been led by the spirit of the Lord.

2) Here the Ansbach manuscript has better: "mag". Latin: atksrre xotsst.

Some have devised other works to earn grace and to do enough for sin; many have experienced that one has not come to peace through them. Therefore it was necessary to preach this doctrine of faith in Christ and to practice it diligently, so that people would know that God's grace is obtained through faith alone, without merit.

It also happens that here one does not speak of such faith, which also the devils and the ungodly have, who also believe the stories that Christ suffered and rose from the dead, but one speaks of the true faith, which believes that we obtain grace and forgiveness of sins through Christ, and who now knows that he has a gracious God through Christ; therefore knows God, calls upon him, and is not without God, as the heathen are; for the devil and the ungodly do not believe this article, forgiveness of sins, therefore they are without God, cannot call upon him, cannot hope for anything good from him. And so, as is now indicated, Scripture speaks of faith, and does not call faith such knowledge as devils and ungodly men have, for so it is taught of faith, Heb. 11:1, that to believe is not merely to know history, but to have confidence in God, to receive his promise. And Augustine also reminds us that we are to understand the word "faith" 1) in Scripture to mean confidence in God that He is gracious to us, and not only to know such histories as the devils also know.

Furthermore, it is taught that good works should and must be done, not that one trusts to earn grace with them, but for the sake of God, and to praise God. Faith alone always obtains grace and forgiveness of sin; and because the Holy Spirit is given through faith, the heart is also sent to do good works. For before this, because it is without the Holy Ghost, it is too weak; for this it is in the power of the devil, who hath too much power over poor human nature.

1) Here, instead of the brackets used in the old pressures to emphasize something, we have put the (then uncommon) speech marks.

sins; as we see in the Philo

The sopranos, who took upon themselves to live honestly and blamelessly, have not done so, but have fallen into much greater public sins. Thus it is with man, when he is without the Holy Spirit, apart from the right faith, and governs himself solely by his own human powers.

For this reason, the doctrine of faith is not to be criticized for forbidding good works, but rather to be praised for teaching to do good works and for offering help on how to do good works. For apart from faith, and apart from Christ, human nature and ability are far too weak to do good works, to call upon God, to have patience in suffering, to love one's neighbor, to carry out commanded duties diligently, to be obedient, to avoid evil lusts. Such high and right works cannot be done without the help of Christ, as he himself says Joh. 15,5: "Without me you can do nothing" 2c.

The XXI article.

Of the service of the saints, ours teaches that the saints are to be remembered, so that we may strengthen our faith when we see how they were graced, and also how they were helped by faith, and that examples are to be taken of their good works, each according to his profession, just as the imperial majesty may blessedly and divinely follow the example of David in waging war against the Turks; for both are in the royal office, which requires the protection of their subjects. Maj. may blessedly and divinely follow the example of David in waging war against the Turk; for both are in the royal office, which demands protection and protection of their subjects. But it cannot be proved by Scripture that one should call upon the saints or seek help from them, for "there is only one reconciler and mediator set between God and men, Jesus Christ," 1 Timothy 2:5, who is the only Savior, the only supreme priest, the seat of grace and intercessor before God, Romans 8:34, and who alone has promised that he will hear our prayer. This is also the highest service of God according to the Scriptures, that we should seek and call upon the same Jesus Christ in all our needs and concerns with all our hearts, 1 John 2:1: "If any man sin, we have an advocate with God, who is righteous, Jesus."

This is almost the sum of the doctrine that is preached and taught in our churches for the proper Christian instruction and consolation of consciences, and also for the correction of the faithful; for how would we like to put our own souls and consciences in the highest and greatest danger before God by misusing the divine name or word, or to pass on to our children and descendants a doctrine other than that according to the pure divine word and Christian truth? If this doctrine is clearly founded in holy Scripture, and is not contrary to the common Christian, or even the Roman Church, as much as can be gathered from the Fathers' Scriptures, we also take care that our adversaries do not disagree with us in the above-mentioned articles. For this reason, those who, for this reason, separate, reject, and shun ours as heretics, act quite unkindly, quickly, and against all Christian unity and love, and do so themselves, without any consistent ground of divine commandment or Scripture. For error and strife are chiefly over certain traditions and abuses. If, then, there is no defect or deficiency in the main articles, and if this confession of ours is divine and Christian, the bishops, if there were a deficiency in our tradition, should be more lenient, even though we hope to show a consistent reason and cause why some traditions and abuses have been changed in our country.

Articles of which there is discord, being told the abuses so changed.

Since the articles of faith are not taught in our churches contrary to the Holy Scriptures or the common Christian church, but only certain abuses have been changed, some of which have been torn down over time and some of which have been forcibly erected, it is necessary for us to explain them and to explain why changes have been tolerated, so that the Emperor may recognize that we have not acted in an un-Christian or unjust manner, but that we are compelled by God's commandment, which is more important than all custom, to do so. Majesty may recognize that we have not acted in an unchristian or unjust manner, but that we are compelled by God's commandment, which is to be respected more highly than all custom, to permit such changes.

The XXII Article.

Of both forms of the sacrament.

Both forms of the sacrament are given to the laity for this reason, that this is a clear command of Christ, Matth. 26, 27: "Drink from it, all of you. There Christ gives clear words about the cup, that they should all drink from it.

And so that no one could dispute and gloss over these words as if it belonged to the priests alone, Paul indicates in I Cor. 11:25 ff. that the whole assembly of the Corinthian church used both forms, and this custom remained in the church for a long time, as can be proved by the histories and the writings of the fathers. Cyprian commemorates in many places that the chalice was the time given to the laity. St. Jerome says that the priests who administer the sacrament distribute the blood of Christ to the people. Thus Gelasius the pope himself gives that the sacrament should not be divided. Oistivot. 2. äo Conseorat. o. Ooniporimus. Nor is there any canon anywhere which commands that only one form be taken. Nor can anyone know when or by whom this custom of taking a form was instituted, though Cardinal Cusanus remembers when this manner was approved. Now it is public that such a custom, introduced against God's commandment, also against the old canons, is wrong. For this reason, it is not proper to burden and compel those consciences who have desired to use the holy sacrament after Christ's institution to act contrary to our Lord Christ's order. And because the distribution of the sacrament is contrary to the institution of Christ, the usual procession with the sacrament is also omitted in our country.

The XXIII Article.

Of the married state of priests.

There has been a great and mighty lamentation in the world, among all men, of high and low estate, of great fornication and wildness, and of the life of priests, who have not been able to keep chastity, nor ever come to the utmost with such abominable vices. So much ugly, great vexation, matrimonial

In order to avoid fornication and other immorality, some of our priests have entered into the marital state. These priests show by these causes that they are urged and moved to it out of great need of their consciences, since the Scriptures clearly state that the marital state is instituted by God the Lord to avoid fornication, as Paul says in 1 Cor. 7:2: "To avoid fornication let every man have his own wife"; item [v. 9]: "It is better to marry than to burn." And after Christ says Matth. 19, 11: "They do not all grasp the word," Christ indicates (who well knew what was in man) that few people have the gift of living chastely, for, "God created man male and female," Gen. 1, 27. Whether it be in human power or ability, without the special gift and grace of God, to make or change creatures better, by one's own undertaking or vow to God, the high Majesty, experience has made it all too clear; for what good, what honorable, chaste life, what Christian, honest, or upright conduct results in many from it, how horrible, terrible trouble and anguish of their consciences many have had at their last end because of it, is in the day, and many have known it themselves. Since God's word and commandment cannot be changed by any human vow or law, priests and other clergy have taken wives for this and other causes and reasons.

So also it is to be proved from the histories and the writings of the fathers, that in the Christian church of old it was the custom that the priests and deacons had wives; wherefore Paul saith 1 Tim. 3:2, "Let a bishop be blameless. A wife's husband." In Germany, too, it is only four hundred years ago that the priests were forced by force to take the vow of chastity from the married state, and they all opposed it so earnestly and harshly that an archbishop of Mainz, who promulgated the new papal edict on the subject, was very near to an outrage by the whole church, was very nearly killed in an outrage of the whole priesthood in a crowd, and the same prohibition was soon in the beginning made so swiftly and unseemly that the pope at that time not only forbade the future marriage of the priests, but also the

This is not only contrary to all divine, natural, and secular rights, but also to the Eanonidus (which the popes themselves have made) and to the most famous "Concilii.

Also, many high, godly, prudent people have often heard such talk and misgivings, that such a strict celibacy and deprivation of the married state (which God Himself instituted and left free) has never done any good, but has introduced many great evil vices and much evil. One of the popes, Pius II, himself, as his history shows, has often spoken these words and had them written by himself: there may well be some reasons why marriage is forbidden to the clergy, but there are much higher, greater, and more important reasons why they should be allowed to marry freely again. There is no doubt that Pope Pius, as a wise man of understanding, spoke this word out of great concern.

For this reason, we wish to express our subservience to Imperial Majesty. Majesty that Her Majesty, as a Christian, noble Emperor, will graciously take to heart that now and in the last times and days, of which the Scriptures report, the world is getting worse and people are getting frailer and weaker.

For this reason, it is highly necessary, useful, and Christian to do this diligent institution, so that, where the marriage state is forbidden, worse and more shameful immorality and vice may not break out in German lands. For no one will ever be able to change or do these things more wisely or better than God Himself, who instituted the marriage state to help human infirmity and to ward off immorality. Thus the old Canons also say that one must at times ease and ease the severity and rigorem for the sake of human weakness, and to prevent and avoid trouble. Now in this case this would also be Christian and highly necessary. What harm can the priests' and clergymen's marriages do to the common Christian church, especially to the pastors and others who are to serve the church? In the future there would be a lack of priests and pastors if this harsh prohibition of marriage were to last longer.

Now this, that the priests and ministers may be married, is founded on the divine word and commandment, and the histories prove that the priests were married; so also the vow of chastity has caused so much ugly, unchristian trouble, so much adultery, terrible unheard fornication and abominable vices, that also some among canons, also 1) Curtisans at Rome, have often themselves confessed and miserably attracted such, as 2) such vices, in the clero too abominable and overpowering, would arouse God's wrath.

So it is pathetic that Christian marriages are not only forbidden, but that in some places they have been punished as quickly as possible, as if for a great misdemeanor. Thus the marriage state is also forbidden in imperial law and in all monarchies. In all monarchies where it has ever been law and right, marriage is highly praised. But at this time, innocent couples are beginning to be tortured for the sake of marriage alone, and priests who should be spared before others; and this is done not only against divine rights, but also against the canons. Paul, the apostle, 1 Tim. 4, 1. 3. calls the doctrine, which forbids marriage, the doctrine of the devil. Christ himself says, John 8:44, that the devil is a murderer from the beginning, which is consistent with the fact that it must be the devil's doctrine that forbids marriage, and that he must be able to maintain such doctrine by shedding blood.

But as no human law can do away with or change God's commandment, so also no vow can change God's commandment; wherefore also St. Cyprian gives counsel that women who do not keep the vowed chastity should become married, and says Exist. II. 3) Thus, if they will not or cannot keep chastity, it is better that they become married than that they fall into the fire through their lust, and they should take care that they do not cause trouble to their brothers and sisters.

In addition, all canons require greater obedience and equity toward those who have taken vows in youth, as priests and monks have more often come to such a state in youth out of ignorance.

1) "also" is missing in I. T. Müller.
2) Here we seem to be missing the word "through".
3) So also in the Ansbach manuscript. In I. T. Müller: I. sxist. II.

The XXIV Article.
from the fair.

It is unjustly laid to our charge that they should have abstained from Mass; for it is public that Mass, without glory, is kept with greater devotion and earnestness among us than among the adversaries. Thus also the people are often taught with the greatest diligence about the holy sacrament, what it is used for, and how it is to be used, namely, to comfort the frightened consciences with it, so that the people are drawn to communion and mass. At the same time, instruction is given against other unjust teachings about the sacrament. In the public ceremonies of the Mass, too, there has been no noticeable change, except that in some places German chants (to teach and train the people) are sung alongside Latin chants, since all ceremonies are primarily intended to help the people learn what they need to know about Christ.

But after the mass had been abused in many ways before that time, as in the day when a fair was made of it, when it was bought and sold, and when more of it was kept in all churches for the sake of money, such abuse had been punished many times, even before that time, by learned and pious men. When the preachers preached about this in our churches, and the priests were reminded of the terrible condemnation, which should move every Christian, that whoever uses the sacrament unworthily is guilty of the body and blood of Christ, then such masses for sale and corner masses (which until then had been held out of compulsion for money and for the sake of the prebends) fell in our churches.

The abominable error was also punished, in that it was taught that our Lord Christ, by his death alone, had done enough for original sin, and that he had made the mass a sacrifice for other sins, and thus made the mass a sacrifice for the living and the dead, thereby taking away sin and propitiating God. From this it further followed that it was disputed whether a mass held to be much deserved so much, as if one held a special one for each one. Hence came the great innumerable number of masses,

that by this work one wanted to obtain from God all that one needed, and besides this, faith in Christ and right worship were forgotten.

Therefore instruction has been given, as no doubt necessity demanded, that it might be known how the sacrament should be rightly used. First of all, that there is no sacrifice for original sin and other sins, except the death of Christ, is shown in many places in Scripture, for it is written in Hebrews (Cap. 10:12) that Christ sacrificed himself once, and thereby made atonement for all sin. It is an outrageous novelty to teach in the church that Christ's death should have been sufficient for original sin alone, and not for other sins as well, hoping therefore that men will understand that such error is not unreasonably punished.

On the other hand, St. Paul teaches that we obtain grace before God through faith and not through works. Against this is publicly this abuse of the Mass, when one thinks to obtain grace by this work; as it is known that one uses the Mass to put away sin by it, and to obtain grace and all goods from God, not only the priest for himself, but also for the whole world, and for others. Living and dead.

Thirdly, the holy sacrament is not instituted to make a sacrifice for sin (for the sacrifice was made beforehand), but that our faith may be awakened thereby, and consciences comforted, which are reminded by the sacrament that grace and forgiveness of sin are promised them by Christ. Therefore this sacrament requires faith, and without faith it is used in vain.

Since the Mass is not a sacrifice for others, living or dead. Since Mass is not a sacrifice for others, living or dead, to take away their sins, but is to be a communion in which the priest and others receive the sacrament for themselves, we keep it this way, that on feast days (and also otherwise, if there are communicants) Mass is celebrated, and some who desire it are communicated. Thus the Mass remains with us in its proper custom, as it was held in the church of old, as may be proved from St. Paul 1 Cor. 11, and also from many of the fathers' writings. For Chrysostom The old canons also indicate that one of them held the office and communicated to the other priests and deacons. The old canons also indicate that one of them held the office and communicated with the other priests and deacons, for the words in the Canona Niceno read: "The deacons are to receive the sacrament from the bishop or priest after the priests.

Now, if no innovation has been made in this, which did not exist in the church of old, and no noticeable change has occurred in the public ceremonies of the mass, except that the other, unnecessary masses, perhaps held by abuse, have fallen next to the parish mass, this way of holding masses should not be condemned as heretical and unchristian; For in former times, even in large churches, where there were many people, Mass was not said daily, even on days when the people were gathered together, as 2ripartita üistoriL lib. 9. shows that in Alexandria the Scriptures were read and interpreted on Wednesday and Friday, and otherwise all services were held without the mass.

The XXV article.

From confession.

Confession is not dispensed with by the preachers of this part, for it is our custom not to administer the sacrament to those who have not first been interrogated and absolved. The people are diligently taught how comforting the word of absolution is, how highly and precious absolution is to be esteemed; for it is not the voice or word of the present man, but the word of God, who forgives sin, for it is spoken in God's stead and by God's command. Of this command and power of the keys, how comforting, how necessary it is to the frightened conscience, is taught with great diligence; in addition, how God demands that we believe this absolution, no less than so that God's voice from heaven may shout, and cheerfully comfort us, and know that through such faith we obtain forgiveness of sins. Of these necessary things the preachers of old, who spoke of confession

1) So the Hessian manuscript. Ansbacher: "of absolution".

The people who have been taught much have not stirred up a single word, but have only tormented their consciences with a long recital of sins, with pardon, with indulgences, with pilgrimages, and the like. And many of our opponents themselves confess that this part of right Christian repentance is more appropriately written and practiced than it has been in a long time.

And it is thus taught in confession, that no one is to be urged to tell the sin by name, for this is impossible, as the Psalm says (Ps. 19:13), "Who knoweth iniquity?" and Jeremiah says (Jer. 17:9), "The heart of man is so bad that it cannot be learned.), "The heart of man is so wicked that it cannot be unlearned." Wretched human nature is so deep in sin that it cannot see or know them all, and if we were to be absolved only by those we can count, we would be little helped. For this reason it is not necessary to urge people to tell the sin by name. So also the fathers have held, as one finds vistinst. I. äs posuit. where the words of Chrysostom are invoked: I say not that thou shalt offer thyself publicly, nor accuse thyself or plead guilty with another, but obey the prophet, which saith, Reveal thy ways unto the Lord." (Ps. 37:5.) Wherefore confess unto the Lord GOD, the true Judge, beside thy prayer; not tell thy sin with thy tongue, but in thy conscience. Here it is clearly seen that Chrysostom does not compel to tell sin by name. So also teaches the Cllossa in Ossrstis äs posnitsnt. Distinst. 5th, sap. Consiäsrst, that confession is not commanded by Scripture, but is instituted by the Church; yet it is diligently taught by the preachers of this part, that confession is to be received on account of absolution, which is the principal and most distinguished thing in it, for the consolation of frightened consciences, and for the sake of several other causes.

The XXVI Article.

Of the difference of food.

Thus it was taught, preached, and written of old, that the difference of meat, and such like traditions, instituted of men, serve to merit grace, and to be sufficient for sin.

For this reason, new fasts, new ceremonies, new orders, and the like, have been devised every day, and have been pushed fiercely and hard, as if such things were necessary divine services, by which one would earn grace if one kept them, and great sin would occur if one did not keep them; from this much harmful error has taken place in the church.

First of all, the grace of Christ and the doctrine of faith, which the gospel holds out to us with great earnestness, is obscured by this, and it drives home the point that the merit of Christ is to be esteemed high and dear, and that believing in Christ is to be placed high and far above all works. For this reason St. Paul fought fiercely against the Law of Moses and human traditions, that we should learn that we do not become godly before God by our works, but only through faith in Christ, that we obtain grace for Christ's sake. Such teaching is almost completely extinct; because it is taught that grace is earned by laws, fasting, distinction of food, clothing, and so forth.

On the other hand, such traditions have also obscured God's commandment, for one places these traditions far above God's commandment. This alone was considered Christian life, who kept the celebration thus, thus prayed, thus fasted, thus dressed; this was called spiritual, Christian life?)

Besides these, other necessary good works were regarded as worldly and unspiritual, namely, those which every man is obliged to do according to his profession, such as that the father of the house should work to feed his wife and children and bring them up in the fear of God, the mother of the house should bear children and wait on them, and a prince and ruler should govern land and people. 2c. Such works, commanded by God, had to be a worldly and imperfect being, but the Traditions had to have the splendid name that they alone were called holy, perfect works. Therefore, there was no measure nor end to making such traditions.

Thirdly, such traditions have become a great burden to the consciences; for it was not possible to keep all the traditions, and yet the people were of opinion as if such were a necessary service, and

1) I. T. Müller: "live". In Latin: vitn.

Gerson writes that many have fallen into despair, some have even killed themselves, because they have heard no comfort from the grace of Christ. For one sees how the consciences are confused in the case of the summists and theologians, who have taken upon themselves to draw together the Traditions, and sought that they might help the consciences, have had so much to do with it that, because all wholesome Christian doctrine of necessary things, as of faith, of consolation in high temptations, and the like, has lain low. Many pious people complained about this before this time, that such traditions cause much strife in the church, and that pious people are prevented from coming to the right knowledge of Christ. Gerson and others complained vehemently about this. Yes, Augustine also disliked that consciences were burdened with so many traditions. For this reason he gives instruction that they should not be considered necessary things.

Therefore ours have not taught of these things out of sacrilege or contempt of spiritual authority, but great necessity demanded that they should be taught of the above-mentioned errors, which grew out of a misunderstanding of the traditions. For the gospel compels that the doctrine of faith should and must be practiced in churches, which cannot be understood if one supposes to merit grace by one's own chosen works; and it is therefore taught that one cannot merit grace, or make atonement for God, or make atonement for sin, by keeping this human tradition, and for this reason no necessary service should be made of it. Cause for this is drawn from Scripture. Christ, Matt. 15:9, excuses the apostles for not keeping the usual traditions, saying, "They honor me in vain with the commandments of men." Now if he calls this a vain service, it must not be needful. And soon after [v. 17.], "That which entereth into the mouth defileth not a man." Item, Paul saith Rom. 14:17: "The kingdom of heaven is not in food.

1) Ansbach manuscript: "in the church". In Latin: IN 666168N8.

or drink"; Col. 2:16.: "Let no man judge you in meat, or drink, or sabbath" 2c. Apost. 15:10, 11. Peter saith, "Why tempt ye God with putting a yoke upon the necks of disciples, which neither our fathers nor we have had to bear? but we believe to be saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." Then Peter verbeut, that consciences should not be weighed down with more outward ceremonies, whether Mosis or others; and 1 Tim. 4, 1. 3. such prohibitions, as, forbid food. Forbidding marriage 2c., are called "doctrines of devils." For this is contrary to the gospel, to perform such works as to merit forgiveness of sins, or as if no man should be a Christian without such services.

But that they blame ours here, as forbidding mortification and discipline, as Jovinianus did, is much different from their writings. For they have always taught from the holy cross that Christians are guilty of suffering; and this is true, earnest, and not fictitious mortification. Besides this it is also taught that every man is bound to keep himself in bodily exercise, as fasting and other exercises, so that he may not give cause to sin, not that he may merit grace by such works. This bodily exercise is not to be practiced only for certain days, but continually; of which Christ speaks (Luc. 21:34.), "Take heed that your hearts be not weighed down with fillethiness"; item (Matt. 17:21.), "The devils are not cast out, but by fasting and prayer"; and Paul speaks (1 Cor. 9:27.), "He chasteneth his heart, and his soul, and he is not cast out, but by fasting and prayer".), "He mortifieth his body, and bringeth it to obedience:" so that he signifieth that mortification is to serve, not to merit grace thereby, but to keep the body skillfully, that it hinder not what every man is commanded to accomplish according to his profession; and therefore fasting is not rejected, but that a necessary service is made of it upon certain days and meals, to the confusion of consciences.

Also in this part many ceremonies and traditions are kept, as order of the mass and others, 2) chants, festivals 2c., which

2) "und andere" is missing in the Ansbach and Hesse manuscripts. In I. T. Müller: "und andere Gesänge".

serve that order be kept in the church. In addition, the people are taught that such outward worship does not make one pious in the sight of God, and that one should keep it without burdening one's conscience; so that if one fails to do it without offense, one does not sin in it. This liberty in outward ceremonies was also observed by the ancient fathers, for in the Orient the feast of Easter was kept at a different time from that at Rome. And since some would consider this inequality to be a separation in the church, they are admonished by others that it is not necessary to keep equality in such customs, and Irenaeus says thus: inequality in fasting does not separate unity of faith; as also Distinct. 12. is written of such inequality in human ordinances, that it is not contrary to the unity of Christianity; and Tripartit. Historia lib. 9. shows together many unequal church customs, and fetches a useful Christian saying: The apostle's opinion was not to institute holidays, but to teach faith and love.

The XXVII Article.

Of monastic vows.

To speak of monastic vows, it is necessary, first of all, to consider how they have been kept until now, what their nature has been in monasteries, and that very much has been done in them daily, not only contrary to God's word, but also contrary to papal rights: for in St. Augustine's time monastic buildings were free; subsequently, since the right discipline and doctrine were broken up, monastic vows were devised, and with them, just as with a devised prison, one wanted to re-establish discipline.

Above this, besides the monastic vows, one has brought up many other pieces more, and with such bonds and grievances of theirs much, even before due years, burdened.

Many people, too, have come to this monastic life out of ignorance; some of them, although they were not too young, did not sufficiently understand and appreciate their fortune. All of them, thus entangled and involved, are forced and compelled to remain in such bonds, notwithstanding that even papal law gives them much freedom. And

This was more burdensome in convents of virgins than in convents of monks, when it would have been proper to spare females as the weak. The same severity and harshness displeased many pious people in ancient times, for they saw that both boys and maidens were hidden in the monasteries for the sake of the preservation of the body. They have also seen how badly this practice has turned out, what trouble it has caused, what a burden on the conscience it has brought, and many people have complained that in such a dangerous matter the canons were not respected at all. Moreover, there is such an opinion of the monastic vows, which is hidden, and which has also displeased many monks who had little understanding.

For they pretended that monastic vows were equal to baptism, and that with monastic life one earned forgiveness of sin and justification before God; yes, they added still more that with monastic life one earned not only righteousness and piety, but also that with it one kept the commandments and counsels written in the Gospel, and thus the monastic vows were more highly prized than baptism. Item, that one earned more with the monastic life than with all the other professions ordered by God, such as the priesthood, the preaching profession, the magistracy, the princes, the lords, and the like, all of whom serve according to God's commandment, word, and commandment, in their profession without fictitious clergy, as none of these things can be denied, for they are found in their own books. As for those who were caught and put into a monastery, they learned little from Christ.

For instance, schools of the Scriptures and of other arts conducive to the Christian church were held in the monasteries, and priests and bishops were taken from the monasteries; but now it has taken a much different form. For in former times they were of the opinion that in the monastic life one learned the Scriptures; now they pretend that the monastic life is such an essence that one earns God's grace and piety before God with it, yes, it is a state of perfection, and they put it far ahead of the other states that are instituted by God. All this is therefore put on without any disparagement, so that one may be all the more

that they may hear and understand what and how ours preach and teach.

First of all, they teach us of those who take up marriage, that all those who are not qualified to be single have power, authority, and right to marry. They have the power, the authority and the right to marry, for vows cannot annul God's order and commandment. Now God's commandment is this, 1 Cor. 7:2: "For the sake of fornication let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband." To this end not only God's commandment, but also God's creature and order, urges, compels, and drives all those to the marriage state who, without the work of God, are not graced with the gift of virginity, according to this saying of God Himself, Genesis 2:18: "It is not good that man should be alone; we will make him a helper to be around him."

What can one do against this? Let the vow and duty be exalted as much as one wishes, let them be exalted as much as one can, yet one cannot force God's commandment to be rescinded by them. The doctors say that vows, even against the right of the pope, are not binding, so how much less should they bind? To have power and authority, contrary to God's commandment!

If the obligation 1) of the vows had no other cause that they should be taken up, the popes would not have dispensed or permitted it; for it behooves no man to break the obligation that grows out of divine rights. Therefore the popes have well considered that in this duty an equivalence should be used, and have often dispensed with it, as with a king of Arragon, and many others. Now, if one has dispensed for the preservation of temporal things, it should be dispensed much more cheaply for the need of souls.

Next, why does the opposite party press so hard that one must keep the vows, and does not first see whether the vow is of its kind? for the vow should be in possible matters, willing and unconstrained. But how perpetual chastity is in man's power and capacity is well known;

1) "Duty" - obligation, odliZAtio. Here "duty" is to be taken as plural, equal to: duties.

There are also few, both male and female, who have willingly and thoughtfully taken monastic vows. Before they come to their senses, they are persuaded to take monastic vows, and sometimes they are forced and compelled to do so. For this reason it is not right that one should disputes the obligation of the vow so quickly and harshly, since they all confess that such a thing is contrary to the nature and manner of the vow, that it is not vowed willingly and with good counsel and deliberation.

Some canons and papal laws tear up vows made under fifteen years of age, for they consider that before that time one does not have so much understanding as to be able to decide the order of the whole life as to how it is to be conducted.

Another canon admits even more years to human weakness, for he forbids to take the monastic vows under the age of eighteen. From this most of them have excuse and cause to leave the monasteries, for they more often came to monasteries in childhood before these years. Finally, even if the breaking of the monastic vow were to be censured, yet it could not follow from it that the same marriage should be broken, for St. Augustine says, 27. sq. I. *cap. Nuptiarum,* that one ought not to rend such marriage. Now St. Augustine is not held in low esteem in the Christian church, though some afterwards held otherwise.

Although God's commandment concerning the state of marriage has made many of them free and exempt from monastic vows, ours have even more reasons for believing that monastic vows are null and void. For all divine service, instituted and chosen by men without God's command and commandment, to obtain righteousness and God's grace, is against God, and contrary to the Gospel and God's command, as Christ Himself says, Matt. 15:9: "They serve me in vain with the commandments of men." So also St. Paul teaches everywhere that one should not seek righteousness from our commandments and services, which are invented by men, but that righteousness and godliness before God comes from faith and trust, that we believe that God has saved us for the sake of His only Son Christ.

grace. - Now it has come to pass that the monks have taught and preached that the imaginary clergy should be sufficient for sin, and should obtain God's grace and righteousness. Now what is this but to diminish the glory and praise of the grace of Christ, and to deny the righteousness of faith? Therefore it follows that such common vows were unrighteous, false services. For this reason they are also covenantless; for an ungodly vow made contrary to God's commandment is covenantless and void, just as the canons teach that an oath should not be a bond for sin.

St. Paul says to Galatians 5:4: "Ye are departed from Christ, who would be justified by the law, and have fallen short of grace." Wherefore also they that would be justified by vows are departed from Christ, and fall short of the grace of God; for they rob Christ of his glory, who alone justifies, and give such glory to their vows and monastic life.

Nor can it be denied that the monks have taught and preached that they become righteous and deserve forgiveness of sins by their vows and monastic ways; indeed, they have invented even more clumsy things and said that they share their good works with others. Now, if any one were to do all this unkindly, how many pieces could he gather together, of which the monks themselves are now ashamed? The monks are ashamed of themselves now and do not want to have done it. Above all this, they have persuaded the people that the fictitious spiritual orders are Christian perfection. This is the praise of works, that by them one may become righteous. Now it is no small annoyance in the Christian church that such a worship service is presented to the people, which men, without God's command, have invented, and teach that such a worship service makes men pious and righteous before God. For the righteousness of the faith, which should be practiced most in the church, is obscured when people's eyes are shut with this strange angelic spirituality and false pretenses of poverty, humility, and chastity.
Above this, the commandments of God and the right and true worship of God are also made by it.
when people hear that only the monks are supposed to be in a state of perfection. For Christian perfection is that one fears God from the heart and with earnestness, and yet also has a heartfelt confidence and faith, also trust, that we have a gracious, merciful God for Christ's sake; that we may and should ask and desire of God what is necessary for us, and certainly await help from Him in all tribulations, according to each one's profession and station; that we should also, however, outwardly do good works with diligence, and await our profession. Therein is the right perfection, and the right service of God; not in begging, or in a black or gray cap 2c. But the common people form much harmful opinion from false praise of the monastic life. When they hear that the single state is praised without measure, it follows that they are in the married state with a heavy conscience. For when the common man hears that the beggars alone are perfect, he cannot know that he may have goods and live without sin. If the people hear that it is only a counsel not to take vengeance, it follows that some think it is not sinful to take vengeance outside the office. Some think that vengeance is not at all fitting for Christians, nor for the authorities. There are also many examples that some have left their wives and children, as well as their government, and have taken refuge in monasteries. This, they said, means 1) to flee from the world and to seek such a life that pleases God more than the lives of others. They also could not know that one should serve God in the commandments which he has given, and not in the commandments which men have invented. Now this is a good and perfect state of life, which has God's commandment for itself; but this is a dangerous state of life, which does not have God's commandment for itself.

Of such things it has been necessary to give good report to the people. Gerson also punished the error of the monks about perfection in the past, and shows 2)

1) "heiße" set by us according to the Ansbach handwriting instead of: "heißt".
2) So Walch and Förstemann. J.T. Müller: "zeucht". Latin: testatur.

that in his time this had been a new speech, that the monastic life should be a state of perfection. So much ungodly opinion and error clings to the monastic vows: that they are to justify and make pious before God; that they are to be Christian perfection; that one thereby keeps both the counsels and commandments of the Gospel; that they have the excess of works which one does not owe to God.

Because all this is false, vain, and fictitious, it also makes the monastic vows null and void.

The XXVIII. Article.

Of the bishops' power.

Of the power of the bishops much and various things have been written of old, and some have unskilfully mixed the power of the bishops and the secular sword together, and out of this disorderly mixture very great wars, rebellions, and outrages have resulted, from which, that the bishops, in the appearance of their power given them by Christ, have not only instituted new divine services, and with reservation of some cases, and with violent banishment 1) have burdened the consciences, but have also refrained from setting and depriving emperors and kings of their pleasure. This crime has been punished for a long time by learned and God-fearing people in Christendom. Therefore, for the consolation of their consciences, ours have been forced to show the difference between spiritual and temporal power, sword and regiment, and have taught that, for the sake of God's command, both regiment and power should be honored and well kept with all devotion, as two of God's highest gifts on earth.

Now ours teach that the power of the keys or bishops, according to the Gospel, is a power and command of God to preach the Gospel, to forgive and retain sin, and to administer and administer the sacraments; for Christ sent the apostles with the command, "As my Father has sent me, even so I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost,

1) "Ban" is plural - *excommunicationibus*.

To whom ye shall remit sins, to them they shall be remitted; and to whom ye shall reserve them, to them they shall be reserved. "(Joh. 20, 21-23.) The same authority of the keys or bishops is exercised and carried on only by the teaching and preaching of God's word, and by the administration of the sacraments, against many or single persons, according to their profession. For thereby are given, not corporeal, but eternal things and goods, namely, eternal righteousness, the Holy Spirit, and eternal life. These goods cannot be obtained otherwise than by the ministry of preaching, and by the administration of the holy sacraments. For St. Paul says: "The Gospel is the power of God to save all who believe in it." (Rom. 1:16.) Forasmuch then as the power of the church or bishops gives eternal goods, and is exercised and wrought by the ministry of preaching alone, the police and the temporal government hinder it nothing everywhere, for the temporal government deals with many other things than the gospel; which power protects not souls, but bodies and goods against external violence with the sword and bodily blows.

Therefore the two governments, the spiritual and the temporal, are not to be mixed and thrown together. For the spiritual authority has its command to preach the gospel and to administer the sacraments; it is also not to fall into a foreign office, it is not to appoint or depose kings, it is not to abolish or destroy worldly law and the obedience of authority, it is not to make law to worldly authority and to set up worldly affairs, as Christ himself said (Joh. 18,36.), "My kingdom is not of this world;" item (Luc. 12:14.), "Who hath set me to be a judge among you?" and St. Paul to the Philippians, 3, 20: "Our citizenship is in heaven;" and in the second to the Corinthians, 10, 4: "The weapons of our knighthood are not carnal, but mighty in the sight of God, to destroy the attempts, and all exaltation, that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God."

In this way we distinguish between the two regiments and the office of authority, and call them both to be held in honor as the highest gift of God on earth. But where the bishops are secular regi

If the bishops have the sword and the ment, they have them not as bishops by divine rights, but by human imperial rights, given by emperors and kings for the temporal administration of their goods, and the office of the gospel is of no concern to them. Therefore the episcopal office is according to divine rights: to preach the gospel, to forgive sin, to judge doctrine, and to reject doctrine contrary to the gospel, and to exclude the ungodly, whose ungodly nature is evident, from the Christian community, without human authority, but only by the word of God. And in this case the pastors and churches are obliged to be obedient to the bishops, according to this saying of Christ Luc. 10:16: "He that heareth you heareth me." But where they teach, set, or establish anything contrary to the Gospel, we have God's command in such a case that we are not to be obedient, Matt. 7:15: "Beware of false prophets"; and St. Paul to the Galatians 1:8."If we also, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed:" and in the 2nd epistle to the Corinthians 13:8, "We have no power against vanity, but for the truth:" item [v. 10], "According to the power which the Lord hath given me to amend, and not to destroy." So also spiritual law gives 2. <^n. 7. in eap. Laoaräotos, and in eap. Ov68; and St. Augustine, in the epistle against Petilianum, writes, that even bishops, so duly elected, ought not to be followed where they err, or teach or ordain anything contrary to the holy divine Scriptures.

The bishops, however, have power and jurisdiction in certain matters, such as marital affairs or tithes, by virtue of their human rights. But if the ordinaries are negligent in this office, the princes are obliged, whether willingly or unwillingly, to give justice to their subjects for the sake of peace, in order to prevent strife and great unrest in the countries. Further, it is debatable whether bishops also have power to establish ceremonies in the church, as well as ordinances of food, feast days, and various orders of ecclesiastics; for those who give the bishops this power are referring to this saying of Christ, Jn 16:12, 13: "I, the bishops, have power over the church.

I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: but when the Spirit of truth shall come, he shall guide you into all truth". 15:20. in that they have forbidden blood and things choked. So also that the Sabbath was changed into Sunday, is pointed out against the ten commandments, for which they respect it; and no example is so highly exalted and pointed out, as the changing of the Sabbath, and thus want to maintain that the power of the church is great, because it has dispensed with the ten commandments, and changed something in them.

But ours teach in this matter thus: that the bishops have no power to establish and set up anything contrary to the gospel, as is shown above, and the spiritual rights teach throughout the Ninth Distinction. Now this is openly contrary to God's command and word, to make laws of opinion, or to command that one may thereby suffice for sin and obtain grace, for it is blaspheming the honor of Christ's merit, if by such statutes we refrain from earning grace. It is also evident that, for the sake of this opinion, human essays have become innumerable in Christendom, and that the doctrine of faith and the righteousness of faith have been suppressed. Alan has daily commanded new feasts, new fasts, instituted new ceremonies, and new reverences of the saints, with such works to merit grace and all good with God. Those who establish human statutes also do so contrary to God's commandment, that they sin in food, in days, and in such things, and thus burden Christianity with the bondage of the law, just as if there should be such a service among Christians to merit God's grace, which would be like the Levitical service, which God should have commanded the apostles and bishops to establish, as some write of it; it is also to be believed that some bishops have been deceived with the example of the Law of Moses, from which have come so innumerable statutes, that it is a mortal sin to do manual labor on feast days, even without the offense of others; that it is a mortal sin to slack the seventh day; that some food is injurious to the conscience; that it is a mortal sin to be a sinner.

That fasting is such a work to make atonement for God; that sin is not forgiven in a reserved case, so that one first asks the reserver of the case, regardless of the fact that the spiritual laws do not speak of the reservation of guilt, but of the reservation of church penance.

Whence then have bishops right and power to interpret such essays of Christianity, to ensnare consciences? For St. Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, on the fifteenth [v. 10.], bids them put the yoke upon the necks of the disciples; and St. Paul tells the Corinthians that they have power to amend, and not to destroy. Why then do they increase sin with such essays? But there are clear sayings in the divine Scriptures that forbid them to set up such essays in order to merit the grace of God, or as if they were necessary for salvation. Thus St. Paul says to Colossians 2 [vv. 16, 17, 20-23]: "Let no man therefore make you conscience of meat, or of drink, or of certain days, even of feasts, or of new moons, or of sabbaths, which are the shadow of things to come, but the body itself is in Christ"; item: "If ye then be dead with Christ from worldly statutes, why do ye then let yourselves be entangled with statutes, as though ye were alive? Which say, Thou shalt not touch these things, thou shalt not eat these things, nor drink these things, thou shalt not put these things on; which are all consumed with hands, and are the commandments and doctrines of men, and have a semblance of wisdom"; 1) item. St. Paul to Tito on the 1st [v. 14.publicly bequeathed, one should not pay attention to Jewish fables and human commandments, which turn away the truth.

So also Christ himself saith, Matt. 15:14. of them that do men's bidding, "Let them go, they are blind guides to the blind;" and rejecteth such worship, saying [v. 13.s, "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, they are cut off." Now, if the bishops have power to weigh down the churches with innumerable essays, and to ensnare the consciences: why ver-

1) Thus the Ansbach manuscript. J. T. Müller: "Truth."

does then the divine Scripture so often command to make and to hear the human essays? why does it call them doctrines of devils? shall then the Holy Spirit have warned all these things in vain?

Therefore, since such ordinances are established as necessary to propitiate God and to merit grace, they are contrary to the Gospel; so it is by no means proper for the bishops to enforce such services. For in Christendom the doctrine of Christian liberty must be maintained, namely, that the bondage of the law is not necessary to justification; as St. Paul writes to the Galatians on the 5th [v. 1.], "Stand therefore in liberty, that Christ may set us free, and be not again bound in the bondage of the yoke"; for it must ever be preserved the chief article of the gospel, that we obtain the grace of God by faith in Christ without our merit, and do not merit it by service instituted of men.

What then is to be thought of Sunday, and such other church ordinances and ceremonies? To this ours give this answer: that the bishops or pastors may make order, that things may be done properly in the church; not that they may obtain God's grace, nor that they may do enough for sin, nor that they may bind their consciences to consider such things as necessary worship, and that they may be accounted sinful if they break them without offense. St. Paul therefore commanded the Corinthians that the women in the assembly should cover their heads, and that the preachers in the assembly should not all speak at once, but one after another.

It is the duty of the Christian assembly to keep this order for the sake of love and peace, and to be obedient to the bishops and pastors in these cases, and to keep them at a distance so that one does not offend the other, so that there is no disorder or chaos in the church. But so that the consciences may not be troubled, that they may consider it necessary for salvation, and that they may consider it a sin if they break them without the annoyance of others, as no one says.

That the woman sin, which goeth forth with her head bare, without offence of men. Thus is the ordinance of Sunday, of the Paschal feast, of the Pentecosts, and the like solemnities and ordinances. For those who think that the ordinance of Sunday is established as necessary for the Sabbath are greatly mistaken; for the holy Scriptures have abolished the Sabbath, and teach that all the ceremonies of the old law may be abated after the opening of the Gospel; And yet, because it was necessary to ordain a certain day, that the people might know when they should come together, the Christian church ordained Sunday for this purpose, and was the more pleased and willing to make this change, that the people might have an example of Christian liberty, that it might be known that neither the keeping of the Sabbath, nor of any other day, was necessary. There are many false disputations concerning the change of the law, the ceremonies of the New Testament, and the change of the Sabbath, all of which have sprung from a false and erroneous opinion, as if there should be such a service in Christendom as was according to the Levitical or Jewish service, and as if Christ should have commanded the apostles and bishops to devise new ceremonies necessary to salvation. The same errors have been introduced into Christianity, because the righteousness of the faith has not been taught and preached purely and unadulteratedly. Some therefore argue about Sundays, that they must be kept, though not by divine right, but in form and measure, as far as one may work on a holiday. But what are such disputations but snares of conscience? For though they presume to palliate and epiicirize human essays, yet no or palliation can be effected, so

For a long time the opinion has stood and remained, as if they were necessary. Now the same opinion must remain, if one knows nothing of the righteousness of faith and of Christian liberty. The apostles said that one should abstain from blood and suffocation. But who keeps it now? But yet they do not sin who do not keep it, for the apostles themselves did not want consciences either.

We do not wish to burden ourselves with such servitude, but have forbidden it for a time for the sake of annoyance; for we must have respect in this statute for the main piece of Christian doctrine, which is not abrogated by this decree. No old canons are kept, as they read, and many of these statutes fall away every day, even among those who keep such essays most diligently. There one cannot advise nor help the consciences, where this palliation is not kept, that we know to keep such articles thus, that it is not thought that they are necessary: that also it is harmless to the consciences, although such articles fall away. But the bishops would easily receive obedience, if they did not insist on keeping those statutes which cannot be kept without sin. But now they do one thing, and forbid both forms of the holy sacrament; item, the marriage state of the clergy; they admit no one before he has taken an oath that he will not preach this doctrine, which is undoubtedly according to the holy gospel.

Our churches do not desire that the bishops, to the detriment of their honor and dignity, should again make peace and unity, even though it is the duty of the bishops to do so in times of need, but they do ask that the bishops refrain from some unjust impositions, which were not even in the church in former times, and were adopted contrary to the usage of the common Christian church, which may have had some cause in the beginning, but they do not rhyme with our times. So it is also undeniable that some statutes were adopted out of ignorance. Therefore the bishops should be kind enough to moderate these statutes, since such a change does no harm to preserve the unity of the Christian church; for many statutes that arise from men have themselves fallen with the times, and are not necessary to be kept, as the papal laws themselves testify. But if it cannot be preserved even among them, that such human statutes be tempered and put away, which cannot be kept without sin, we must follow the apostles' rule, which commands us to be more obedient to God than to men. [Acts 5:29.]

St. Peter bequeaths dominion to the bishops, as if they had power to compel the churches to do what they wished. Now they do not deal with taking away the bishops' power, but they ask and desire that they will not force consciences to sin. But if they will not do this, and despise this request, let them think how they will have to answer God for it, because with such harshness they give cause for schism and division, which they should help to prevent.

These are the most important articles that are considered controversial. For although many more abuses and inaccuracies could have been brought to light, we have, in order to avoid prolixity and length, reported only the most important ones, from which the others can easily be gauged, for in former times there were many complaints about indulgences, pilgrimages, and the abuse of the ban. The parish priests also quarreled endlessly with the monks about hearing confessions, burials, sermons, 2) and countless other things. We have passed over all of this in the best way and for the sake of glimpses, so that the most distinguished pieces in this matter may be noted all the better. Nor is it to be held that anything is said or done in this matter to hate, oppose, or discredit anyone, but we have only told the things that we thought it necessary to tell and report, so that it may be heard all the more clearly that nothing is accepted among us, either with doctrine or with ceremonies, that would be contrary either to the Holy Scriptures or to the common Christian church. For it is now in the day and public that we have prevented with all diligence, with God's help (without speaking of glory), so that no new and ungodly doctrine will ever take root, break in, and gain the upper hand in our churches.

The above articles we have desired to hand over, according to the letter, for a display of our confession, and of our doctrine; and if any man be found to be

1) So Förstemann. J. T. Müller: "sollen".

2) In the Ansbach: "der beypredigen" in agreement with the Latin: Ns extraordinariis eoneionikus. In J. T. Müller: "Leichpredigten".

If anyone lacks this, he is required to give a further report on the basis of divine holy scripture.

E. Kaiserl. Majesty most humbly

John, Duke of Saxony, Elector.
George, Margrave of Brandenburg.
Ernst, Duke of Lüneburg.
Philips, Landgrave of Hesse.
Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt.
The city of Nuremberg.
The city of Reutlingen.

961: The Emperor's gracious answer given by Count Palatine Frederick to the protesting estates after the reading of their confession.

This document is taken from Chyträu's Hist. der Augsb. Also in Müller, p. 586, § 9 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. II, p. 3.

Roman Imperial Maj. Maj. has read and graciously heard the writing of your beloved, the Elector of Saxony, and others of my grandfathers, brothers-in-law and friends, their preachers' doctrine and attitude, and the confession of faith of all of you. But since this is an excellent, highly important, and significant great deal, and therefore well worthy of consideration, let His Imperial Majesty take it into account, consider it with all diligence, and deliberate on it, and when His Imperial Majesty has made up his mind, let him take it into consideration, consider it with all diligence, and deliberate on it, and when His Imperial Majesty has made up his mind, let him take it into consideration. Maj. has decided something in this matter, he shall then again announce it to His Imperial Majesty and have it heard in reply in such a way that His Imperial Majesty shall feel and note His Majesty's gracious, Christian and well-meaning mind and opinion.

962 Spalatin's Narrative of the Reading of the Augsburg Confession, Together with an Enclosed List of the Most Noble Points of the Same.

In Spalatin's Annals, p. 134. also in the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 411; in the Jena (1554), vol. V, p. 29d; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 152; and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 204.

On Saturday, the day after St. John the Baptist, one of the greatest works that ever happened on earth took place at this Imperial Diet in Augsburg. For on the same day after noon, my most gracious lord, the Elector of Augsburg

Duke Johannes, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Johannes Friedrich of Saxony, Duke Ernst of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, Duke Franz of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the two cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen of their faith and the whole Christian doctrine, which they have preached in their principalities, lands and cities, confession publicly, with Christian, fine, comforting mind and heart, let read in German, from article to article, not only before all princes, princes, estates, bishops, councils, if any, but also before Roman. kais. Maj. himself, and her brother, King Ferdinando. But the Lord Chancellor, Doctor Christianus, 1) read it, and read it very well, so loudly and clearly that it was heard not only in the hall, but also down in the Palatinate, that is, in the court of the bishop of Augsburg, where Imperial Maj. Maj. lies at home.

Now the same confession was written in German and Latin, but for the sake of brevity it is read only in German.

And the confession was certainly written in Latin and German, with divine scripture in its foundation, and with such gloriousness that such a confession has never been made, not only in a thousand years, but as long as the world has stood. Nor is such a thing to be found in any history, nor in any old teacher or doctor.

For in the first place are written all the articles of faith, and also what is taught, preached, and held.

First of all, of the Holy Divine Trinity, of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

How to become pious and righteous before God. How all men are born in original sin. What is original sin.

How to obtain God's grace.

How the sermon is necessary for justification.

How faith must bring good fruit and works.

What the common Christian church is.

That the sacraments, even administered by wicked priests, may be powerful.

Of the baptism against the Anabaptists.

Of the reverend Sacrament of the true Body and Blood of Christ, in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Of repentance.

That the sacraments are such comforting emblems, whereby we are assured and assured that

1) Beier.

God will be gracious, kind and merciful to us for Christ's sake, and will do us good both temporally and eternally.

From the church servants.

Of ceremonies to keep for peace, which may be kept without sin, and not to be saved thereby.

Of secular laws and order.

That Christ would come at the last day to judge the living and the dead; to give eternal life and joy to the faithful, and to condemn the devils and the ungodly.

Of free will, that we have a free will to be outwardly pious, but not before GOD.

That sin is caused from the perverse will of devils and wicked men.

Of faith and good works, that the right faith is that one heartily devotes himself to all good, grace and help to God for Christ's sake, and that faith without good works is nothing, which God has commanded.

And of the service of the saints, that one should also provide oneself with all good to God, as the saints have done, and that one should follow their faith, and love; but only call upon God.

After that the articles in dispute followed, as, of both forms, why they are given to everyone with us.

Of the measurement, how they are kept with us, and for what causes the angle measurement falls with us.

From the priests, monks and nuns marriage.

Of the monastic vows.

Of the difference of food.

From confession.

Of the power of bishops, and the difference between the spiritual and the temporal sword.

In every article of the faith, the contrary doctrine and erroneous opinion and heresies, as sacramentalists, Anabaptists 2c., were also rejected, with the request that, if anyone wished to have further instruction, he should do the same.

At the entrance, my most gracious and gracious Elector, Princes and Lords have protested that these matters are now, in love and kindness, not to be settled according to their Imperial Majesty's request in their notice to this Diet. Maj.'s request in their invitation to this Imperial Diet, that they all be and remain subject to the previous appeal and protest at the next Imperial Diet at Speier, to the future, common, free, Christian Council, which Imperial Maj. has in some of their instructions announced in the Constitution of the Holy Roman Empire. Maj. in some of her instructions to imperial congresses. Imperial Congresses, has graciously entrusted to the Empire.

Kaiserl. Maj. and King Ferdinandus, the Dukes of Bavaria, and also several bishops have listened very diligently.

Be sure that you have not heard so much of this doctrine all your lives, and that, of course, Imperial Maj. Maj., King, many princes and bishops have taken us all for mammals, who thought neither of God nor of faith.

Since the chancellor had read in the confession that about four hundred years ago, when the pope had forbidden the priests in Germany to marry, and an archbishop of Mainz had proclaimed the same commandment, and his priests had wanted to urge them to oppose it by force so hard that he had been almost strangled in an outrage, King Ferdinand had asked the archbishop of Mainz if it was true? Mainz said. Yes, it was true.

Finally, since the confession has been made, and both the Latin and German have been handed to Doctor Brück, Chancellor, Alexander Schweiß, Imperial Secretary, and through him to the Archbishop at Main. Secretaries, and through him to the Archbishop of Mainz, His Imperial Majesty himself took hold of it and took it to him. Maj. himself took hold of it, and took it to him, with gracious request to pursue the matter further through Duke Frederick, Count Palatine.

Some princes, who should rightly be our friends, have almost stood in such a way under the reading of the confession of faith and doctrine, that it is to be noted from it that they did not hear it very gladly. For indeed the adversaries have

that one would be very shy about this part of the matter, and would have to do everything that could be done.

God has ever given the grace that no one has been disparaged in the confession, and that it has been kept as light as possible, so that no one would ever have to complain about a single scandal.

Therefore, we hope to God that God will continue to give us grace, so that we may earnestly seek God with diligent prayer everywhere in all churches and sermons, and also in other ways, so that God may lead these things to a blessed end, so that we may remain in God's Word and keep good peace. So we all ask with earnestness.

And let this bargain move us to act all the more in the fear of God. For if it should come to an unfortunate end, the country and its people would suffer great destruction, perhaps not only with the loss of life and property, wife and child, but also of eternal goods, since God wants to protect us from them.

One is said to have requested that one should not allow the confession touched to be printed in Latin and German.

One has also not forbidden the eating of meat on Friday 2c. until now. May God continue to help in all other main matters with all graces, amen.

The sixth section of the thirteenth chapter.

How the Augsburg Confession was handed over to some papist theologians for examination, and by them immediately a refutation was made, but by Melanchthon the so-called Apology was written.

H.. What unequal judgments about the read confession have fallen among the Roman-Catholic states, and what complaints have been made from both sides.

963. Spalatin's short account of it.

About this writing Walch says in the Jnhaltsverzeichniß of the 16th volume, p. 49 b: "Steht in Spalatins unnub x. 140 and in the Theilen Luth. in the places mentioned immediately before." But only one part is found in the Annals, pp. 140-147, the whole being an extract from a writing which has theDtitle: "Etliche Historie, wohl zu merken, so sich auf diesem Reichstag zugetragen 2c. von Magistro Georgio Spalatins verzeichnet. Anno 1530." This writing

is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 413, and in the Jena (1554), vol. V, p. 33. The separate pieces of this narrative are there widely scattered; in the Wittenberg 1st e. p. 413 u; 413 b; 414u; 414 b; 415; 416 b; 417.

Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, when he heard the confession of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, and of the other princes who depend on his electoral grace in the Gospel, he spoke kindly to my most gracious lord, and when he came home, he was said to have said that he had not been told about this matter and doctrine before.

The other day a prince, in the presence of many others...

1) This paragraph is not in Spalatin's Annals.

Princes and lords have said: The Lutherans have next delivered a writing, written with ink; if I were emperor, I would again give them a writing with rubrics, that is, written with red ink. Another prince would soon have to answer this: Nevertheless, the emperor would have to be careful if he wanted to write with rubrics, as your lord says, so that the presiliaries 1) do not splash under his eyes.

Some cardinals themselves confess that our cause and doctrine are right, but that it should not have been done without the help of others; they do not know how to compare, and do not want to have acted wrongly in any way.

[2]) The archbishop of Cologne is said to have said last year: I am a bishop, and am to govern my churches, and to preach. Now I cannot; but I only wanted to leave my diocese, so that this matter would be judged in good peace.

One says again, also some Bavarians themselves, that Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria said to O. Ecken: I have been told many other things about Luther's teaching than I have heard in their confession. You have also put me off, that their doctrine is too embarrassing. Then D. Eck spoke: With the fathers I dare to dispense, but not with the Scriptures. Then Duke Wilhelm turned away from him.

His Imperial Majesty had his Spanish masters discuss how his Majesty should show himself against the Lutheran doctrine. To this they have given Imperial Maj. Maj. in the French language this answer: where his Imperial Maj. Maj. finds in it such pieces as are contrary to the articles of faith, then his Majesty shall use all his power to eradicate the same sects. If, however, the disputed articles only concern the removal of certain ceremonies and external things, His Majesty shall not violently oppose them. But to learn this, his Majesty shall submit the matters to a few pious people who are not related to any part. This is a fine, prudent, wise council, the like of which we would hardly have found in all German lands.

[3]) The Cardinal Campegius said to one: "I have often thought that the innumerable great multitude of monks will one day cause great misfortune to the Church.

1) "Presilgen" == Brazil, red color. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol.XX, 819.
2) The following two paragraphs are not in Spalatin's Annals.
3) The following two paragraphs are missing from Spalatin's Annals.

Doctor Paulus Ricener, King Ferdinandi's physician, spoke most honestly and best of remote matters, concerning God's word, and cannot be surprised enough at the great harshness of our counterpart.

Count Felix von Werdenberg, such a great adversary of Doctor Martin Luther that he is said to have let himself be heard: if it came to war against the Lutherans, that he would allow himself to be used for it in vain, had a panket with the Abbot of Weingarten on Monday after St. Kilian's Day [July 11], and went there drunk, and was found dead in bed, and buried on Tuesday after St. Kilian's Day. God forgive him his sin. So one after the other passes away. We still act as if we wanted to push Christ out of heaven.

It is said, when Count Felix von Werdenberg was carried to his grave, that an honest citizen stood before a prince's council here in Augsburg, and when he saw the corpse, with more pomp than usual, he asked: who was the dead man? When he heard that Count Felix was the deceased, he was terrified and said, "God is a strange judge; only yesterday I heard from his mouth that he had spoken in dire tones: he did not want to live, he wanted to devour life and limb to eradicate the Lutheran doctrine; then he went away so quickly. Now it is said that he was not drunk either.

Another count experienced this, who also opposed God's word so much, also with such defiance, he is also said to have been so frightened that he became ill from it.

The suffragan bishop of Würzburg, Marius, often said in a collation: he wanted to stay with the mother, he meant the papal church. Brentius, as a pious, learned man, once said: "My dear sir, you must not forget the Father, the dear God, in addition; then the suffragan bishop wanted to fly off the handle.

964 Luther's letter to Nicolaus Hausmann, in which a certain bishop's and Duke Henry of Brunswick's speeches are particularly strange. July 6, 1530.

Handwritten in 6o<l. 3en. d., col. 209, and in Aurifaber's unprinted collection, vol. Ill, p. 45. After the latter with obvious errors in Schütze, vol. II, p. 148. Also in Buddeus, p. 139; in Cölestin, torn. II, col. 206 6 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 69.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the venerable man, Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful and very loud bishop of the church at Zwickau.

Grace and peace in Christ! This our rius 1) or "Hornung" will tell you, my dear man, everything that is happening both at Augsburg and here with me better than I am able to write it. However, after his arrival here, D. Jonas wrote to me that our confession, which our Philip had prepared, was publicly read by D. Christian, the Chancellor of our Prince, before the Emperor and the Princes and Bishops of the whole Empire (only with the exclusion of the common great crowd) in the Emperor's palace itself. The following have signed the confession: first the Elector of Saxony, then Margrave George of Brandeuburg, John Frederick, the younger Prince, the Landgrave of Hesse, Ernst and Francis, Dukes of Lüneburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the City of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. 2) Now the imperial ones are deliberating about the answer. Many bishops are inclined to peace and despise the sophists Faber and Eck. A bishop is said to have said 3) in private conversation: This is the plain truth, we cannot deny it. The bishop of Mainz is highly praised as a man of peace. Likewise Duke Henry of Brunswick, who kindly invited Philip to the banquet and testified that he indeed could not deny the articles of the two forms, the marriage of priests, and the indiscriminate nature of the food. Our people boast that in the whole Diet no one was more lenient than the emperor himself. So it is with the beginning. The emperor treats our prince not only graciously, but almost reverently. So writes Philip. It is to be marveled at how all glow with love and favor against the emperor. Perhaps, if God wills that, as the first

1) A game with "Hornung's" name.

2) Luther here gives the signers of the Latin Confession. From the report of Chancellor Brück, No. 959, it appears that only five princely persons besides the two cities signed the German Confession; in the Latin one, Duke Johann Friedrich and Duke Franz of Lüneburg were added.

3) According to the following letter, this bishop is the bishop of Augsburg.

Emperor 4) was very evil, so this last one will be very good. Let us only pray, for the power of prayer is very clearly felt. You will communicate this to the Cordatus and to all the brothers, for it is true. I believe that by now you have received my letter to you and your brother. The Lord be with thee, amen. Greetings to all our brethren. From the desert, July 6, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

965 Letter of D. Justus Jonas to D. Martin Luther, in which among other things the above statement of a bishop is confirmed, and another equally strange one of the bishop of Salzburg is mentioned. About June 27, 1530.

This letter is found in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 205; in Oorp. Lei., vol. II, 154 and a detailed regest in Burkhardt, p. 179. The latter has the date "June 29", but Köstlin, M. Luther, vol. II, p. 656 proves that it must have left Augsburg already on June 27.

Translated into German.

(1) Faber is quite mad, and Eck not much wiser; they are doing it with all zeal and earnestness, one must use force, and not first make much interrogation. On account of the confession delivered before the Emperor on the Saturday after St. John's Day (which would have been delivered the day before, had it not been for the piteous and moving speech of the Austrians by Sigismund von Dietrichstein, which would have presented the pitiful state of the siege of Vienna the year before), our princes were heard in the Emperor's palace, in a not very spacious place; there could have been about 200 people inside. The Emperor sat down, and the Electors, together with the absent Electors' envoys, took their seats on both sides. Afterwards, the other princes and estates of the empire sat on one side. Our Chancellor, D. Christian, read our confession from article to article, clearly, loudly and audibly, so that it was heard by all. He read it all in two hours. The Emperor was very attentive. The Bishop of Augsburg is said to have said in conversations among good friends: What has been read out is true; it is the plain truth, we cannot deny it. I have seen the face of the emperor

4) This will probably refer to the Diet of Worms.

and face now more closely and better than ten years ago at the Diet of Worms. In all things, this prince seems to radiate that which indicates a mild, honest, gracious, and quite royal heart, and a kind, as it were, innate cheerfulness.

(2) I have heard from a great man who was also in the council and assembly that whenever King Ferdinand speaks something harsh and unkind, the emperor is wont to punish him and to say that moderation and kindness befit kings, with which, however, he shows that he is repulsed by all heated and hasty proposals, and that anger and sudden zeal in princes is a very bad counselor. The Emperor had our confession translated into Italian and French by Alphonsus Waldez and Alexander Schweiß. Only Nuremberg and Reutlingen signed the confession. The people of Strasbourg asked several times that it be accepted, with the exception of the article on the Sacrament, but the princes did not want to do so. The Landgrave has signed it with us, but says that ours do not satisfy him in the matter of the Sacrament. The Bishop of Augsburg is to expressly contradict all suggestions of violence and cruelty in the Council. The Salzburg bishop is said to have said among good friends: I wanted both forms and marriage to be free; I wanted the Mass to be better established; I wanted freedom in food and other statutes, and thus good order in everything; but that a few monks should reform us all, that is a disturbance of the peace, one must not suffer that!

(3) The chancellor and the rest of us have advised the princes to go to the emperor and briefly present (and show) the sum of the doctrine, in which they may or may not yield. Philip is writing articles here, which we want to consider together, and which are also to be sent to you, so that you may translate them and see for yourselves. As for my conscience, I beseech you through Jesus Christ, my most worthy Father, that ye take good care of it, because it is a matter of great importance. For ye are the chariot of Israel, and the charioteer thereof: the Lord hath endued you before others with glorious gifts. The Lord Philip, out of good intentions, is walking in this matter very carefully and cautiously, and wants to give way to the common peace in many things. And in the end we have quarreled a little about the rule and power of the bishops, which I report to you so secretly. But
Here may ye give good counsel, that it be not a calamity to all our posterity, and that it torment us in our conscience hereafter. I also would that all these things were left undone, whereby nothing is taken away from Christ. But I have no doubt that Christ will reveal to us what is to be done through your mouth, through which he has been presented and preached to us in a holy way. 1) The other day the Cardinal of Salzburg summoned the Lord Philip to him for an intimate conversation, through Wolfgang Stromer of Nuremberg. And as he had returned from it rather heated, he told us, as it was already 2 o'clock at night towards morning, what they had spoken to each other. I heard (he says) the utmost threats, and not a death sentence at all. The man from Salzburg, when he was told of his conscience, said: "Conscience! the Emperor will not suffer the disturbance of common peace. They are safe, as if there were no God. It is astonishing how much they rely on human power, and how we are nothing but ants in their eyes.

(4) I and Philip have been with Cornelius Schopper, who was formerly in the service of the exiled King of Denmark, but is now the imperial secretary. He said (as he likes to joke wittily and finely): if we had money, we would soon buy a religion from the Italians, as we only wanted to. But if we had no gold, our cause would be a very meagre and dry one. He also says that it is not possible that the emperor, whom the cardinals and bishops now surround so much, should accept or put up with any other religion than the papist one; so much has the old one been put into his head.

(5) My gracious young lord will have your rose 2) cut into a pretty stone and set in gold; it will be a very beautiful pitter-patter, which his princely grace will give to you himself.

006 I would that ye would write unto Philip very often. For there is very great sadness in him, and the common matter is very grievous to his heart. We are always telling him to take the Psalms of David and to speak to God with foreign words, but not with his own words, in such an important matter; but his excessive sadness keeps the upper hand.

1) The following two accounts of Melanchthon's meeting with the Cardinal of Salzburg and the imperial secretary Cornelius Schopper are also found, almost word for word, in the letter of Jonas of June 25, 1530, which Kolde, p. 138 ff. communicates.

2) which Luther had in his coat of arms.

966th Letter of Melanchthon to Luther, in which he reports about the attacks of the opposing party after the delivery of the Confession.

July 8, 1530.

This letter is found in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 208 and in the 6orx. Röt., vol. II, 175.

Translated into German.

We thank you very much that you have answered us without any worries. Of other things orally. I will only briefly tell you what is going on here. After the delivery of our confession, three different opinions came to the fore in the assembly of princes. The first was the most stringent, that the Emperor should urge all princes and nations to comply with the Edict of Worms. The other was somewhat less severe, and was to the effect that our Confession should be handed over to honest, learned, and impartial men for examination, and that afterwards the Emperor should make a pronouncement. King Ferdinand also put up with this. The third, as it seems, is that the refutation of our confession should be read to us, whereby the Emperor reserves that we leave the matter to his judgment, otherwise we should bring everything back to the old state until a council is called. This latter opinion has not yet been made public, we have not yet received an answer; but I hope it will be proclaimed on Monday. I wait for it with great desire. For I have from experience how the Legate Campegius is minded. Since the archbishop of Mainz saw that he could not achieve anything by much arguing, he did not come to the assembly the following day. Since the princes agreed with this opinion, the princely councillors were also excluded, from whom it was assumed that they would have a more lenient opinion. Among them is the Chancellor of Dresden. Herewith I have told you not only the actions so far, but also what is still to be expected without any addition. For I foresee what movements, what a distressing spectacle the opinion of our opponents will cause. The peasant, 1) whom you know, is at the top of the game, and is being incited by some hypocrites among the theologians. That is all I can write. Fare well, and pray for us. The 8th of July.

1) Duke George.

967 Directory of the Papal Theologians who were present at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg.

From Müller's Hist., p. 653, Walch has printed this directory under the title: "Directory of the Papal Theologians who were to refute the Augsburg Confession." But according to Spalatin's Annals, p. 141, the Wittenberg edition, vol. IX, p. 413 d, and the Jena edition, vol. V, p. 34, this is the "Directory of the twenty Doctores, so wider die Lutherischen hie zu Augsburg sind," which the preacher of Queen Mary had sent to the Protestants. In the various editions, the order of the names is different.

1. doctor Johann Eck.
2. D. Johann Faber, provost at Ofen, coadjutor.
3. D. Augustin Marius, Bishop of Salon.
4. D. Conrad Wimpina, Oräirmrius knrtsusis.
5. D. Johann Cochlaeus, with Duke Georgen at Saxony.
6. D. Paul Haug, 2) of the Order of Preachers Provincial.
7. D. Andreas Stoß, the Carthaeus Provincial.
8. D. Conrad Colli, 3) Prior with the preachers at Kölln.
9. D. Bartholomew Using, 4) Augustinian at the Bishop of Würzburg.
10. D. Johann Mensing, preacher monk with the Elector of Brandenburg.
11. D. Johann Dittenberger?) Prior at Coblenz.
12. D. Johann Burkard, Vicarius of the Order of Preachers.
13. D. Hieronymus Montinus, 6) of the Bishop of Passau Vicarius.
14. D. Matthias Kretz, 7) Preacher at Augsburg.
15. D. Peter Speiser, 8) Vicarius of the Bishop of Costnitz.
16. D. Arnold von Wesel, Oolonisusis.
17. brother Medardus, of King Ferdinand: preacher, monk of the Barefoot.
18. D. Conrad Thoman, preacher at Regensburg.
19. D. Augustin Tottelin 9) of Bremen.
20. D. Wolfgang Redörffer, provost at Stendal.

2) With Walch: Hugo.
3) Walch: Collin.
4> Walch: Usinger.
5) Wittenberg and Jena: "Dietenberger". - Because this name is missing in Spalatin's annals, only nineteen doctors are listed there.
6) Jn Spalatin's Annals: Monting.
7) With Spalatin: Gretz.
8) Walch: Speisser.
9) In Walch: "Thomä, Prediger zu Regensburg". - Spalatin writes: "Tottelin", the Wittenbergers and the Jenaers: "Cottelin".

968 Spalatin's report how the emperor had asked the Protestants whether they wanted to leave it with the articles handed over or whether they were willing to hand over more.

In Spalatin's Annals, p. 142; in the Wittenberg, vol. IX, bl. 416b, and in the Jena, vol.v, bl.37.

On Saturday after St. Kilian's Day, July 9, early in the morning 1) at the City Hall, Duke Frederick of Bavaria, in addition to Count Hoyer of Mansfeld and Count von Helfenstein, requested my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, and the other princes who are adherents of the Gospel, to indicate whether they wanted to leave it at the articles presented or to bring in more articles, so that, where one will take up the matter, there will be no hindrance. There has not been a request for a back door in view of the fact that the cities are dependent on them, namely Nuremberg and Reutlingen.

The answer, 2) given to it, was Christian, and thus put, praise God that one has not given anything to the cause, presented in writings on Sundays after Kiliani, with diligent request to promote the things. God grant that it may prosper, amen.

969: The writing of D. Justus Jonas, Joh. Rurk, Erhard Schnepf and Heinrich Bock handed over to their masters, in which they advise the princes to consult with their scholars, in which matters one can give in to the papists. June 28, 1530.

, From Spalatin's Annals, p. 220.

Grace and peace of God through Christ. Most Serene, Most Illustrious, Most Reverend Prince and Princes, Most Gracious and Most Merciful Lords! After the articles of faith and doctrine recently published in Ew. churfürstl. und fürstl. Gn. lands have been preached hitherto, Roman Imperial Maj. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, Electors, Princes and Estates of the Empire, and it is to be hoped that some will receive a clearer report from [the] opponents than they had before, it is nevertheless to be feared that this high, great matter, concerning the Christian religion and faith, will not be so regarded by some of the opposing party,

1) at seven o'clock. See No. 973.

2) Document No. 973.

And if it came to the ways of seeking means and measures of union and concord, perhaps the adversaries or negotiators, as in worldly affairs. And if it were possible to find a means and measure of unification and concord, perhaps the adversaries or negotiators would want to take these matters into consideration, as in other worldly affairs, by means of disputes and arguments, which would only waste a great deal of time, since the main matter is based on a number of certain articles, since a Christian (if negotiated for a long time) cannot give in or give way. Again, the adversaries would hold some articles in high esteem, since one may well yield and give way without danger to conscience. For this reason, it would be our humble concern, where Your Royal and Princely Highnesses are in consultation. and finally had decided in which parts Your Highness and Princely Grace would hold to something, in which to something else. and Princely Grace to give way to something, in which also nothing at all was considered; thus that Ew. chur- und prinstl. Gn. themselves would have gone to the Imperial Majesty on their occasion. Majesty on their occasion, and reported such sum of the whole business to their Majesty humbly and confidentially, with humbly indication of what their souls and consciences are and what their souls and consciences are and what their souls and consciences are. Their Majesties' souls and consciences' salvation in these matters, which, in our opinion, should be almost beneficial and serviceable for the speedy and also otherwise good furtherance of the matters. For Imperial Majesty Majesty would like to take the more certain and easier summary report of these matters, to read, respect and move the delivered articles the more actually with gracious attention, also to give the less place and faith to many burdensome speeches of the opposing party. But if there should be a doubt here again, as if it should not be good to give oneself up to the adversary so far in the day and so completely naked, it is not the opinion of this high trade, touching the faith. For those who want to be Christian must be sure and certain of the articles that have divine command and cannot be traded. Therefore, as the holy Scriptures report, as in the Proverbs of King Solomon, that God guides and leads the hearts of kings and princes, as he guides the rivers of water, 2c., and for many reasons it is very important that this trade of the imperial majesty should be carried out by considerable men. Majesty by respectable persons, as your chur- and princely graces. We have considered it good that Your Royal and Princely Grace will take care of it. will see to it that Your Royal and Princely Grace, Imperial Maj. Maj. make such a request in person. This we have done, after we have acknowledged ourselves guilty of having asked Your Electoral and Princely Grace in these matters, on our part. Majesty in these matters, on our souls and consciences.

Hail, what we deem good to indicate, E. chur. and princ. We do not know how to behave in our submissive opinion. However, we place all of this in all submissiveness in the high princely mind and concern of Your Highness and Princely Grace. Gn. high princely mind and concern. May the almighty God grant His grace and spirit to His Highness and Princely Grace. His grace and spirit to do what His divine will and the honor of His holy name may be. Date Tuesday of the evening of St. Peter and Paul [28 June] Anno Domini 1530.

ur- and princely. Grace subservient servants

I. Jonas. Erhardus Schnepfius.

Joh. Rurk. Henricus Bock.

970 D. M. Luther's answer to Chursachsen, on the question: whether and how far the Elector can subject the Emperor's religious matters to his judgment.

See 956th Document, supra.

971 Letter of the Elector John to Luther in Coburg. 15 July 1530.

From Cyprian's Supplements to the History of the Augsb. Conf., p. 191. - This is the answer to No. 956.

John 2c.

Our greetings first. Venerable, reverend, dear devotee! We have heard your next letter to your gracious comfort and pleasure, and would be well inclined to report to you the state of our affairs sooner. However, we do not know how to behave in your gracious opinion that, when we handed over our articles, they were still pending with us some other princes, of these matters, of which nothing further has been done, and are therefore waiting for a decision until this hour; however, they are also reported as being somewhat mistaken about their part of the matters among themselves, and thus we have been delayed for a long time. But what will happen later in this matter and what we will be pleased to answer, that shall remain undisclosed to you.

And herewith, in response to the notice given to us by our personal physician and dear faithful friend, Caspar Lindemann, Doctor, we resend to you copies of the letter of consolation which you once sent to us before. All of which we graciously

do not want to behave. Date Augsburg, on Friday after Margaret [15 July], Anno Domini 30sten.

[Dear] Faithful]. We request that you place the 1) letter in safekeeping in the hands of D. M. Luther for our sake, and that you do so so that it is given to him and not to anyone else. This is our opinion. Date. Coburg to Schösser.

972. the theologians indicated reasons why it would not be advisable to hand over more articles.

In Cölestin, vol. II, p. 21, and in Chyträus, according to the Latin edition, p. 123, according to the German, p. 196. German also in the "Oorx". Rsk. , vol. II, 182 with the superscription: ^Isluutlioujs suüieium.

(1) First, because the princes have made their confession of the necessary doctrinal articles which are preached publicly to the people in their countries, and do not need to burden them with useless disputations, such as whether women can also eonsecrate? whether everything must be done as it is done? and the like, which belong more to the school than to the sermons in the church.

(2) In the confession that has been handed down, all the necessary articles have been written. Therefore, all abuses that are contrary to this doctrine will be punished at the same time, as everyone can understand the contradiction.

(3) If the hateful articles were now handed over, the adversaries could misinterpret us as if we had previously handed over the seemly articles that were pleasing to everyone, and now the Imperial Majesty sees that we are concealing much and harmful error, and if her Imperial Majesty sees that we are not in the right. Majesty sees that we are hiding much and harmful error, and if Her Imperial Majesty continues, we will be in danger. Majesty continued, more error would be produced.

(4) Because we are not to prevent the action of these religious matters themselves, it is by no means advisable that the hateful and unnecessary articles, of which they are in the habit of discussing in the schools, should be regulated at this time:

Whether everything must therefore happen as it happens?

Whether free will is nothing?

Whether God also do evil?

I wonder if all Christians are priests.

Whether the pope by divine right be the supreme

Bishop?

1) Walch: "bey verwahrtem".

Whether to allow the indulgence?
Whether every good work is a mortal sin?
Whether a layman could eonsecrate the sacrament?
Whether matrimonial matters alone belong before the bishops?
Whether there were more or less than seven sacraments?
Whether the bishops can at the same time wield the secular sword and preside over the churches?
Whether the pope is a lord of all spiritual goods by divine right?
Whether the divine election is partly due to our merit or not?
Whether ordination to the priesthood imprints an everlasting characterem?
Could a woman eonsecrate?
Whether the confession of the ears is necessary for salvation? 2c.

973 The protesting states' declaration that they do not want to hand over more articles, but leave it at the handed over confession. July 10, 1530.

In Cölestin, vol. II, p. 118; in Chyträus Latin p. 123, German p. 196; from this in Müller's Hist. lib. III, vap. 21st, p. 667, and in the Oorx. Uek., vol. II, 184. This letter is addressed to the princes and counts mentioned in no. 968. Also in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 17 from the Margravial Brandenburg Reichstagsacten, pp. 135 f. This letter is addressed to the imperial commissioners, Count Palatine Frederick, Count Wolf of Montfort, Count Hoyer of Mansfeld, and the Lord of Helfenstein.

I. Highborn Prince, friendly dear Oheim, 1) well-born Counts, dear Special and Faithful! When yesterday at seven o'clock our dear and you Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, gave us the order that we wanted to let ourselves be heard. Majesty, our most gracious Lord's order, that we wanted to be heard as to whether we would be willing to report and hand over more articles, or whether it would be better for us to do so with those to whom Imperial Majesty we are next subject. Majesty's Majesty we had sent to you in writings: so E. L. and you we indicate our friendly and favourable opinion together with our fellow relatives: Although it is public that many great and grievous abuses, concerning doctrine and the government of the clergy, are in the church, which have first given cause, not only to our own, but also to many others, to preach and write against them for the instruction of consciences, which have been driven with unrighteous doctrine, to the prejudice of their salvation, and which have caused no harm to the church.

1) So Förstemann; 6orp. Hek.: "Cousin".

consolation from the Holy Gospel; meanwhile, however, Kais. Majesty. has graciously indicated in her letter that these matters concerning religion are to be dealt with among ourselves in love and kindness, and are to be compared with the truth (which alone is the pure Word of God), as is done in a Christian and fair manner: so in the next document not all abuses are specified and referred to by name, but a common confession and confession is handed over, in which all the doctrine, which is especially useful for the salvation of souls, is preached among us, so that Imperial Majesty would be thoroughly informed that no unchristian doctrine is accepted among us. Maj. may be thoroughly informed that no unchristian doctrine is accepted here. Thus we have also deemed it necessary to bring forward the abuses in which our and our consciences have been troubled, rather than other abuses concerning the conduct of the clergy, for which they will have to give account to God in their own time, if such abuses are not stopped or led to Christian correction.

(2) Therefore, in order that this matter may be dealt with the more lovingly and compared with God's word from the truth, and that the most important parts in which changes have occurred, as well as the causes for which such things have occurred and been tolerated, may be seen and recognized the more clearly, the broadness, especially the telling of all abuses, has been avoided in our Scriptures.

(3) With these Articles, so delivered, all uncertain and unjust doctrines and abuses, which are contrary to the same Articles delivered, and their causes, are thereby also opposed, and therefore consider without necessity to bring in more Articles.

(4) If, however, the counterpart uses the same abuses for his opinion and opinion, by virtue of Imperial Majesty, he shall be entitled to the same. Majesty. If, however, the opposing party should raise the same abuses for his opinion and opinion by virtue of the Imperial Proclamation and the presentation that has taken place, or should challenge our Confession, or should attempt to advance something new, then it is hereby requested to make further report of this from God's Word, as it has also been requested to do at the end of the written confession that has been submitted next.

5 And therefore to the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, is our most humble request. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, our most humble request, because we have decreed ourselves most humble obedience to Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty's most humble obedience, and have now been here for a long time at great expense, that Her Imperial Majesty may graciously request that we be allowed to continue our work. Majesty may graciously decree and encourage that Her Majesty's request be complied with and lived without further delay, as we also put ourselves off in all submission, and there has been no lack of us, nor, God willing, should there be. For the sake of Her Imperial Majesty Majesty,

Our most gracious Lord, we deserve in all submissiveness. Actum Augsburg, on the 10th day of July, 1530.

By the Grace of God, John, Duke of Saxony, and Elector.

George, Margrave of Brandenburg.

Ernst, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg.

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.

Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, together with our kinsmen.

B. What Luther about this time with Melanchthonder almost wanted to let sink the courage- and other- for strange letters exchanged.

974 Luther's Letter of Consolation to Melanchthon. June 27, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in the Ooä. len. d., tot. 110, and in Aurifaber, vol. ill. p. 33. According to the Jena manuscript in Buddeus, p. ill; in the Latin collection of letters of Flacius, Magdeburg, 1549. 8th; in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 198; in Chyträus, p. 135; in Lauttstug unnal. evanA. rsnovat. u<I ann. 1530. p. 157; in von der Hardt's Uist. litterar. rekorwut, pars V. and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 48. German in Spalatin's Annals, p. 217; in Chyträus p. 93 incomplete; in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 425b; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 39b; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 163, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 184. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! in Christ, I say, not in the world, amen. About the excuse for your silence another time, my dear Philip. This messenger showed himself by chance and suddenly, and as he was going away, he could hardly wait for these letters which we had received from Wittenberg, which were to be brought [by him] as far as Nuremberg, that they might come to you from thence, until we could write more widely by another messenger. 1)

1) Flacius omitted the preceding clause, and in all German editions it has remained untranslated; probably with reason. For, in order to be able to translate it, we have conjicirt aä vos venirsnt (so. btterao) instead of aä nos vsnirst. In the manuscript the latter may appear thus: a<I uos venirst. That our translation is correct can be seen from the letter to Link of the same date, De Wette, vol. IV, p. 50 f.

I hate very much your very great sorrows, by which, as you write, you are consumed; that they so rule in your heart is not due to the greatness of the matter, but to the greatness of our unbelief. For this same thing was greater in the days of John Hus and many others than it is now with us. Then, though it may be great, he who undertook it and began it is also great, for it is not our cause. Why then dost thou torment thyself thus without ceasing and without cessation? If the thing be false, let us revoke it; but if it be true, why do we, in so great promises, make a liar of him who commands us to have a heart that is confident and undaunted? He says [Ps. 55:23.], "Cast thy concern upon the LORD." The LORD is near to all them that are of a broken heart [Ps. 34:19.] that call upon him. Does he then speak this to the wind, or cast this to the beasts? I am often broken-hearted too, but not always. Your philosophy torments you so, not theology, as well as your Joachim, 2) who seems to me to be gnawed by the same worry. As if, indeed, you could do anything by this useless worry of yours. "What more can the devil do, but to strangle us?" What more? I beseech you, who are valiant in all other things, fight also against yourself, your greatest enemy, since you present so many weapons against yourself to Satan. Christ died once for sins, but for righteousness and truth he will not die, but lives and reigns. If this be true, what is there for truth to fear when he reigns? But, you will say, it will be struck down by the wrath of GOD. May we, after all, also be struck down at the same time, but not by ourselves. He who has become our father will also be so for our children. I certainly pray diligently for you, and I am sorry that you, as a very persistent worrier, 3) make my prayers so futile. I at least, as far as the matter is concerned (whether it be dullness or the spirit, Chri-

2) Camerarius.

3) eururum Iriruäinern - leech of sorrows, which pursues sorrows as the leech pursues blood. Spalatin: "as a stiff-necked leech".

stus), not very worried, indeed better hope than I had expected. God is mighty to raise up the dead, he is mighty also to preserve his cause when it falters, to raise it up again when it has fallen, to promote it when it stands. If we shall not be worthy to do this, let it be done by others. For if we be not established by his promises, I pray thee, who are the rest of the people in the whole world, to whom they ought to refer? But more of this another time; I am but carrying water into the sea.

Know thou that your letters, written before the emperor's coming, and after his coming, went yesterday to Wittenberg. For even there they have been miserably afflicted by your silence, as you will perceive from the letters of Pomeranus. It is not the fault of the messenger, as Jonas complains, but thoroughly yours, and yours alone. Christ comfort you all by his Spirit, and strengthen and instruct you, Amen. If I hear that the matter shall be evil with you, and in danger, I shall hardly refrain from coming thither in haste, to see the terrible teeth of Satan standing about, as the Scripture [Job 41:5.) saith. From our desert, on Monday after John [27 June] 1530.

Greetings meanwhile to all, next we will send other letters. Martin Luther.

975 Philipp Melanchthon's Letter to Luther. June 26, 1530.

This letter is found in Melanchthon's epist. lib. I. , x>. 21; in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 196; in Cyprian's Supplements, p. 181, and in the Oorp. kiel. vol. II, 140.

Translated from the Latin.

We are here in the greatest misery, and must constantly shed tears. Today, the extreme consternation of our minds has been added to, after we had read N. Vitus' letters, in which he indicates that you are so angry with us that you may not even read our letters. Now, my dear father, I do not want to increase my pain with words, but ask you to consider in what place and in how great danger we are.

since we can have no refreshment at all except your comfort. The sophists and the monks run to us every day, and endeavour that they may set the emperor against us. The bishops hate us cruelly from their own impulse. Those who were on our side before are not there now, and we float all abandoned and despised in infinite danger. I therefore ask you to look either to us, who follow your reputation in such important matters, or to the common good, and to read and answer our letters, so that on the one hand you may help us with good counsel, and on the other hand you may give us strong consolation. We have submitted our defence 1) to the Emperor, which I hereby send you to read. According to my insight, it is sharp enough. For you will see that in it I have painted the monks with vivid colors. But now, as I think, it depends on a resolution before the adversaries answer what we want to concede to them on the point of both forms, of the married state, of private mass; the whole trial will revolve around these things. About this answer, and especially about the private mass, which they will hardly drop. This messenger I have sent at my own expense, and the other day already sent a special one, but it came back empty. The adversaries are already taking counsel as to what they want to answer. Therefore all is still in suspense. Farewell. Sunday after John "26 June 1530). Philip.

anchthon's Letter to Camerarms. June 26, 1530.

This letter is found in Melanchthon's epist. all Oara "rariurn, p. 139; in Cyprian's Supplements, p. 180, and in the 6orp. Het. , vol. II, 140.

Translated into German.

Yesterday, by the grace of God, our confession was presented to the Emperor and publicly read out, and it is said that the princes were uncompromisingly silent and attentive. I changed and improved much of it every day, and would have changed even more if our councils had allowed it; and there is so much missing that I should think it was written too leniently, that I rather fear that some might take offense at our freedom. For before we

1) This is the Augsburg Confession; the same was at first called ^polo^ia - Schutzschrift.

the imperial secretary Valdesius saw it and judged it to be far too bitter and acrid for the adversaries to bear. You will encounter a horrible mishmash if you read the Apology of my Aristarchus, 1) of whom you write. I cannot be very angry with such judges of words. My mind worries and grieves miserably, not because of our cause, but because of the carelessness of our people. You need not worry on my account, for I command myself to God. Only something special troubles me a lot, but I can only speak of it verbally. Farewell and write to me again. If God would have you read our Apology there, but the Emperor forbids that it be printed. Again, God commands. Philip.

977 Melanchthon's Letter to Luther. June 27, 1530.

In Melanchthon's epi8t., lib. I., x". 9; in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 196; in Chyträus Latin p. 139, and German p. 228; in Cyprian's Supplements, p. 182, and in the Oorp. kek., vol. II, 145.

Although we sent a messenger of our own to you yesterday that we apologized to you for our silence, but because Hornung wanted to travel today, we wrote again that we did not miss any opportunity to send letters to you. I cannot say how much we have been saddened by N. Vitus' letter, which tells us how you are so vehemently angry that we have not written often enough so far. Now at no time have we been more in need of your counsel and comfort than now, since in the most dangerous matters we have followed you, as our head, to this place. Therefore, for the sake of the honor of the gospel, I ask you to take care of us, if only for the sake of the common good, which, when you are not at the helm, seems to suffer very heavy storms. Christ allowed himself to be raised up in the little ship that was in trouble. Now we are truly in much greater danger here, in which nothing worse could happen to us as a whole than if you left us. I must not complain of this against D. Brück, that I do not deceive him more. Hitherto we have been so that we have spent much time in weeping. Therefore you must not think that we, as your friends.

1) Aristarchus, a critic of Alexandria; then also in general: a critic.

were we Ulysses' fellows, for pleasure would have forgotten, have often written, which we can truly prove.

Our confession has been handed over to the emperor; we have also sent a copy to you, which you will keep with you so that it does not get out. For the emperor has forbidden its publication. I have written to you before that you should inform me, if it will be necessary, how much we can yield to the adversaries. The matters are, as you know, discussed before, but when it comes to the meeting, it will be different from what was thought before. Of the private mass, I think the greatest controversy will be. But I know nothing certain yet. Faber, Eck, even some princes, seek only violence and war. May God disperse the thoughts of the peoples who are eager for war. Hereby God commands and prays for us. Monday after St. John's the 27th of June, 1530^. Philip.

Letter of Consolation to Melanchthon. July 31, 1530.

Handwritten in Aurifaber's unprinted collection, vol. III, p. 72; printed from it in Schütze, vol. II, p. 158 and De Wette, vol. I V, p. 115. Not quite complete and without date in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 197; in Buddeus, p. 112 and in Walch. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

M. Philip Melanchthon, the faithful confessor of Christ and true witness, his dearest brother, Martin Luther. 2) Grace and peace in our Lord! I had nothing to write, my dear Philip, only I did not want to let the messenger, or rather this cartload of game, go away without letters. But I think that this week you have been struggling sharply with the evil spirits, and I suppose that this is the cause why Weller and the Schoesser's messenger have not yet returned. I am with you in faith and spirit as much as I can. But I believe that the weak Christ is more with you, as I ask him with sighs and words, which he himself has commanded and given 3) [Matth. 18, 19. f.].

2) This inscription is found after Cölestin and Bud deus in Walch, but missing in De Wette.

3) In Latin: "zuidus i^86 fussit st äoäit. Instead of yuidus we have assumed.

28,20.]. May the Lord grant that you stand firm in the matter (*in statu causae*) and do not engage in mutual accusations, for I believe that the adversaries will come out of this by not trusting their cause. But what will be the end if you begin to cover up the abominations of the pope against God and the worldly government? But by the grace of God you will know how to avoid this best.

You should not be concerned about my health. It is indeed unsteady, but because I realize that it is not a natural illness, I bear it all the more steadfastly and despise the blows of Satan's angel against my flesh. If I cannot read and write, yet I can think and pray, and even so make a strong stand against him, then sleep, be idle, play, and sing. Only, my dear Philip, see that you do not labor so in this matter, which is not in your hand, but in the hand of him who is greater than he who is in the world, and out of whose hand no one will snatch it. Let us not let him say in vain [Ps. 127:2.], "To his friends he giveth it sleeping," and [Ps. 55:23.], "Cast thy cause upon the LORD," who quickeneth the dead, and is a comforter of the humble, and a physician of the brokenhearted, the GOD of all comfort, into whose bosom and arms I commend you all, even as he himself hath called you and received you unto the confession of his glory. Greet all and every one in the Lord. From the castle which is full of devils, but in which Christ reigns in the midst of his enemies, on the last day of July, Anno 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

979 Philipp Melanchthon's Letter to Luther. June 27, 1530.

In Cölestin, vol. II, p. 197, and in the 6orx. Hei. , vol. II, 144.

Translated into German.

Our confession was handed over last Saturday. Now the adversaries are discussing what they want to do in response: run together, work with united forces, and stir up the princes, who have already had enough.
are taken against us. Eck is making every effort with the Archbishop of Mainz not to investigate the matter, because it is already condemned. Our party is very weak; the number of those against us, on the other hand, is incomparably greater. The Archbishop of Mainz, the Bishop of Augsburg, and the Duke of Brunswick help us, although they do not fight bravely enough. Of the dukes of Bavaria, it was said that they had become more lenient after their confession; nevertheless, they are not inferior to Duke 1) George and Margrave Joachim. These are the fiercest leaders of the other party.

The emperor hath written to Erasmus, summoning him to the Diet. I cannot see what good we can expect from the bitter hatred of our enemies. In the face of so much ignorance on the part of the mob, to whose wrong judgment we are subject, we must take refuge in God alone and expect help from him; only pray to him on our behalf that he may guide our cause and grant us peace. There has been a terrible thunderstorm in Altenburg for three days: the lightning has struck two towers, the castle tower and the church tower, whereupon a great flood has occurred. I was very frightened by this. King Ferdinand has regained the city of Ofen in Hungary, which in my opinion will be a new cause for Turkish war. For the Turks will now be forced to reinstate their ally, to whom they gave the royal title. From Augsburg, June 27, 1530.

980. Luther's Letter of Consolation to Melanchthon. June 29, 1530.

Handwritten in 6oO. 61088., 6oä. Ion. d., col. 117, and in Aurifaber, vol. lll, p. 28. Printed in the Latin collection of letters of Flacius; in Cölestin, vol.ll, p. 198; in Buddeus, p. 113; in Chyträus Latin p. 139, in the German edition, p. 129; in Cyprians Beilagen, p. 183, and in De Wette, vol. I V p. 51. German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 426; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 40; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 164; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 185, and (incomplete, with the wrong date "July 9") in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 175. Only in Aurifaber, Chyträus, Walch, and De Wette is the postscript found.

Newly translated from the Latin.

1) "Duke" put by us instead of "Margrave". Because Margrave George is a fellow confessor of the Augsburg Confession.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have read, my dear Philip, your oratorical writing, which washes itself clean because of your silence. But in the meantime I have twice written letters to you, in which I have sufficiently explained the reason for my silence (at least in the last one, which is brought by the messenger who was sent to the prince by our castle). Today your last letters have been delivered to me, in which you remind me of your labors, dangers, and tears in such a way that I seem to be unfairly inflicting suffering upon suffering on you through my silence, as if I did not know this, or if I were sitting here among roses and shared nothing of the sorrows with you. And yet God would that my affairs were such as would permit tears to flow. Yes, even I, if those earlier letters of the Emperor's arrival had not come here in the evening, had decided to send a messenger to you the next day at my own expense, so that I might find out whether you were alive or dead. Magister Veit will testify to this, and yet I believe that all your letters have been delivered to us. For the letters which came late at last of the Emperor's arrival and entry came almost at the same time. But it may have been the ate or some satan, "and have him what he shall have.

I have received your confession (Apologetics), and wonder what you want, since you ask what and how much the papists are to be conceded. With reference to the prince, that is another question, what he might concede if danger threatened him. For my own person, more than enough has been yielded in this confession; if they reject the same, I see nothing more that I can yield, unless I see their reasons and clearer passages of Scripture than I have yet seen. I occupy myself day and night with this matter: I consider it, ponder it, discuss it, and search the whole Scripture, and the complete certainty of faith (^^/-o^o/--") in this doctrine of ours continues to grow in me, and I am more and more fortified, "that I will now (whether God wills) let nothing be taken from me, let it be over, as it may."

To the younger prince I had written.

as you desire, but I tore up the letter again, fearing I should make this! I am quite well here, for that spirit seems to be abating (that is, broken by the brothers' and the sisters'). I am quite well here, for that spirit seems to have subsided (broken by the brethren and your prayers) which has hitherto beaten me with fists, though I suspect that instead of him another has followed, who wants to weaken my body. But I would rather suffer this tormentor of the flesh than that tormentor of the spirit. And I hope that he who overcame in me the father of lies will also overcome the murderer. "He has sworn death to me, I feel it well; he has no rest, for he has eaten me. If he eats me, he shall eat a purgation, which shall make his belly and ars tight. What is the matter? He that will have Christ will have suffered." It would also be easy for us to rule if we would deny and revile Him [Christ). It is said [Apost. 14, 22.), "[We must] go through many tribulations [into the kingdom of GOD]." 1) "Now these things are no more words, but are come into work, we may judge ourselves according to them." But He is He who works the end of tribulation for believers with it [1 Cor. 10:13.).

In your letter 2) I dislike that you write that you followed my reputation in this matter. I do not want to be an author in this matter or to be called such, although this could be interpreted correctly, but I do not want this word sautoritas. If it is not at the same time and in the same way your business, I do not want it to be said that it is mine and laid on you. I will conduct it myself, if it is mine alone.

I comforted you in the last letter; grant that God may not be a killer, but a life-giver. What more can I do? You are tormented by the end and the outcome of the matter, because you cannot grasp it with your hands. But if you could grasp it, I would not want to have a part in this thing, much less the original one.

1) The bracketed is put by us instead of "ste. "

2) No. 975, to which this letter is the reply.

Heber sein. God has put this matter into a certain general doctrine (loeuw gueväura Lorarounem), which you do not have in your rhetoric, nor in your philosophy: that is called faith. In this doctrine is all that is not seen, and is not before the eyes [Heb. 11:1, 3]; if any man undertake to make this visible, evident, and comprehensible, as thou dost, let him bear sorrows and tears as the reward of his labour, as thou bearest them away, while we all set ourselves in vain against it. "The LORD hath said that he will dwell in darkness" [1 Kings 8:12.], and "he hath made darkness his tent" [2 Sam. 22:12. Vulg.]. "Whosoever will, let him do otherwise." If Moses had determined to grasp the end, how he might yet escape Pharaoh's host, Israel might have been in Egypt to this day. May the Lord grant you and all of us faith. If we have faith, what can Satan and the whole world do? If then we have not faith, why do we not at least comfort ourselves with the faith of others? For there must be others who believe in our stead, unless there is no longer a church in the world, and Christ has ceased to be with us before the end of the world. For if he be not with us, I pray thee, where is he in the whole race? If we are not the church, or at least a part of the church, where is the church? Or are the Dukes of Bavaria, Ferdinand, the Pope, the Turk, and the like of you the Church? If we do not have the Word of God, who are the people who have it? Therefore, if God is for us, who can be against us? We are sinners and ungrateful, but for that sake He will not become a liar. But we cannot be sinners in this holy and divine thing, though we are wicked in ways far from it. But thou hearest not this, so despondent and weak doth Satan make thee. May Christ heal thee, I pray earnestly and without ceasing, Amen. Greetings to all, for I also cannot write anew to all. I desire that opportunity be given me to come to you, though I have great desire to come even without command and calling. Grace

May God be with you and with all of you, Amen. On the day of St. Peter and Paul [June 29] Anno 1530. Martin Luther.

Postscript.

After I had closed the letter, the thought occurred to me that it might seem to you that I had answered too little to your question 1) how much and how far one could yield to the adversaries; but you also asked too little, you did not indicate what and what kind you think will be demanded of us. I am ready, as I have always written, to grant them all things, if only the gospel alone is left free to us. But that which contends with the gospel I cannot admit. What can I answer otherwise?

981 Luther's Letter to Melanchthon. June 30, 1530.

This letter is found in a contemporaneous copy in the Weimar archives; in the Ooä. 3on. 0., toi. III, and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 35. Printed in Buddeus, p. 116; in the Latin collection of letters of Flacius; in Seckendorf's Hi8t. Imtü., lib. II, p. 1810; in des Scultetus annal. evanA. renovat. aää an". 1530. p. 157 according to von der Hardt's Nist. litt, retorin, Theil V; in Chyträus according to the Latin edition p. 136, according to the German p. 225, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 62. German in Spalatin's Annalen, p. 213, and in Frick's Seckendorf, p. 1091. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 4270; in the Jenaer (1566), vol. V, p. 42; in the Altenburger, vol. V, p. 166, and in the Leipziger, vol. XX, p. 187. We have translated according to De Wette, who compared the manuscripts.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ I I do not know at all what I ought to write to you, my dear Philip, for I am troubled by thoughts of your very evil and trivial sorrows, since I know that I am telling a story to a deaf man. This is because you believe yourself alone, but do not believe me or others, to your great misfortune. I will confess the truth: I have been in greater anguish than I hope thou wilt ever be, and I wish no man, not even a man

1) In Letter No. 975.

To those who now rage against us, however wicked and unworthy they may be, that they may become like me. And yet I have often been raised up in these troubles by the word of a brother, sometimes of Pomeranus, sometimes by your word, sometimes by that of Jonas and others. Why then, again, do you not also hear us, who certainly speak nothing according to the flesh or the world, but according to God without doubt through the Holy Spirit? Though we be little, beloved, let not him be little who speaks through us. "If it be a lie that God gave His Son for us, let the devil be a man instead of me, or one of his creatures. But if it be true, what shall we do with our grievous fears, trembling, sorrows, and mourning 2c.? "As if he would not assist us in lesser things, who gave his Son, or as if Satan were mightier than he.

In private battles I am weaker, and thou stronger; but in public ones thou art as I am in private ones, and I in public ones as thou art in private ones (if that which passes between me and Satan can otherwise be called private). For thou despisest thy life, and fearest for the common cause; but I, as for the common cause, am of a very great and unconcerned mind, knowing assuredly that it is just and true, yea, even the cause of Christ and of God himself, which paleth not as one that would be guilty of sin, as I a single bad saint (privatus sanctulus) paleth and trembleth. Therefore 1) I am almost a sure spectator, and respect the threatening and raging Papists for nothing (uon üujus == not so much). If we fall, Christ will fall at the same time, namely, the great ruler of the whole world. And, if he should fall, I would rather fall with Christ than stand with the emperor.

Nor do you alone have this matter upon you. Surely I am faithful with you with sighs and prayers, if God would that I could also be so according to the flesh. For it is also my cause, and even more mine than yours. Nor is it out of

1) Instead of turn at De Wette is to read sinn.

I ask thee, for Christ's sake, that thou mayest not so set aside those divine promises and consolations which it is said [Ps. 55:55], "We will not be moved by the desire of the Lord, but we will be moved by the desire of the Lord," and that thou mayest not be moved by the desire of the Lord. Therefore I beseech thee for Christ's sake, that thou mayest not so set aside those divine promises and consolations, as it is said [Ps. 55:23], "Cast thy concern upon the Lord." [Ps. 27:14.:] "Harp on the LORD, be of good cheer, and undaunted;" and such [promises and consolations] is the book of Psalms and the gospel 2) full [John 16:33.) "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." "It shall not be false, verily I know" that Christ is the overcomer of the world. Why then do we fear the overcoming world as if it were the victor? "Let one bring such a saying upon his knees from Rome and Jerusalem!" But because they abound, are in constant use, and are well known to us, they are held in low esteem among us. "But this is not good." I know this is weakness of faith, but let us pray with the apostles [Luc. 17:5.), "Strengthen us, O Lord, in the faith."

God will also repay the Salzburg tyrant according to his works, who has martyred you so. 3) But he would have deserved a different answer from you, such an answer as I might have given him. "Well, let them do it; they have not yet made it up." They seek (that I fear) to hear the word of Julius Caesar: This they have willed!

But this I write in vain, because you continue, according to your philosophy, to govern these things by reason; that is, you continue, as he says, to be senseless with reason, and kill yourself, and do not at all see that the matter is out of your hand and counsel, nor will it be conducted without your care. And Christ would prevent it from coming into thy hand or counsel, which thou wouldst so stubbornly desire: then would we truly be ruined, and perish suddenly. But "it is said," Seek not after things that are too high for thee [Ps. 131:1. Rom. 12:16.], and [Proverbs 25:27. Vulg.], "A for-

2) Statthaben we with the Weimar I^vanMlion manuscript.

3) Compare No. 965.

scher of majesty shall be pressed to the ground by glory," or, as the Hebrew text has it, "He that searcheth hard things." This is on you. The Lord Jesus keep thee, that thy faith fall not away, but increase and overcome, Amen. I pray for thee, have prayed, and will pray, and I doubt not that I am heard, for I feel the Amen in my heart. If what we want will not come to pass, yet something will come to pass that is better. For we wait for a future kingdom, when all things in the world shall have failed us. On the last day of June, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

982 Luther's Letter to Spalatin. June 30, 1530.

This letter is found in Cölestin, Vol. II, p. 200; in Flacius' Latin collection of letters (the second half); in Chyträus' Latin edition, p. 142, in the German edition, p. 233; in LuüüouK, p. 120 and in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 59. German in Chyträus' Beilagen zur Hist. der Augsb. Couf. p. 174 according to Spalatin's translation. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 428 b; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 43; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 167, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 194. Incomplete in all editions except Cölestin's, Walch's, and De Wette's. After the latter we have translated, which Ooä. Ion. a, col. 222 and b, toi. 136, together with a copy which the Rev. Nopitsch possesses.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To Georg Spalatin, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord! You say, my dear Spalatin, that I will not suffer to be called a slacker in writing; but you will also have to suffer it against your will. For from the messenger of Doctor Jonas, by whom you vowed that you would write abundantly both to us and to the Wittenbergers, by the messenger of Doctor Apel, so that we expected forests of letters, and feared that you would become more noisy than our jackdaws [, we have received no letter]. 1) When this messenger of Apel's 2) came, and

1) The preceding sentence is unfinished and will probably have to be completed in this way.

2) That Apel's messenger had come without letters, Luther complains of this already in his letter of June 5 to Melanchthon; likewise in regard to the wagoner of Wildprets.

alone brought the letters of Jonas to Wittenberg, he was asked, "Dost thou not bring letters?" He answered, "No." "How are the gentlemen?" He answered, "Well." About this one thing I immediately brought a complaint against Philip. Afterwards there came a messenger on horseback who had been sent to Torgau, who brought me a letter 3) from the prince himself, and was asked, "Do you bring letters?" He answered, "No." "How are the gentlemen?" He answered, "Well." Next, as a wagon of venison departed from here, I wrote again to Philip; who returned alike empty. Here I began to have sad thoughts, and suspected that you were trying to conceal something evil from me. Fourth, Jobst Nymphen came. To the question, "Do you bring letters?" he answered, "No." "How are the gentlemen?" He answered, "Well." I pass over how often here our Schösser received letters from his brother, the Marshal of Falkenstein, while meanwhile we thirsted and starved for more than three weeks through your kind silence; from whose letters we had to obtain intelligence if we wished to learn anything. Therefore I ask whether you would not say that I was an underachiever if such had happened to you from me? I confess that I was moved with anger and fear, knowing the sorrows of Philip and the plagues of the prince. But I was freed from fear when I heard that it was well with you, but I could not quite believe it. But enough of this, only may you not continue to dispute or think of disputing. Farewell. 1530.

That there the kings, princes, and people rage and rage against the Lord's anointed, I think is a happy omen, and much better than if they flattered. For it follows [in the 2nd Psalm, v. 4.], "He that dwelleth in heaven laugheth at them." But since this our Prince laugheth, I see not why we should weep before them. For he laugheth not at them, but at us, that we may rather laugh at their vain counsels. Only faith is necessary, so that the cause of faith may not be without faith. But

3) Perhaps No. 946.

He who began this work certainly began it without our counsel and authority. He has also protected and governed it up to now above and without our council and nobility. It is he also who will complete it and lead it forth without and above our counsel and authority, of that I have no doubt. I know and am sure whom I have believed, for he is mighty to do what we ask and understand, though Philip thinks and desires that he should do it under and according to his counsel, that he may boast, Surely so it must be done, so I would have done it. "Nay, it MUST not be called": so I, Philip. "The 'I' is too small. It is called": So I; I become fine, who I become fine. That's a fine name: "I that become fine." "He is not seen, but he shall be, and we shall see." That's enough of words. Thou fei strong in the Lord, and exhort Philip continually in my name, that he become not God, but fight against the inborn desire for godliness, which was implanted in us by the devil in paradise, for that is not good for us. It thrust Adam out of Paradise, and this alone troubles us also, and deprives us of peace. "We are to be men, and not GOD. This is the summa; it will not be otherwise, or eternal unrest and heartache will be our reward." Farewell in Christ. The last of June, 1530.
Your Martin Luther.

983 Luther's Letter to John Brenz. June 30, 1530.

Handwritten in 6o6. Cstoss.; in 6o6. len. d, lol. 138 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 40. Printed in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 201; in Buddeus, p. 123 ans dem Jenaer Manuscript; in des Flacius lateinischer Briefsammlung; from the collection of Caspar Sagittarius in Schütze, vol. III, p. 167 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 55. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 427; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 41; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 167; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 194, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 172, with the wrong date, July 9, 1530. We have translated according to De Wette.

Grace and peace in Christ! From your letter and that of Philip and the others
I recognize, my dear Brenz, that you are also plagued by sorrow in that assembly of idols. But to this you are moved by the example of Philip. For though he is godly concerned about the public peace and the descendants, 1) he does not zeal wisely. As if indeed our forefathers by their care and sorrow had brought it about that we are what we are, and not rather God's wisdom alone, who will also be God and Creator after us, as he was before us, and is now with us. For he will not die with us, or cease to be GOOD fine, who also rules the thoughts. It seemed unto Eli the priest, that the kingdom of Israel was fallen away, after that the ark of the covenant was taken from the Philistines; and so he rather fell away himself: but the kingdom of Israel began then to flourish most [1 Sam. 4]. And when Saul was slain, what could a man think but that the kingdom of Israel was ended? [And when the papists had burned John Hus at Costnitz, nothing was more certain than that the pope would become fine with God, whereas he had never before been so despised as from that time. This I write to you and to the others, so that by the word of Gregory Brück or of anyone among you Philip may cease to be the ruler of the world, that is, to martyr himself. I at least, when I shall be dead or killed by the Papists, will bravely defend our descendants, and take revenge on these cruel beasts righteously and more than I would. For I know that there shall be one that shall say, Where is thy brother Abel?" [Gen. 4:9.] And he shall make them iniquitous and fugitives upon the earth. And what need of many words? Let the emperor, after all, have a dominion shared with GOD. If no [avenger] becomes fine, then we may extinguish the first commandment with the whole gospel. For what need is there to have a God only for this life, which is best for those who have no God? But if there be a God, we shall not have

1) We have assumed, what almost all the codices given offer, postöritatk, which, it seems to us, is required by what follows, against trunHuiUituds at De Wette.

live here alone, but we shall live where he himself lives. If this be true, what, I pray thee, are these angry threats of idols after all, which are now almost not merely dying, but wholly dead? He that made me shall be the father of my son, and the husband of my wife, and the ruler of the commonwealth, and the preacher in my parish, and better than I myself am. Yea, he himself will rule it better, 1) When I am dead, than when I am alive, because I hinder him by my life. For it is written [Ps. 112:2.), "His seed shall be mighty in the earth." And truly, the first commandment has also placed uufere descendants in God's protection, since it says s2 Mos. 20, 6.): "I do mercy to many thousands who love me." These words I believe; though faith is weak, yet I believe. But why do I speak these things to you, who are greater than I in all things by the gift of God? only that I have tried in many ways to see whether Philip, who believes that I am a man and that my words are the words of men, and so is less moved by them, can at least be moved by you, whom he must believe to be men of God. For I do not believe that he is so wrong-headed that if God himself, by an angel sent from heaven, commanded him to be of good cheer, he would despise this command: how much less must he despise us if we all admonish him to do so? And if we are worthy of contempt, yet the Psalms, the Apostles, Christ himself, must not be despised, who shower us with so many sermons, with consolations, with teachings, with admonitions, "Be of good courage, fear not, hope, be ye manly, and be ye strong." If we did not believe these, we would not believe them if all the angels came. This I have written to thee, my dear Brenz, in many words. Be well in Christ, and pray for me.

I have made many words (verdo8atu8 8uin that I say so) about the 118th Psalm, and have called it "the beautiful Confitemini"?)

1) We have assumed with Schütze and all German editions what is missing from De Wette.
2) St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1174-1251.

now it is to Wittenberg under the press. I have used up fifteen sheets of paper in this great quantity of words. I have touched on several lies about Purgatory 3) against the papists, in that I am, as it were, again beginning a new battle against them. 4) The grace of God be with you. On the last day of June, Anno 1530, your Martin Luther.

984 Luther's Letter to Melanchthon. July 3, 1530.

This letter is found in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 204; in Buddeus, p. 27; and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 67. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! This man, Franciscus, who is sent to us from Breslau by Doctor Hess, I commend to you, my dearest Philip. He desires nothing but to see you and speak with you. With me he could not be admitted.

Yesterday I read your confession very carefully, and I like it very much. But it errs and lacks in one thing, that it goes against the Scriptures, since Christ says of himself [Luc. 19:14.], "We would not that this should reign over us;" and it offends against the sentence [Ps. 118:22.], "The stone which the ball-men rejected." What else can you expect, with so great blindness and obstinacy, but that he should be rejected? For they will not grant us the name of "builders," which they arrogate to themselves, and justly, 5) but we must be glorified with the name of those who destroy, scatter, and stir up trouble, that we may be reckoned among the malefactors, since the stone itself was reckoned among the murderers, and condemned. Therefore we have no hope of salvation, but in the Lord alone; he must work miracles, and he will not leave this stone, because it follows: "He is become the corner stone." But this was done by the Lord, not by us; therefore it is a miracle.

3) "A Recantation from Purgatory," St. Louis Edition, Vol. X VIII, 874.
4) The preceding in this paragraph is missing in all German editions.
5) "rightly" because they are the ones who reject the stone.

...that before our eyes. But concerning this abundantly elsewhere. 1) May Christ strengthen you together with us, and comfort you with his Spirit, and do with us according to all his wonders, amen. Greet all of ours respectfully. From the desert, July 3, 1530, your Martin Luther.

985. Luther's Letter to Melanchthon. July 5, 1530.

This letter is found in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 206; in Buddeus, p. 128; and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 68. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! There was nothing to write, my dear Philip, for I have written four times, and believe that the letters have reached thee by and by, but I have not wished to let this messenger go away empty. But all that I wanted, thou hast read in the last letters. I expect my psalm, the Confitemini, from Wittenberg. Now I go about with a sermon exhorting to the schools, or rather that one should keep the children to school ;-). Let me wonder if I have been as verbose before as I seem to be becoming now; unless this verbosity comes from age, as Cicero admits. Otherwise, thank God, we are quite well, and have good hope, not because of your Diet or your counsels, but because of Christ's power and presence, to use Peter's word. They write from Wittenberg that they are praying so diligently in the churches there that I am convinced that something good will be accomplished at this Diet. Greetings to Jonas, Agricola, Spalatin, Brück, the physician Caspar, and all those of us. On July 5, 1530, your Martin Luther.

er's Letter to Conrad Cordatus. July 6, 1530.

This letter is found in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 207; in Buddeus, p. 141; and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 70.

Newly translated from the Latin.

1) Namely, in the Confitemini, St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1238 ff.
2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 416.

Grace and peace in Christ! Here you have, dearest Cordatus, One living, and One not living! Letter, that is, the Hornung (^ebruariura) itself, and my letter to the Bishop sHausmann), from which you can learn all that I now know about this Diet. Therefore I have nothing more to write to you. Jonas writes that he was among the audience when the Confession of ours was read out by Doctor Christian for two whole hours, and he saw the expressions of all, about which he has promised me an oral account. I have here a copy of this confession, but must keep it by order. It was certainly made by the adversaries and extraordinary efforts were made that the Emperor should not admit it and should not hear it; however, it could not be read out publicly before the empire as a whole, so that is where they took it. Then it was handed over by order of the emperor and read out before the whole empire, that is, before the princes and estates of the empire. I am exceedingly glad that I have lived until this hour, in which Christ has been publicly preached by his so great confessors in such a large assembly by this really exceedingly beautiful confession. And the word [Ps. 119:46. Vulg.] shall be fulfilled, "I spake of thy testimonies before kings"; it shall also be fulfilled, "I was not put to shame." For [Matt. 10:32.], "Whoso confesseth me before men, (so saith he that speaketh no lies,) him will I confess before my heavenly Father."

About the other things (I think) you will have learned everything from others. For the splendor of the imperial entry has gone out in print. I am compelled to see, and to grasp with my hands, that GOD is in truth called in the 65th 3) Psalm [v. 3.] a hearer of prayers; this name is rightly and justly attached to Him in all the world. Therefore, continue to pray and to incite all to prayer, especially for the very good emperor, the young man who is worthy of the love of God and of men; then for our no less good prince,

3) De Wette: "?8n1. 82." Cölestin: "I> 8. 62."

And he that beareth more crosses, and for Philip, who mourneth with sorrows. If I be called, I will call thee also, doubt it not. The Lord be with thee, amen. From the desert, July 6, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

987. D. Martin Luther's letter to Cardinal Albrecht, Elector of Mainz, that he wants to advise peace, along with an interpretation of the second Psalm. July 6, 153Ü.

This letter first appeared in a single edition at Nuremberg (then also at Wittenberg) in 1530, and again in 1546 in quarto under the title: "Ein Brief an den Cardinal Erzbischof zu Menz mit dem andern Psalm. 1530." Then in the German collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 434d; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 72d; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 198; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 142; in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 159; and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 72. Translated into Latin in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 211, and in Buddeus, p. 129. That the first edition came out at Nuremberg, and not, as Walch states, at Wittenberg, we see from the documents no. 989 and 990 in this volume, D. Johann Rühel delivered? this letter to the Cardinal; delayed in printing, the same reached Augsburg only on July 22.

To the most reverend in GOD Father, most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Albert, Tit. St. Chrysogen's Cardinal Priest, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Primate in Germania, and Administrator of Halberstadt 2c., Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Most Reverend, Most Serene, Most Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I would have preferred to write this letter to E. C. F. G. secretly and in my own handwriting; in this way I was worried that it might come out crazy and then be interpreted to me in some other way, and perhaps lead E. C. F. G. himself into suspicion. That is why I want to make it public by printing it, so that the poisonous, suspicious interpreters can avoid the causes of their interpretation. Humbly request E. C. F. G. to graciously grant me such letter.

2. for since E. C. F. G. is the most distinguished and highest prelate in German lands, the

Since I may do more in these matters than anyone else, I have let my thoughts be able to petition E. C. F. G. in particular with this writing, so that I may do my part abundantly in every way, and keep my conscience against God and the world, if perhaps a misfortune and God's wrath would follow (as I truly fear evil), I am hereby excused, as I have sought and offered to help peace in all ways.

3. E. C. F. G. have heard the confession and doctrine of ours, without doubt, together with all others; and I am quite comforted, that she has come forward in such a manner, that she may say with a glad mouth, 1) with Christ her Lord [John 18:23], "If I have spoken evil, prove that it is unjust; but if I have spoken right, why dost thou smite me?" She that shuneth not the light, and knoweth to sing from Ps. 119:46: "I speak of thy testimonies before kings, and pass not with shame." For he that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest: for they are done in God.

004 On the other hand, I can well believe that our opponents will not accept such a doctrine, much less dare to change it; neither do I have any hope that we will become one with the doctrine, for their thing cannot stand the light so well, and they are so embittered and inflamed with it that they would rather lead us into the eternal fires of hell, if it were open to them right there, before they give way to us and leave their wisdom. We must let this happen, for we are innocent of their blood.

(5) But I have the thoughts, which is why I am also writing to E. C. F. G.. because our opponents cannot blame our doctrine, and with this confession we clearly testify and prove that we have not taught wrongly nor falsely, and therefore have not deserved that we should be so shamefully condemned, so horribly persecuted, as hitherto, and still happen, if so much could be obtained that our opponents would keep peace, and not so blaspheme and kill the innocent, for the sake of this blameless doctrine, which they themselves have taught.

1) The old editions: "thar"; De Wette: "dar".

must praise, least of all that they stifle against it, and have nothing to say against it; for that they will not be taught by us, nor accept our doctrine, we must let happen; we compel no man, not even to the truth, as they compel to falsehood.

6th Here I ask most humbly, because there is no hope that we (as has been said) will become one in the doctrine, that E. C. F. G. together with others will work to keep that part at peace, and believe what it may, and also let us believe this truth, which is now known before their eyes, and is invented without blame. It is well known that no one should nor can be forced to believe, nor is it within the power of either the emperor or the pope; for even God himself, who is above all power, has never wanted to force a man to believe by force; what then do his wretched poor creatures dare to force, not only to believe, but also to that which they themselves must consider false lies?

(7) But if such peace is not to be obtained, then we shall have the glory of God, and the disgrace of all the world, that we have freely confessed our doctrine in public, and have sought and offered peace, and yet have not obtained it, if we have not been found guilty in our doctrine, nor have we been found culpable. What God and our descendants will say about this will be known, and we must take comfort in the example of the dear apostles, since even the chief priests and princes of the people of Israel (as Lucas says, Acts 4:14, 21) were unable to raise anything against the apostles' deed and word, nor did they have anything to say against them; nor did they keep peace, but because they did not accept the truth, in order that they might be convinced and overcome, they also pushed and persecuted the apostles.

Eight. Yea, how is it with them of late? Where are they now? Where is Jerusalem? Gamaliel arose among them, and gave them counsel that they should keep the peace, and let the apostles do it, if they would not accept it: but it was of no avail. Would that God, E. C. F. G., or whoever he was, were now also a Gamaliel, who proposed such counsel of peace to the others,

and he asked them if perhaps God would grant them mercy, so that they would cease their raving and not fight so stubbornly against their conscience and against God. It is the best counsel that one can have in this matter, and Lucas did not want to write such examples so diligently for nothing. It is certainly a sin in the Holy Spirit to dispute the truth we have recognized. Otherwise we would have sin enough, but we should not also have the sin of the Holy Spirit upon us.

009 But they hearken not unto this, neither do they hearken: they will go, when the Jews are gone. But if perhaps some could be saved, that they would not lead with them, but would accept and follow the faithful counsel of Gamalieli, then E. C. F. G. would do no small service here. Dear God, such teaching does not harm you; it keeps peace and teaches peace, lets you remain what you are, also teaches that everything should be left to you and nothing should be taken from you; this alone should sufficiently move you to peace, although otherwise the truth itself would not do so. Yes, she truly helps to preserve you all, and has done so up to now. Let her then sing: gui rotriduoduvt inilli rvala pro donis, aävorsavtur nülli, then it is not fine, and not good for you all, that she must sing it of you clergymen, and complain about you.

010 But if neither peace nor concord follow, neither Gamalieli's counsel, nor the apostles', nor the Jews' examples, help: then let that depart which will not abide, and be angry with him that will not leave it: he shall find wrath and strife enough left for him to wrestle after. In the meantime let us sing with the apostles and disciples, which I know they will not refuse us.

[The 2nd Psalm, briefly explained and interpreted by D. Martin Luther.] 1)

V. 1-3. Why do the nations rage, and the peoples make up vain poems? The kings of the earth are rebellious, and the princes contend with one another against the Lord and his anointed, saying: Let us break their bands, and cast away their cords from us.

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg edition and in the Jena edition.

How kings and princes now rage against the Lord and against his known truth, and seek to break his bands, and to be caught and taught by him, you all see for yourselves; but that such raging is in vain is not to be seen now, but by and by, for it follows hereafter:

(v. 4, 5) He that dwelleth in heaven mocketh them, and the LORD mocketh them. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and shall terrify them in his fury.

Such things are not seen, neither are they believed; but they shall feel them, and it shall come to pass. So it will be seen how vain their raging has been, how finely they have broken the bonds of the Lord and suppressed his word. But to us, who believe these things, and know that they must come to pass, it is comforting and pleasant. For when kings and rulers have long raged, and have poured out, and have torn, and have cast down, they will make our king sit down, as follows:

(v. 6, 7) But I have set my king upon my holy mountain Sion. I will preach of the sentence, The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

Let kings rage here, let princes rage, let pagans throw themselves, the king sits there, and is a son at home. Dear angry nobles, let him sit a while longer. If you will not let us have peace, I pray you, for God's sake, let this king sit, and not pull him down so soon as you think. Or, if he must come down, my dear, send him a letter of feud first, that he may know your cruel anger and wrath; perhaps he will arm himself with debris and fortifications, that he may remain before you, at least until this Diet is over, or your anger and displeasure are abated.

This king of ours also wills to be a priest, preaching a new proposition, that he is the Son of God, and that he is to be believed. But if I were kings and princes, we would forbid him to preach, lest he should put us out of our guns, 1) and with his

1) "Tie rifle" [Gewähr] == the legal possession. (Dietz.)

...and in one sentence destroyed our own doctrine and ancient custom. Huh, to him, quickly! let him be silent, as a heretic. But see otherwise with that ye offend not a priest, and the 8i suaäsnts give you the thunder and lightning; for there is a great bishop who hath ordained him and commanded him to preach, who is called HErr, and hath given him a format, which is called Noli ms tanZsrs, and thus reads:

V. 8, 9: Cry unto me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the end of the world for thine own possession. Thou shalt smite them with the scepter of iron; thou shalt break them as pots.

Who ever heard a greater lie in his life? The heathen are the inheritance of angry kings, and the world is the possession of fierce princes, and it is evident that they do with it as they please, but with their own. All their thoughts and actions, especially against this king and priest, are as if they had learned to walk from crabs, or wanted to teach crabs to walk, even though this king does not have a stick in the whole world. But be ashamed, and hear what follows:

V. 10. And now, ye kings, be wise; be ye chastened, ye judges of the earth.

Thus shall kings and princes be addressed; what shall that become? Such a shameful, blasphemous thing is never spoken from the earth: shall kings be wise? Thinkest thou then that they are fools? Shall judges be chastened? Thinkest thou then that they are children at school? Well, kings are wise beforehand; they have laws, and laws of the land, and lawyers, and counsellors, and know what they ought to do. Judges, too, have laws, customs, manners, and measures, and know well what they ought to judge, to judge, and to keep. This psalm is certainly a heretic, reviling kings, blaspheming judges, and acting as a rebel against the authorities and all their rights and customs, wanting to drive them out of the old rule. To this end, she scornfully says, "You kings, you judges," as a lord does to his servant, you Hans, you Peter,

as if he thought them nothing at all, and were all his own, like a cow or a goose.

Yes, my dear fellow, he confesses that kings and judges have reason, rights, and wisdom, for there cannot be a king or a judge who does not have law and justice in the land. But with this verse he throws them all under this king, together with their rights, customs, reason, and whatever wisdom and authority they have, and says: "It is not enough for them to have what they have; no matter how beautiful the law or customs may be, they should become fools and children against this king and priest, listen to him, and let themselves be taught, take his word for master, go over everything, and rule.

Forasmuch then as the pope, as well as the emperor, and the king, are not over this king, but must abide among the judges of the earth: so his decree and doctrine also shall be fool and child against this king's word and doctrine, and shall not judge by it, but be judged and taught by it.

But now at Augsburg they will master and pattern this verse differently, so that it will read: And now, thou king of Sion, be wise, thou judge of heaven, be thou chastened. For thou art a fool and a child against us: we must judge and establish what thou shalt hold to be true, or not. And what we do not judge, or set in judgment, or confirm, let it be commanded thee that thou hold it to be true, or else be cast down, and burned with the heretics. This will certainly be the fate of this king, for they truly do not want to be deprived of the assurance that they have been masters and judges of God's word until now. But what will this king say to this, who also sits in judgment, and will be unmastered and unjudged, but only master and judge? Let him take care of them, and he will do so, as follows:

Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, that he be not angry, and that ye perish not in the way: for his wrath shall soon come on. Blessed are they that put their trust in him.

There it is, that whosoever will not hear the word of Christ, but shall master it, shall perish in wrath, and that same very soon, that he will not
...hemmed in. Let us serve him, and not force his word to serve our heads. Let us kiss him, let us owe him, let us not subject Christ or his word to our pride; he will not suffer it, and that is all very well.

(11) I will humbly inform C.F.G. of this, whether God will grant grace through your diligence and work, so that the blasphemy will be less; if not, that peace will be established. For the fact that the pope boasts with his own, in a note that is printed, that the emperor will restore and supplement everything to him, I know that he will miss that; For what would that be but that we should recant all that we have ever taught, even this present delivered confession, which you yourselves must hold to be right, and praise against it all the former lies, which you all yourselves much confess, and charge upon us all the innocent blood shed by your part. Yes, dear pope and papists, give us Leonhard Kaiser again, and all whom you have innocently strangled, all the souls whom you have seduced with lies, all the money and goods that you have stolen by cheating, all the honor that you have stolen from God by blaspheming, then we will act of restitution. It shall be written in a history that the pope and his papists may insolently and publicly desire such blasphemous things, as if they were vain lumps in the German land, and in the imperial diet vain monkeys, and all the princes who do it with them, that they should be an eternal stench among our descendants, for which one must spit and lick.

(12) But the devil seeks something else with it. Would to God that our masters would all pay attention to this. We Germans will not stop believing the Pabst and his whales until they bring us, not into a sweat bath, but into a blood bath. If German princes fell one into another, that would make the Pabst, the Florentine fruit, merry, that he might laugh in his fist, and say, There, you German beasts, would not have me for Pabst, so have that. O great love and loyalty he has to the emperor, as he proved before Pavia, when he went against the emperor. He prefers Germany still more, that he demands the emperor from Hispania (for who could have such prac-.

tik?), and then crown him without the presence of the German princes, according to the Bull. 1) I am not a prophet, but I beg all of you gentlemen to be careful, and do not let yourselves think that you are dealing with men when you deal with the pope and his people, but with vain devils; for there are also vain devils behind them, that I know. May God Almighty help you that all may be at peace, amen.

13. hereby I will have commanded E. C. F. G. in God's grace, and what I can do with prayers, serve him faithfully, and E. C. F. G. in God's grace. C. F. F. G. will graciously grant me this letter. I cannot leave it alone, I must also care for poor, miserable, abandoned, despised, betrayed and sold Germany, to which I do not wish any harm, but all the good that I owe to my dear fatherland. Lx üromo, loria 4th post Visitationis Nariao ^the 6th of July), Xnno N. V.XXX.

E. C. F. G.

blackmailer

Mart. Luther.

988 Luther's Letter to Melanchthon. July 19, 1530.

This letter is found in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 231 d; in Buddeus, p. 157; in Chyträus in the Latin edition, p. 149, and in the German, p.244; in DeWette, vol. IV, p. 99, and incompletely and with a wrong date (July 9) in Walch. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! Although you do not write to us, my dear Philip, I write so that I may surpass you in favor and burden you with envy by preceding you in a superfluous good work (opere supereroZutionis). But thou seest that the matter is going to a similar end as it was at Worms, namely, that it shall suffer the emperor to be the judge. Thus Satan always fiddles on one string, and this artist of a thousand has only this one powerless strength against Christ. Dar-

1) Document No. 893.

I have written more extensively to all the princes, and you will be better advised in this matter. I see, thank God, nothing yet in the adversaries but mere threats, but threats against the LORD and his anointed, which David calls vain, who was not only a mighty despiser of threats, but also the conqueror of Goliath's strength. Now if the proverbs be true, then this also is true: He that dieth for fear shall be buried with farts. 2) Although it is German, it is still valid. But with what kind of bells (combos) will one have to ring to thee, who is overcome not merely by others, but by thyself? We may hear threats, and nothing else but threats, but they are threats of stubble and reed, whose thoughts the Lord knows, and behold, they are void. But if war and violence should indeed ensue, it has not yet begun, and in the meantime something may happen; and if it should indeed begin, it has not yet progressed; and if it should progress, it has not yet conquered. That a war should be stirred up by them at this time, I cannot even conceive by human reason, unless they want to perish altogether. 3) The other day, about sixty peasants began to gather here anew, and also attempted to take Hohenstein Castle by night (so our captains tell us ^praolooti)), so that you can see that it is necessary, even in the presence of the Emperor, to take all precautions against rebellion: what would happen if they aroused a war? But the messenger is already hastening at the Prince's command, and you have not written. I will write to the others at another time. Be strong in the Lord. Amen. From Gruboc ^Coburg), the 19th of July Anno 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

2) Thus Luther gives this saying St. Louiser Ausgabe, Vol. XV, 1806.

3) The following is missing from Walch.

4) So Buddeus and Seidemann in De Wette, VI, 685; in the text: Xotmsteu.

989 Luther's Letter to Wenceslaus Link. July 13, 1530.

This letter is found in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 210; in Buddeus, p. 151; and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 87. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace! I am sending you the letter to the Bishop of Mainz, 1) my dear Wenceslaus, and would like you to give this copy, if you can, to Georg Rotmeyer for printing, for whom you once wrote to me. If he should not undertake it, then you may give it to the printer Wolfgang at St. Lorenz; but I would like the publication to be accelerated. As soon as the copy is finished, you may send it immediately with this enclosed letter by an occasional messenger to O. Johann Rühel, for to him I write that he should take this letter and the copy and hand them over to the Mainzer. I beseech thee, do not take it amiss that thou art thus weighted by me. I hear that the adversaries are pressing (p0886880rium) for the right of possession (which we have always suspected), but in vain. Greet the D. Abbot, Spengler and all those of us, greet also your vine with its lovely grapes. From Coburg, on the day of Margaret [July 13], Anno 1530, Yours, M. Luther.

er's Letter to D. Johann Rühel. July 13, 1530.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 429d; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 116 d; in the Altenburg, vol. 244; in the Leipziger, vol. XX, p. 145; in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 178; and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 87. Latin in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 2I0d, and in Buddeus, p. 152.

To the respectable, highly esteemed Mr. Johann Rühel, the right doctor, chancellor of Mansfeld, my favorable lord and friendly dear brother-in-law.

Grace and peace in Christ. Esteemed, respectable, dear Doctor, and friend-

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1) No.987.

Dear dear brother-in-law! I have sent out a letter to your Lord, the Cardinal at Mainz, through the printer at Nuremberg, and have asked Doctor Wenceslaum to send you the copy. When it arrives, I ask you to hand it over to your master for my sake, with my request that S. C. F. G. will accept it with grace, and to indicate my heartfelt good opinion, as you know well how to do. I also ask E. A. (as I am sure you do diligently) to admonish S. C. F. G. faithfully that S. C. F. G. neither trusts nor believes the desperate whales. For you know in part what kind of people they are, as they have meant us Germans up to now, and still mean. We are afflicted with them; God help and keep us from them, Amen. Herewith I command you GOtt, and pray also for me, as I do for you 2c. Ex Lromo, äio NarZarotüao [13 July) anno 1530.

Martinus Luther, D.

991 Luther's Letter to Justus Jonas. July 9, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in the Ooü. Olo88th; in the Ooä. .len. b, lob 130 and in Aurifaber, vol. lll, p. 55. Printed in Buddeus, p. 144 and in De Wette, vol.IV, p. 85. Incomplete in Cölestin, vol. II, p.2I0b. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! In these days we have received many letters from you, dearest Jonas, and since that time of silence we have written again four times, even five times; this is the sixth time we are writing. Your letters have been extremely pleasant to me. I see indeed that now, after the statement of the contents (arZuinentuni), the preface (proIoZum) of the Diet will be recited; then follows the meeting and what matters (6pitu8i8), or the crisis; but those have a sad, we a happy outcome (comieucam catatroxlion) to expect. Not, of course, that a concord in doctrine will ever be established; for who can hope that Belial will be united with Christ? unless, perhaps, the

(But here, too, this adverb must be "perhaps," and perhaps too much "perhaps"), but that I wish and almost hope that the discord in doctrine may be set aside and a political harmony made. If this comes about through Christ's blessing, then enough has been done and directed at this Diet. For first of all, what is greatest, Christ is loudly proclaimed by the public and glorious confession, and is known in the light and in their faces, so that they cannot boast that we have fled, that we have feared, or that we have concealed our faith. I only regret that I was not able to be present at this beautiful confession, and it has happened to me quite the same fate as it did to the highest warlords before Vienna a year ago, that no cooperation or victory could be attributed to them in the resistance and defense of the city against the Turks. But it fills me and comforts me that in the meantime my Vienna has been defended by others. The second is that it is certain that we have always sought peace, and, as the Psalm [Ps. 34:15] says, we have said after it, that we have offered it, asked for it, while those have sought nothing but war, murder, and destruction, but to a very certain testimony that we are children of God, since we are peaceable. If we now attain the third thing, that we part in worldly peace, then we have clearly overcome Satan in this year. This is not my predestination about this kingdom day, but it is my thoughts. For how can I hope that the adversaries will do any good? What can I hope from Caesar, however good he may be, since he is possessed? Christ lives 1) and sits at the right hand, not of Caesar (for then we would have perished long ago), but at the right hand of God. This is something incredibly great. But I have a desire for this unbelievable thing, and I am completely willing to die on it. And why should I not live on it? If only God wanted Philip to do this with me, at least, he would have done it.

1) De Wette: v6Lit. Aurifaber: vivit. We have assumed the latter.

...believed in one faith, when he had not another. "At my right hand" "is a small thing, but 'at my right hand,' devil, where does it end? The pronoun will do it, for the noun ^.äonai, which follows the äixit vominus 2) will well preserve the dear 2V sScheblimini ---- Set thee at my right hand) until the 'at the footstool of thy feet' also comes. What matter if David lie?" Unless Augsburg alone began to reign in this month, or to escape from the right hand of GOD, so that it must be believed that Christ was cast down there by the Sacramentirans, and David was corrupted by the Papists. If that happened, we do not know it here at Gruboc. Therefore write this to us, my dear Jonas, and I will seek another Christ and invent another David for myself, who will not so deceive and mock me with empty words. But away with this jest, which is blasphemous, but not blasphemous in earnest. Thou art well pleased in Christ, and believe with us, as thou doest, that Christ is the King of kings, and the Lord the sovereign. "If he forfeit the title at Augsburg, he shall also forfeit it in heaven and on earth, amen." From Gruboc, July 9, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

992 Luther's Letter to Justus Jonas. July 13, 1530.

The original of this letter is in the possession of Baron von Meusebach in Berlin, and is printed from it in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. II, p. 76. Also in Cölestin, Vol. II, p. 228; in Chyträus according to the Latin edition, p. 146, and according to the German, p. 247; in Buddeus, p. 150; in Flacius' Latin collection of letters; in Cyprian's Beilagen zur Geschichte der Augsb. Conf., p. 178, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 89. German first in Luther's collection of letters, which Flacius was in charge of; then in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 429; in the Jena edition (1566s, vol. V, p. 115d; in the Altenburg, vol.V, p.243, and in the Leipzig, vol.XX, p. 194. We have translated according to Förstemann.

Newly translated from the Latin.

2) Here we find been obliged to change the given text according to the 110th Psalm, in order to give sense. De Wette offers: "Xclonai, da das ckixi nachfolget." Buddeus offers: "da das Nomen vominns" 2c.

To the venerable man in Christ, Mr. Justus Jonas, the confessor of Christ at Augsburg, his superior in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I am sitting here, my dear Jonas, thinking and caring for you, and I suspect that our cause has already come to a meeting, and at the same time I hope that it has the prospect of a very good end; only your courage must not sink, and the more hopeful they are, the less you must give way. For I believe that they are firmly under the delusion that you, bowed down, will yield everything if they order or propose anything through the Emperor. For who does not see that the emperor himself does nothing here, but is driven and guided? If you now stand firm, and yield nothing, you will compel them to change their minds, and turn their deliberations into wrath. When this is done, our cause will more easily suffer violence and threats than those satanic wiles which I have hitherto feared most. You may after all urge the right of possession (po88688orium): 1) we too want to urge that they restore to us Leonhard Kaiser (Ls^sr) and many others whom they have killed in the most shameful way; let them restore so many souls whom they have ruined with their godless teaching; they shall restore the so many goods which they have robbed with fraudulent indulgences and other deceptions; they shall restore the glory of God which is defiled by so many blasphemies; they shall restore the purity of the Church which is abominably defiled in persons and customs. And who can enumerate all? Let us then also deal with the right of possession. But it has pleased me exceedingly that after God's decree they have begun to be so nonsensical that they are not ashamed to advance this ground. The one who so afflicts and disgraces them, that they think these shameful and unrighteous things are beautiful and reliable, continues still further. This shall be the beginning and the portent of the hand of GOD which will assist us. Thus I comfort

1) The following is almost word for word in Luther's Letter to the Cardinal at Mainz, No. 987, § 11.

me. But you have long since had other advice, and these are already old. But I hope that our letters (for I have written at least five times, - to Philip I have written so often) have been delivered. The HErr JEsus himself, our salvation and life, our love and confidence, be with you, I hope, Amen. From Gruboc, 1530 on the day of Margaret [July 13]. Greetings M. Eisleben and all the others. Yours, Martin Luther.

993 Luther's Letter to Melanchthon. July 13, 1530.

This letter is found in Buddeus, p. 49 from the Jena manuscript; in des Flacius lateinischer Briefsammlung; in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 229 b; in Chyträus, p. I05b and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 88. German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 429; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 116; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 243, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 194.

Doctor Martinus Luther, the faithful disciple and witness of Christ, Fl. Philippo Melanchthon, his brother. 2)

Grace and true peace of Christ! I believe, my dear Philip, that you now see from experience that Belial can in no way be united with Christ, nor can there be any hope of harmony as far as doctrine is concerned. I have written to the prince about this, 3) that our cause could not suffer the emperor to be a judge. And now we see what the letter containing the so gracious citation 4) intended. But perhaps the matter had long since advanced before my letter came, which I also thought of at the time I wrote it. But at least for my own person, I will not give in a hair's breadth, or allow the matter to be brought back to the old state (i-Wtitui); I would rather expect all extreme danger, since they continue so stubbornly. The Emperor may do what he can. But I wish to know what you have done...

2) This inscription is found only in the German editions.

3) Document No. 956.

4) Emperor Carl's invitation to the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, No. 890.

...you have. I have asked the Lord, who has helped me infinitely better than I have. But since those deceitful devils are thus playing their game with the promise of a concilium, I too would like to play my game with them at the same time, by appealing from their threats to the concilium, which is nothing and will never be held, so that we may have peace in the meantime. As yet I fear nothing of violence or their violent hand. Christ tempteth us yet thus, who is mighty in us weak; and in this way is he glorified in the assembly of the saints, and in no other way; "there shall be no other way out." I have nothing else to write in this solitude. I would that thou wouldest not be troubled by this victory and glorification of the enemy, but wouldest fortify thyself against it by the power of the strength and might of him who raised up Christ from the dead, and will make us alive and raise us up with him. For the wicked must be made green as the grass [Ps. 92, 3.], and the enemies of the Lord honored and exalted, that they may perish and wither for ever, as the Psalms [Ps. 37, 2. 129, 6.] testify. If the duke George were not so wanton, how could he be our enemy? But you are intent on other things, for this reason you do not allow what is mine; therefore you have no peace, and to the future and indeed imaginary evils you add at the same time the present futile cross. Christ (I pray) strengthen and sustain thee, amen. From the desert, on the day of St. Margaret 13. July) 1530.

Martin Luther.

C. How the Elector of Saxony was denied the imperial feud out of hatred for the Lutheran religion.

994 The Emperor's notice to the Electorate of Saxony by Count Palatine Frederick and Count Henry of Nassau, July 16, 1530, that the Emperor had misgivings about granting the fiefs to the Elector.

From Müller's History of the Protestation of the Protestant Estates, lib. III, cax. 22, p. 671.

Saturday after Margarethä kais. Maj.'s deputies, named Count Palatine Frederick, Count Henry of Nassau, Rogendorf, King's Maj. Court Master, and Mr. Jörg Truchsess, Captain, have notified our most gracious lord of the following opinion by order of Imperial Maj. Maj., concerning the three articles, namely: the fiefs over the chur of Saxony, confirmation of the marriage ordinance over the lands of Jülich and Cleve, and the market in the city, as it is called, would have fallen to them. After having been excused the great business which in the meantime has occurred to Caif. Maj. had happened, therefore Her Maj. could not have given an answer sooner to His Electoral Grace for the sake of the above-mentioned articles: His Imperial Maj. would have remembered that the market in the city had been lost. Maj. would have remembered how graciously her ancestors showed themselves towards the House of Saxony and His Lordship's Grace. ancestors, that her Maj. would also be inclined to act in such a manner towards his Elector. Grace. But since it has come to pass that his Elector's Grace has been rejected by the faith and by her. His Grace has renounced the faith of Her Imperial Majesty and others. Majesty and others, as then the signature of the delivered writings, in which his Electoral Grace confesses to such doctrine. to such doctrine; moreover, that also his Elector Palatine's Gn. relatives in the next handed over writing to take an alliance from it, though one would not know the same. Thus it also reaches the Emperor's Majesty. Maj. that his Electoral. The same is also reported to His Imperial Majesty that His Electorate should have entered into an understanding with the Confederates, and that this, as usual, should have broken out sooner than it might have been carried out; as a thing would not be so small if it were to come to light; that Her Majesty found it a grievance that such a thing should have been carried out in her absence, and that it should have been attached to those 1) who were objectionable to His Imperial Majesty and new to him. Maj. repugnant, and to innovate in faith. Also it would have been contrary to her Imperial Maj. Maj. edict. For even though there were grievances in matters of faith, it should nevertheless, if it were wrong, have been done by the whole of Christendom, and at their discretion. But since Imperial Maj. Maj. finds that my most gracious lord wishes to insist on the articles handed over and the doctrine contained therein, and does not intend to deviate, and her Imperial Maj. Maj. also have a soul and conscience, and would not gladly fight against the Holy Scriptures, since their Imperial Maj. Maj. is the protector and handler of the church, therefore our most gracious lord should not allow himself to be separated from the faith and her Maj. in such a way, and have sought an alliance: then her Maj. will not be pleased to reject the

1) "to whom" put by us instead of: "for".

Fief of His Elector. Gn., because they do not know what should be provided for his churfürstl. His Elector's Grace. Where, however, his elector. and do not give cause for this, then the Imperial Majesty wants to take action against his electors. Majesty would graciously hold against his electoral... Graciously with it. If, however, my most gracious lord should wish to persist in this, and remain in the faith as it was before his age and for more than 20 or 30 years, then his electoral graces will also give cause not to grant the regalia. Cause not to lend the regalia, could also not consider that they would do it with conscience. Whereupon his Electorate. His Electors would like to be heard, on which their minds would finally rest. But the other articles, although they may be done out of his Majesty's good will, his Electors have given cause for this. ...have given cause to induce their Imperial Majesty... Maj. to it. But without this, Imperial Maj. Maj. would be in no other mood to behave towards his Electoral Grace. His Elector's Grace, as his Imperial Maj. Maj.'s ancestors have done and kept.

995. the Elector of Saxony's answer to the imperial resolution. July 21, 1530.

This writing is found in its entirety in Cölestin, vol. II, p.245; in Chyträus according to the Latin edition, p. 125, and according to the German, p. 201, and in Müller's Historie 2c., lib. III, eap. 22, p. 673. The part concerning religion is also found in the "Gesammtausgabe": in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 4180; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 33; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 154, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 227. Likewise in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 113, after a copy in the Margravial Brandenburg Acts.

Most Sublime, Most Great Emperor, Most Gracious Lord! To the remonstrance, so your Imperial Maj. Maj. by the high and well-born and noble 2c., your kais. Maj. decreed to me on Saturday last after Margaret, concerning three articles, namely 1) the fiefs over the Church of Saxony; 2) confirmation of the marriage ordinance over the lands of Jülich, Eleve and Berg; 3) and concerning the market at Gotha, I have asked for your consideration. And do Your Imperial Maj. Maj. this most humbly distant report.

Crster article, concerning the enfeoffment of the empire.

First of all, for the sake of the aforementioned fief, so that Your Imperial Majesty may graciously hear the reason and cause. Maj. may graciously hear the reason and cause thereof. Maj. know that the bull in gold, on account of the Electors' descendants, which Your Imperial Maj. Maj. graciously
confirmed and confirmed, clearly decreed that if a secular prince dies without male heirs, the same dignity shall then pass to his eldest brother; for which reason, after the death of my dear brother, Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, the Electorate of Saxony has been bequeathed to me. Moreover, Your Imperial Majesty Maj. has granted me, together with the said my brother, the fiefs of Saxony, together with all their regalia, in accordance with the contents of your Imperial Maj. Maj. fief letter, and according to the enclosed article, signed by your imperial maj. Maj. gave to my brother at the Diet of Worms, in accordance with the aforementioned Bull, and has graciously entrusted me with his love, on her death, without heirs of a corporeal fief. If, after my brother's death, it had been my duty to continue the feud, I had no lack of it, for almost in the first six months after my brother's departure, I had been in the regiment ordered by Your Imperial Majesty. Maj.'s regiment, for the sake of such fiefs and regalia, in accordance with the imperial order. And since I, by virtue of an over-sent Muthzeddul, have referred the matter to Your Imperial Maj. Maj. with this, and for this reason I have sent two of my counsellors to your Imperial Maj. in Hispania for your most humbly submission. Maj. in Hispania: so your Imperial Maj. Maj. have given me a gracious indult for two years. Maj. graciously and specially to go to your Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Majesty's arrival in the Empire, graciously granted me such fiefs and regalia, according to the copies hereof, signed B. The same indult has been granted to me by His Imperial Majesty. Majesty has granted me the same indult by the encouragement of E. kais. Maj. Vice-Chancellor, my friend, the Bishop of Costnitz and Hildesheim, has given me the same indulgence for another year, with the same gracious and imperial promises to grant me the said fiefs on the occasion of His Majesty's arrival in the Empire of the German Nation. M. arrival into the Empire of the German Nation, contents of the enclosed copy, signed 0. Thus I have also, for the sake of my most humble diligence, sent, in addition to the most reverend ones, my grandparents and special ones, Count Wilhelm of Nassau and Count Wilhelm of Neuenar, my councilor and servant, Hansen von Dolzigk, next to E. kais. Majesty to Insbruck, to whom E. kais. M. has given this gracious and imperial answer for the sake of such fiefs. Imperial answer that E. kais. Maj. would also do the same to me and hand them over if Her Majesty would come here to Augsburg. After all this, I will next allhie with E. kais. M. for this purpose, I would not have received a prompt answer, much less that some speech or explanation would have been necessary because of this fief.

Disputation should have been proposed, with E. kais. Maj.; but since I can well state that with E. K. Majest. I am badly supported by my unfavourables, which I (whether I am to blame for them) place in God's hands: so to my great need E. K. M. I have not refrained from making such a most humble reminder, whereby E. K. Maj. Maj. ' has already enfeoffed me with my brother, on the death of my beloved, by her Maj.'s sealed letter of feoffment, has also given me written sealed consent for further enfeoffment after the death that has occurred, and next to Insbruck has given final permission to graciously grant me the fiefs here again. And I ask again, in all humility, and most humbly, that His Imperial Majesty will grant me, together with my heirs and co-beneficiaries, on the clear and bright, also completely undisputable, prescriptions and pardons of His Imperial Majesty. Maj. and most gracious promises, graciously and without delay lend me the fiefs and regalia of the Electorate of Saxony, and also register them with my deprecators, because my dear brother, most blessed, by such justice and dignity of the Electorate of Saxony, E. Kais. M., special glory, indeed not least to this her kaiserl. And to the same my disfavored joy, that now, as my brother's heir, I shall encounter such entry for the sake of the Saxon churl, I neither move nor let it be deterred. That I also ask Your Imperial Majesty most humbly... M. most humbly request and application to confirm the above marriage vow, but male to his presumed rights without damage, has happened before and also now for the causes which my sister-in-law and sister-in-law of Jülich and Eleve, and I, E. Imperial. Maj. by my envoys in Hispania, by virtue of our mutually sealed Instruction, have at length indicated and humbly reminded; and especially on account of the most gracious promise, which H.R.M. has given to my brother, and subsequently to me, by her secretary, Johann Hannarten, on H.R.M.'s Credence and Instruction. Maj. credence and instruction among others in this form. As namely: because E. kais. Maj. has decreed the marriage between her Majesty's sister, now Royal Wife of Portugal, and my son, Johann Friedrichen, by virtue of and according to the contents of the written and sealed marriage contract, of which His Imperial Majesty is undoubtedly aware. Maj. know without a doubt, previously established, do not wish to execute, for the reasons stated, that E. kais. M., if my brother or I were to marry my son elsewhere myself, will take care of it with gracious advice,

I have a sealed letter, which I still have with me, together with the sealed instructions for his courtship. Since now, according to the will of the Almighty, a marriage has taken place, with such a marriage ceremony as has been reported to E. K. M., between my son, Duke Johann Friedrichen, and my wife Sibyllen, my first-born daughter of Eleve and Jülich, and his love, together with the same husband, and I, E. Kais. Maj. confirmation and acknowledgement no other, nor further, than male to his supposed rights without detriment, as before and recently at Insbruck at E. Majesty's arrival by my council and servant. and servant, Hansen von Dolzigk, and handed over in writing: so I ask Your Imperial Highness once again in all subjection. M. again with all humility and request that E. kais. Maj. will, in consideration of the aforementioned most gracious and imperial promise, also graciously consider the manifold faithful services of the Houses of Saxony, Jülich and Eleven, and on the other hand, at their aforementioned gracious request, with such requested confirmation, the same with confirmation of the requested fairs in my city of Gotha, after no one may complain of any due disadvantage therein; as then Your Imperial Majesty has previously decreed at Insignia. Majesty has also handed over the causes of such a defeat in writings, as my most gracious Lord and Emperor, and as my Imperial ancestors have done. M. ancestors have done, and in all this to E. kais. M. again my most submissive confidence, also graciously show.

The other article, concerning faith.

As also Your Imperial Majesty Majesty had me make a number of burdensome announcements on account of my faith, Your Imperial Majesty knows that they have required me, as well as other estates, to make such disputes at this Imperial Diet. Maj. know that they have required me, and as far as the faith is concerned, with such a letter, as well as other estates, that at this Imperial Diet, in order to put an end to such disputes, to refrain from unwillingness, and to surrender the previous insanity to Christ our Saviour, it should be acted in such a way that only each one's discretion, opinion and opinion between ourselves should be heard, understood and considered in love and kindness, and that these should be brought to a unified Christian truth and compared. Wherefore I, and several princes and cities, owe obedience to your Imperial Majesty. Majesty, in obedience to their Imperial. Majesty. and the presentation that has been made, our most humble submission to your Imperial Majesty.

I have handed over to you, in Latin and German, by means of simplified scripture, the order and confession as taught and preached in my lands and in your own, and by your superiors, and have signed the same to us, as was proper. I have also, together with the aforementioned signatories, offered in the preface to the delivered document that we would gladly converse with other princes, rulers, and estates in convenient and uniform ways, and that we would unite them as much as is always possible for equality, so that our mutual arguments and afflictions may be dealt with between ourselves in love and kindness, and that we may be led to one true religion, as we all are and contend under one Christ. Nor shall there be anything in any of us that could or would serve Christian unity with God and conscience. The same, and that I want to compare myself Christianly in everything that may always happen with God and conscience, I hereby offer to Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty, I hereby humbly and abundantly submit to a common and willingly free Christian concilium, and I hope to God Almighty that in such a conversation in love and kindness, or in the indicated concilium, I shall never again find myself in disagreement with divine holy Scripture, that I, by my and my co-religionists' signed articles and instruction of the doctrine among us, have convinced myself of the truth of God, and of Your Imperial Majesty as supreme protector of the Church. Majesty, as the supreme protector and protector of the Church. If I can also be informed by divine holy Scripture that I or my princes should hold or teach that which is contrary to God and to fine divine Scripture and order, I will (whether God wills it), as no doubt the others of my kinsmen will also do, hold and show myself in such a way that no one shall be noted by His Imperial Majesty as yet as being against God. as if, solely on account of my own obstinacy and outside the compulsion of my conscience, I had the desire and will to disassociate myself from the truth and order of God and the holy Christian Church in some way, and should no longer be willing to unanimously believe according to God's word, order, and command, and to adhere to the holy Christian Church. Therefore, it is above all necessary to know and hear which articles the others intend to contest, and to hear against them with a Christian and urgent report, as we have offered to do at the end of these articles, also to hear whether, by the help of the Almighty, such articles, which have been disputed or wanted to be disputed, can be brought to a unified Christian truth, according to their content.

Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty's Christian and praiseworthy decree, according to divine holy scripture. Scripture, now be conducted at this Imperial Diet. 1) For although in everything that can always be with God and conscience (so that Ew. K. Majest. (that I may be held to the most humble service, honor, and favor), I am most humbly willing and obliging in everything that can always be with God and God's will (that I may be held to the most humble service, honor, and favor), unselfishly willing and obliging in life, limb, and property; but since these are matters that concern God's word and honor, and my conscience and soul's salvation, and I have read the doctrine that is preached in my lands, and as I, together with the others of my kinsmen, have read the same in Latin and German writings before E. K. Majesty and the Estates, I am not willing and obliging to be held before this Imperial Diet. I, together with the others of my kinsmen, have confessed the same in Latin and German writings before His Majesty and the Estates of the Realm, and hereby confess once again, together with all that adheres to the [Confession] by virtue of the divine Scriptures, that I consider and believe it to be Christian, right, and of God's pure and true word, order, and command, and that no one has proved the contradiction from the holy divine Scriptures, that the same confession we have handed over is not founded in the divine holy Scriptures, and in God's word, order, and command: therefore, His Majesty the Emperor, as a most noble Emperor, has declared that the confession we have handed over is not founded in the divine holy Scriptures, and in God's word, order, and command, as a most praiseworthy Emperor, graciously accept how it would be possible for me and my kinsmen before God, Your Majesty and the whole world, to refrain from such a well-known doctrine as God's word, order and command, without a frightening and damning violation of my conscience, and without the greatest blasphemy, that I should not consider God's word, order and command, as the eternal and imperishable truth, to be God's word, order and truth, as Your Majesty, and without a doubt, Your Majesty, would have me do. Majesty, and no doubt have been moved to desire me by too much zealous persistence on the part of those who oppose me. Since we then hold that this doctrine and order is God's word and command: then all opponents must judge for themselves and confess on behalf of me and my fellow relatives that it is not our duty to refrain from it with such a conscience; that it is also our duty and duty before God and all men, and that we have been and are guilty of accepting and recognizing God's word, doctrine, command and order, and of permitting it in our lands and territories, unhindered by what has been introduced or broken in against it by human order or long repugnant use. For, as in my confession and in the confessions of my kinsmen, in more than one place, it is also indicated, that in matters concerning His word, order, and commandment (in which case we are now) God gives us the right to accept the word, order, and commandment of God.

1) The preceding sentence is missing in Förstemann and Chyträus, but is in the Latin.
2) In Brück's transcript: sicherm.
3) So Förstemann; Walch: gebührt.

He is to be obeyed more than men. To this end, the sayings of the Fathers, which are found in many places in spiritual law, and in part in our confession, testify that God's word and God's law and order may not be changed or altered by the ordinances of men or by unpleasant customs, no matter how long they have been in force and have stood. To this end, all the rights described above, where anyone mandates and orders against the holy and natural rights of God, decree and allow that such rescripts, ordinances and mandates are to be considered invalid and unconstitutional. From this, Your Majesty may assume how justly my kinsmen and I are complained of to Your Majesty, as if we had disobeyed Your Majesty in this matter. Moreover, Your Majesty knows that my dear brother, Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector, Blessed, has reported his complaint to Your Majesty at Worms on account of the Edict, which has also been presented to Your Majesty at Imperial Conventions, especially at Worms. Imperial Congresses, especially at Nuremberg and at Speier the first, for reasons which have been unanimously drawn up in an Instruction by Princes, Princes and Estates, and which have agreed to send to His Majesty in Hispania for this purpose. Therefore His Majesty.., as the head, who is set before Christendom as a temporal governor and authority by God the Almighty, will not be moved to do so by anyone, as His Majesty has graciously informed me, and has pleased me not a little in this most important matter, that His Majesty does not like to go against the Holy Scriptures. would not willingly act contrary to the Holy Scriptures, that His Majesty should disrupt, change, and bring about that which God, as the supreme Commander and the eternal Wisdom, surpassing all men's wit and wisdom, has decreed, ordained, instituted, and commanded. may therein graciously consider God's honor and man's salvation and blessedness, or, indeed, may he not allow himself to be hurried to the utmost in this most sacrificial and most important matter, by the industrious impetuous or importunate persistence of the adversaries, as they would perhaps like to see and want, but, if the action among ourselves in love and kindness would be harmless on this Imperial Day, as, however, E. K. M. has decreed my superfluous and unavoidable action. My Majesty will graciously hear my superfluous request, which my fellow kinsmen agree with me, from the one that has been presented before: so let Your Majesty, for the sake of greater security of conscience, take the most important matters, as they are of God's will, into consideration.

The most important matters concerning honor and truth and the salvation and happiness of the souls of men, about which there is nothing more important, neither in heaven nor on earth, are to be brought to a common, free, Christian concilium, as Your Majesty has graciously granted, and as the princes, princes, and estates have found necessary, useful, and good at many different imperial congresses, due to the greatness of the matter. and have also most humbly requested it, so that for once the truth may be pursued with right earnestness and diligence and that it may be acted upon, what is right confirmed, and what is abused and wrong done away with everywhere. For Your Majesty is graciously pleased to consider how difficult it is to interpret and construe that, as often as a common, free, Christian Council has been spoken of and acted upon, most humbly and unanimously asked for, also granted, and the whole realm put off; and yet, if the action at this Imperial Diet, by virtue of Your Majesty's decree, is to be taken in an unobtrusive manner, it should be taken in an unobtrusive manner. If the action at this Imperial Diet, by virtue of Your Majesty's decree, were to be unobjectionably fine, it should not be allowed to proceed without the unavoidable necessity of all the present abuses in Christendom, about which the whole world has cried out for many years, so that, if God wills, Your Majesty will not allow it to happen for the sake of your most gracious grant, to the praise of God, also for the benefit of Christendom and, above all, for the benefit of the Empire of the German Nation. All of this, Your Majesty graciously wishes to note from me, not otherwise than cordially and completely humbly, also to my and my fellow relatives' need, and therefore, that I cannot nor may not desist from God's word, truth, order and command, as desired, for the sake of my conscience, let them move me and likewise my fellow relatives to disgrace, but on this superfluous my Christian inheritance, be and remain my most gracious Lord and Emperor. Again, all that I may otherwise grant, which is not contrary to God's word and my conscience, in this I will show myself most submissive, and with God's help keep it so that Your Imperial Majesty will regard me as a faithful emperor. Majesty shall find me a faithful, obedient and peaceful Elector, and one who is heartily sorry for error and incorrectness in doctrine and government, much less inclined to promote such, until the end and conclusion of my life.

The third article, concerning the covenant.

That also from the words "our kinsmen", so in my friends, and my last delivered writing, for the sake of the cities Nuremberg

and Reutlingen, who in agreement with us have known and signed the preceding articles, should have understood or wanted to assume an alliance, I would not have provided myself with such dangerous interpretations by my detractors to induce Your Imperial Majesty to disfavor me. Majesty to disfavor me in any way. Thus it would have been unnecessary for me to take such thoughts against me for the reasons indicated and to complain to your Imperial Majesty about them; for it is easy to assume that I and my friends have not made a confession here on anyone's account in this important matter, or would do so and give an account of what is taught and held in other places that have not publicly signed with us and our confession. In this regard, Your Imperial Majesty Majesty that I have reacted to such a report, which was sent to me by your Imperial Majesty's command. Majesty's command, I have had the above-mentioned two Counts of Nassau and Neuenar, next to Insbruck, report such an alliance to me for a submissive truthful answer, which I hereby submit to your Imperial Majesty. Majesty I hereby humbly renew. That I should also have asked the Swiss for an alliance, or have left myself in communication with them, as I have done with Your Imperial Majesty, for further enquiries. Maj. I have requested further innocence: upon this I show Your Imperial Majesty my innocence. Majesty I so declare my innocence, and say that there is no man living in this world who would speak or say with truth, nor may it be made true at any time that all my life I have sought some alliance with the Swiss, much less have I let myself into some with them; and that is more, so no one will be able to say that I have sent, ordered, or with my knowledge and will ever done such seeking or acting with them secretly or publicly. And please, your Imperial. Majesty want those of my disfavored, so your Imperial. Your Imperial Majesty will consider them untrue and will not give them any credence until they make them true and, as is rightfully their due, prove them to be unable, God willing, to do so with the least amount of effort. Thus my cousin, Duke George of Saxony, almost gave me notice of such things in various winters, with avoidance, as if such should have reached your Majesty's brother, the royal dignities of Hungary and Bohemia, my special dear lord and uncle. But I have let myself be heard by his royal dignities and my cousins with such an answer that I hope (so I have also heard it from their royal dignities) that this will be the case.

Your dignities and dear ones may not understand otherwise), 1) that they have noted my apology and answer to good sufficiency, satisfaction, and without reference. And your Imperial Majesty graciously understands all this, and to my need, 2) that for your Imperial Majesty's sake I will earn it with all submissiveness, body and soul. Actum Augsburg, on the 21st day of July, Anno Domini 1530.

John, Duke of Saxony, and Elector.

996. letter of the Elector Johann of Saxony to Niclas von Ende, bailiff in Georgenthal, because of the above event.

July 28, 1530.

From Müller's History, lib. III, eap. 22, S. 685.

Dear Council and Faithful! We graciously inform you that we have not yet received an answer from Imperial Majesty to our confession of our faith, and how we hold it in our principality, and what we have preached, and it will be five weeks after tomorrow that we have handed it over to Imperial Majesty. Majesty; then we have asked Imperial Majesty to lend us the Church of Saxony. This has been refused to us. We have not failed to do so, and have again petitioned Imperial Majesty. Majesty again to lend us the Chur, but we have not yet been able to obtain an answer. We have no other choice but to consider that we can hardly be trusted by Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and we fear that our own friends have brought this about; for Imperial Majesty has not yet given us a word. Majesty has not yet given us a word. Thus we lie here with great expenses. To this day we have with us three and a half hundred horses, and have consumed a great sum, and have had to borrow twelve thousand florins here. We also write to you herewith from the chancery, on the other articles. We would like you to come to us in Coburg when we return with divine help, which we graciously do not want you to do; we are inclined to show you mercy. Date at Augsburg, on Thursday after Jacobi [July 28] Anno 1530.

1) Here we have deleted "because" and put the brackets.

2) Walch: provided.

D. How the Papists, before they had finished refuting the Augsburg Confession, handed over various writings against Luther and his followers to the Emperor.

997 List of the writings which some papist doctors delivered to the Emperor at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg.

This number belongs to the same document from which No. 963 is taken. In the Wittenberg edition (1569), Vol. IX, p. 417; in the Jena edition (1566), Vol. V, p. 37d and in Spalatin's Annals, p. 145. Walch has given the Latin titles of the writings listed here in his table of contents to the 16th volume, p. 51 f.. Because we believe that no one is served by this, we have omitted it.

A Christian and urgent reply to the articles submitted by the Elector of Saxony and several other princes and two cities.

The repugnant articles in which the apostate Luther writes against himself in his Babylonia, extracted by Doctor Johann Faber.

The heresy and error, drawn together from various Luther's books.

The heresy, condemned in the holy Conciliar, but again aroused by the Lutherans.

The heresy and error of Luther, condemned by Pope Leo the Tenth ten years ago.

The heresy and error of Luther, condemned seven years ago by the University of Paris.

The Faculty of the Holy Scriptures at Louvain condemnation.

An excerpt of some of Martin Luther's heresies and errors.

Several much incorrect sects, grown out of Luther and the Lutherans.

The Abominable, Corrupt and Damned Fruits of the Lutheran Gospel.

Summa, some reckon it to two hundred and sixty leaves.

998 Melanchthon's letter to Luther, with which he sends him the list of the above writings. July 15, 1530.

This letter is found in Melanchthon's opist., lid.I, p. 11; in Cölestin, vol. II, p. 233; in Chyträus according to the Latin edition, p. 131 and according to the German, p. 215; in Cyprian's Beilagen zur Hist. der Augsb. Conf., p. 193, and in Oorp. Rot. vol.II, 197.

Verdeutscht.

(1) I have written to you that new councils are often held; this we have indeed learned. Yesterday, it was decided in the Council of the Princes and the Surgeons that the Emperor should be asked to arrange a concilium for the whole German Empire. It was added that in the meantime it should be held in such a way that the peace would not be broken. Our people have argued that the second point should be omitted; although they would do so and have brought forward a number of reasons for it, I do not particularly like it; we want to appear too cautious.

(2) I am sending you a list of the writings which our adversaries have handed over to the imperial majesty; in it you will see that they have appended to the confutation some repugnant articles and other things out of malicious intent, so that they may embitter imperial majesty's gentle heart against us. Majesty's gentle heart against us. The boys need such attacks against us. If we come to the answer, I will truly pay the loose bloodhounds again.

(3) I have now been several times with distant enemies, the redskins of the corner; it is not to be said how bitterly Pharisee-like hatred I have noticed in them. They do and strive nowhere else but to incite the princes against us, and to bring the pious emperor against us in an ungodly way. Hereby God commands and prays for us. Given on Friday after Margaret [July 15].

999. extract from Luther's reply to the preceding.

Here Walch brings a piece of the letter that is very poorly reported in No. 1073. We will report the entire document there in its entirety.

Luther's exhortation to the clergy, assembled at the Diet of Augsburg. Issued at the beginning of June 1530.

Already on May 12th Luther had finished this writing and sent it to Wittenberg for printing, as we can see from the letter No. 7 in the appendix of this volume. On June 7, the Strasbourg emissary Jakob Sturm sent a copy from Augsburg to his home. (Virck, Straßb. Corresp., p. 451, No. 733.) The first edition appeared under the title: "Vermanung an die geistlichen versamlet auff dem Reichstag zu Augsburg, Anno. 1530, Mart. Luther. Wittemberg. I^sai. 2nd Dt nuno ReZos intolliβito, Druckirnini ludiaos torruo. " At the end, "Printed at Witlemberg, by Hans läufst. MDXXX." 8^ sheets in 4. In the same year came with Joseph Klug.

In 1531 another edition was published by Joseph Klug in Wittenberg, likewise by Georg Wachter in Nuremberg, also two without indication of place and year. In 1531, another edition was published by Joseph Klug. At Magdeburg, Hans Wolther organized two different editions in Low German. In the "Gesammtausgabe": in the Wittenberg (1554), vol. VII, p. 446; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 76; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 201; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 146; in the Erlangen, "I. Aufl" vol. 24, p. 330 and 2nd ed. vol. 24, p. 358. According to the latter give only the text.

To the entire clergy of Augsburg, assembled at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, exhortation of Martin Luther.

Grace and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ! Although it is not my duty (dear Sirs) to appear in person at this Diet, and even if I had to or should appear, there could be nothing of use there, as there would be nothing in such pomp and business: I have nevertheless resolved to be among you in writing about my spiritual presence (which I want to prove with all my heart, through prayer and supplication to my God, diligently and honestly with God's help), and with this silent and weak message.

(2) And this because my conscience impels me to beseech, implore, and exhort you all kindly and cordially, that you do not miss this Diet nor abuse it in vain; for God gives you grace, space, time, and cause, through our most gracious Lord Emperor Carolum, to accomplish much and great good with this Diet, if you alone would. And now, of course, as St. Paul says in 2 Cor. 6:1, 2, "I urge you not to receive the grace of God in vain. For he saith, I have heard thee in the acceptable time, and have helped thee in the day of salvation. Behold, now is a pleasant time, and a day of salvation," for you most of all. And we see and hear how all men's hearts gaze and wait for this kingdom day, with great hope that it will be good.

003 But if this Diet (for which God is merciful) should pass away without end, and not something righteous be established, and

1) In the original: genehmen.

If all the world has now been put off and teased for a long time with imperial congresses and conciliis, and all hope has failed and been in vain, it is to be feared that despair would come of it, and everyone would grow weary of putting off and waiting, and the vain long gazing would make impatience and bad blood. For it cannot and may not stand longer as it now stands, especially with yourselves and with your state and nature; this you know and feel better than I can tell you; therefore I also do herewith what I do for your good, for the sake of peace and unity.

004 But whether some might sourly regard my presumption in this, and pretend: Who may thy? Who hath ever desired thy exhortation or letter? There are so many learned and pious men here, that know better how to advise the matter than thou fool 2c. Well, this I will gladly believe, and God help that all may be true. 2) I would gladly have my presumption punished and condemned; but this is also true: one cannot do too much of a good thing, and often a fool has given better counsel than many wise men; and again, wise men have commonly done the "greatest" harm on earth, especially when they have relied on their wisdom, and have not also acted with the fear of God, and with a humble heart have asked for divine help and mercy.

005 Of which all histories are full of examples, both in the scriptures, and out of the scriptures: and if there were no other example, it would be found in your own example. For you have tried your wisdom in this matter for ten years, with so many kingdoms, with so many counsels, with so many tricks and practices, with so many appeals and hopes, even with violence and wrath, with murder and punishment, that I have seen my wonder and sorrow in you; yet nowhere has it gone where you would have it go. All this means that wisdom, without the fear of God and humble prayer, has tried to master such great things by herself, and has been disgraced by her presumption. And will you not yet fear and humble yourselves before God?

2) In the original: zewarten.

that ye forbear from dread and from revenge, and earnestly beseech God for help and counsel, ye shall not yet avail; and if ye were at all as wise as King Solomon; for there is written 1 Peter 5:5: "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble."

(6) But we on our side pray diligently, and also know the right way to pray, by the grace of God; we are also certain that our prayer will be acceptable and heard for us; both of which (I take care) may do little on your part. And now we have also begun to pray earnestly for you, so that God Almighty may one day enlighten your hearts and move them to fear His Word and to act humbly toward Him. Such prayer is pleasant for us, that we know; but God help that you do not stubbornly oppose it, and that our prayer should return to our bosom, as lost and despised by you. For we see that the devil wants to come with the Turk, and is stirring up one mob after another, and would gladly push it all to the ground; should you then also remain obstinate and stiff-necked, as before, that would be too much and all the more infallible.

007 And first of all, ye shall do nothing for my sake, and for mine: for the right helper and counsellor hath brought us and our cause so far, and set it where it shall be, and since we will leave it, that we need no council, no counsel, no master; neither will we have it of you, as we know ye are not able to do better, yea, not so well. For we are about to come under Turks or Tatters, under Popes or devils, so our cause is certain, that we know how to believe and live, how to teach and do, how to suffer and pray, how to heal and die, where to wait, fetch and find everything, and where we are finally to stay, according to the words of St. Paul, Rom. 8:28: To the elect the Spirit creates all things for their good. God has abundantly given us these things through Christ our Lord, and they are already known and confirmed through the blood and suffering of many righteous people (killed by your part); not that we should be perfect, and that we should be able to live in the Lord.

but that we have the right rule (as St. Paul speaks Phil. 3,16.), the right way, and the right beginning before us, and that we lack nothing in doctrine, life be what it may.

008 But for you, and for the poor people, which are yet wholly undone among you, or ever uncertain, we will take care, and would gladly help here with prayers and exhortations, as best we can. For I am afraid that you will forget your office and your humility toward God, and that you will tighten the strings too hard, and ride the willing horse too hard, so that again a rebellion will arise, so that both of us will be in misery and distress with you, as happened before. For you still know without a doubt how before the uprising the Speirische Reichstag was announced with such glorious, comforting hope that all the world gaped with great eagerness and waited heartily for things to turn out well. But your counsel was full of wisdom, and brought it about that the same Diet was dully, shamefully, and disgracefully proclaimed. Then the ruthlessness came, namely the mint with the riot, and gave you a shilling, which you have not yet overcome, and unfortunately we have still greater damage from it. That is to say, all done with violence and his own mind.

(9) So, at Worms, the noble blood, our dear Emperor Carol, had to do what you wanted, and condemn me with my whole doctrine, which you yourselves have secretly accepted in many things, and need, and your preachers would have nothing to preach now, where Luther's books were not. For their book of sermons, and what used to be the clamor in the pulpit, they leave lying under the pew, and begin to preach against us about faith and good works, and the like, of which nothing was heard or known before. At that time, you enforced a commandment to kill the Lutherans so horribly that you yourselves could neither keep it nor suffer it, and it had to be changed at the Diet of Nuremberg, and some of the princes had to forbid it themselves, if they did not want to be in danger with their country and their people.

010 I tell you these things, not to mock you.

or mockery (for I have otherwise smelled you too high), but to ask you cordially, and to admonish you faithfully, that you would learn from your own experience and misfortune, to leave off defiance and anger, violence and insistence, and to act towards God with fear and humility, and, putting aside your presumption, to seek His help and mercy with earnest prayer. Verily, verily, the things are too great, human wisdom and power are far too small for them; God must help, or else trouble will come. 1) That is certain, for if you want to persist in your defiance and insistence, then you should know that the spirit of the mint is still alive, and more powerful and dangerous to my concern than you can believe or now understand. It is more to you than to us, though he is more hostile to us than to you; but we have a defiance against him, praise be to God for ever. If God would, you would have the same, namely, the pure word and righteous prayer.

011 Know ye also how faithfully and firmly we have held out against all the seditioners; and if I might boast, I would almost say that we had been your patrons, and that it was our business that ye should hitherto have remained what ye still are. And if we had done so, 2) I fear, verily, your scholars would have been too weak in the matter, and the enthusiasts and the mobs should soon have taught you otherwise. For this reason they are more hostile to us than to you, and blame us as those who crawl to the cross and recant. This we must suffer, and learn the proverb: He that will help another from the gallows, that same will gladly carry him up. The ruffians would not have known how to attack the pope, but now that they have been loosed by our help, and eat our bread, they trample us under their feet, as Christ says of his betrayer Judah [John 13:18, Psalm 41:10].

012 But some shall say here. Yes, it is all your fault, you started it, and these are the fruits of your teaching 2c. Well then, this I must suffer, knowing well that

1) Otherwise this proverb has the form, "Out of trouble comes trouble." St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 365, s 11.

2) That is, had we not been there. On this idiom compare St. Louis edition, vol. V, 877, § 188; 1191, s 28 and the note on the latter passage.

They say this to me, but again, I know many devout people among you who know that it is not true. So the work stands there in the day, my strong witnesses, that the fools have always despised my doctrine and persecuted it more than your doctrine, and I have also had to oppose them more strongly and to fight harder than I ever did against the pope; how then can it have come from my doctrine? Or why has not such displeasure arisen among my own, since I myself preach and teach daily, when it should be the first and highest evil, where such evil should come from my teaching?

013 But have ye forgotten that the German nobles at Worms presented four hundred pieces to the emperor's majesty, complaining of the ecclesiastics, and saying freely, if the emperor's majesty would not abolish such things, they would do it themselves; for they could no longer suffer it? What do you think? If this had been done (as the rebels then began to do), and if only one preacher had risen to advise it, where would you clergy now be? In bus oorreptam! Now at that time my doctrine was in force, and had not begun with any rebellion or run up to it, but had finely taught the people to keep peace and to obey the authorities; and where it had not been, the clergy would certainly have made quite a fuss. Now my teaching must have done it. But such thanks are due to me, nor do I desire any other; so it has been with all the prophets and apostles, and with Christ himself.

014 Have ye also forgotten how at the first my doctrine was almost a delightful thing among you all? for all the bishops were very glad to see the pope's tyranny a little restrained, and they could watch me, and listen, and sit still, and wait how they might recover their episcopal authority. Luther was a fine teacher, who attacked indulgences so honestly. For at that time the bishops and parish lords had to suffer that a monk or a foreign bad boy with the letters of indulgence in his monastery and parish went through and

3) Original: "the". One edition offers: "von der Geistlichen Beschwerung".

by a shameful drudgery, and were not allowed to rebel against it. There was no doctor in all the high schools or monasteries who would have known or been allowed to encounter such filth, and Luther was the dear child, and swept the monasteries and parishes from such a treacherous market, and held the bishops' risers so that they looked good again, and threw a block in the way of the pope; why was this also not rebellious among you?

(15) And afterwards, since I attacked the monastic life, and the monks have now become fewer, I have not yet heard any bishop or parish priest weeping over it, and I know that no greater service has ever been done to the bishops and parish priests than that they have thus been rid of the monks; and I fear, indeed, that there will now hardly be anyone in Augsburg who will take care of the monks, and ask that they be restored to their former state. Yes, the bishops will not suffer that such wanzken and lice should again be put into their furs, are glad that I have loused their furs so clean; although, to tell the truth, the monks had to govern the churches under the pope, and the bishops did nothing about it, but let themselves be called Junker. Now I have not destroyed the monks with rebellion, but with my doctrine, and pleases the bishops well, they could not have done it with all the power of kings, nor with all the art of the high schools; why do they not think that this is rebellious? Well, it pleases them too much that the monks are down, and thus the pope has almost lost a whole hand; and yet they know no thanks to Luther, whose teaching they so wonderfully use in this play.

016 And because I have just come to the conclusion that people have forgotten how things were in the world before my teaching began, and that no one now wants to have done nothing wrong, I must pull out the old vestments and put their forgotten virtue before the eyes of the clergy, so that they may see, or remember again, what would have been in the world if our gospel had not come, and we may also see to our consolation how manifold and glorious fruit the word of God has borne. And let us begin at the very place where my teaching began, namely, indulgences.

Of indulgences.

017 If our gospel had done nothing else but this, that it had redeemed the consciences from the shameful abomination and idol of indulgences, yet it should be known that it was the word and power of God. For all the world must confess that no human wisdom would be able to do this, since no bishop, no foundation, no monastery, no doctor, no high school, nor I myself at that time, and in sum, no reason understood or knew this abomination, much less knew how to control it or attack it, but had to approve it all and let it go for good, wholesome doctrine, even the dear bishops and popes confidently took money from it and let it go, namely:

1) That they sold indulgences for the divine grace that forgives sin, whereby Christ's blood and death is denied and blasphemed, together with the Holy Spirit and the gospel.

2) That they thereby falsely sold the souls out of purgatory, to great dishonor of divine majesty itself; but carried the amount of money.

3) That they thereby appointed the pope as God in heaven, who could command the angels to lead the pilgrims' souls, who were dying on the journey to Rome, to heaven.

4) The gospel, which is the only true indulgence, was silent in the churches before the indulgence.

5) That they defrauded the whole world of immeasurable money thereby, and afflicted it with insolent avarice and lies, as if they wanted to get against the Turk.

6) For they always put down the former indulgences for the sake of the new, and always took up the old indulgences in the churches for the sake of the new, and played with the golden year, after which they wanted money; yea, against the Turk!

7) And also the pall of the golden year is a mere poem and loose lies, to pervert the faith of Christ, and the daily golden year of Christ, yet deceiving innumerable thousands of souls with it, and shamefully deceiving the people to run to Rome, cheating them out of money and goods, with lost toil and cost besides.

8) That in indulgences they sold the good works of all Christendom, together with absolution,

As a strange thing, which the gospel before and for ever giveth freely unto the whole world, that consciences might be deceived from the gospel and from Christ unto works of men.

9) That they praised indulgences more highly than all good works of love.

10) That they put the merit of the saints, as remaining for themselves, to the treasure of indulgences, as if Christ's suffering were not sufficient for the remission of all sins also; which again corrupts faith in Christ.

11) That in the end they exalted indulgences so highly that they taught that if anyone had slept with the Mother of God, it would have been forgiven through indulgences.

12) That they might teach that if the penny were in the box, the soul would go to heaven.

13) That one should not have repentance and sorrow to obtain the indulgence, it would be enough that one put in the money now.

14) That St. Peter himself could not give greater grace than the indulgence was.

Where then has the immense money, treasure, and goods gone, which were stolen by indulgence so long ago, and so shamefully acquired?

(18) Who will tell all the abominations which indulgences alone have committed in all monasteries, convents, churches, chapels, chapels, altars, pictures, tablets, yea, almost in all houses and chambers, and where there was only money, as a right mighty idol? One would have to read anew the books that are written against it in ten years. Now, gentlemen, in this unspeakable thievery and robbery of money, and in such an incomprehensible multitude of deceived hearts and consciences, and in such a most dreadful, atrocious lie and blasphemy of the passion of Christ, of the Gospel, of grace, and of God Himself, committed by indulgences, you clergy are all guilty, not only those who have taken the money from it, but also those who have kept silent about it, and have willingly stood by and watched such devilish madness. They say of riots, of the taking of monasteries, of Turks; indeed, what are all such things against you indulgence-bearers alone, if one would but consider it? Tis a very Turkish thing.
Army has been against the right Christian faith.

019 But what man is there among you all that hath ever repented of such dreadful abominations, or sighed once, or wetted an eye? Yea, ye now, as the hardened impenitents, never having done any evil, now therefore come to Augsburg, and persuade us that the Holy Ghost is with you, and that through you (who have done nothing but harm in Christendom all your lives) great things shall be done, (who have done nothing but harm to Christendom in your lifetime), and after that lead you swiftly to heaven, with all such unpunished abominations defended, as if he should be glad of you, that you have so gloriously served your God the belly, and so miserably laid waste his church. Therefore you have no happiness, nor shall you have any more; you repent then and amend your ways. Well, this is one of the fools; so it was and was before my doctrine came in the piece. That it is no longer so is the fault of my rebellious gospel. The indulgence is followed by the other fair, called Confessionalia.

Of the Confessionalibus.

020 These were the letters of butter, wherein the pope sold liberty to eat butter, cheese, milk, and eggs, and gave power to hear mass in the house, and to marry in a forbidden member, and to choose a confessor as often as he pleased, to absolve from chastisement and guilt in life and in death, and the like. Dear, was this not also a blasphemous fair in all the world, all invented for the sake of money? Just as if God had not given such things freely to all the world through the Gospel before, or as if God had forbidden it, and they were the giants who wanted to sell God's commandments for money. The Gospel had to be nothing, and God had to be their merchant. This drudgery, fair and blasphemy was also overthrown by the rebellious Gospel, but now all is forgotten; and there is no bishop or clergyman who is sorry or in need of forgiveness before God. Nor was there any bishop or doctor here who would have punished such a thing, but all kept silent and approved. Well then, let us also see whether God will allow Himself to be fooled as they think.

From confession.

021 There are yet your books, wherein ye have made and taught confession, which I reckon one of the greatest plagues of all the earth; so that ye have confounded the consciences of all the world, made so many souls to despair, and weakened and diminished the faith of all men in Christ. For you have told us nothing at all of the consolation of absolution, which is the chief and best part of confession, and which also strengthens faith and confidence in Christ; but you have made it a work to strengthen your tyranny with commandments forcibly enforced upon unwilling hearts, and afterward to afflict, torture, and scourge them with the recital of all their sins, that is, with impossible labor to disturb forever the tranquillity and peace of heart. But when will you bring back all such souls, and make restitution for the murderous, causeless damage? My gospel has also justified such confession, and strengthened the stupid consciences again, since no bishop, doctor, nor high school knew anything about it, and now have neither remorse nor sorrow for such misery.

Of repentance.

022 This is the very soup and hell itself: and if all abominations were forgiven and given you, yet this piece can never be forgiven you. This piece hath filled hell, and hath more grievously destroyed the kingdom of Christ, than the Turk, or the whole world, can ever do. For thus have ye taught us, that by our works we should be sufficient for sin, even against God. And that means atoning for sin. Nowhere have you given so much to repentance and confession, though you have also made work of them. What then is this said differently: You must do enough for your sin, for so much: You must deny Christ, revoke your baptism, blaspheme the gospel, punish God with lies, not believe the forgiveness of sin, trample Christ's blood and death under foot, profane the Holy Spirit, and go to heaven by yourself with such virtues? Oh, where are the tongues and voices that may sufficiently speak of this?

1) ichts -something.

023 What then is this faith but the faith of the Turks, and of the Gentiles, and of the Jews, which all also will suffice by their works? But how is it possible for a soul not to despair, if it has no other consolation against sin than its own works? All this ye cannot deny; your books are there, wherein is taught nothing of faith, neither in confession nor repentance, but only your own works. There is not yet a bishop nor a clergyman here who would let a tear fall for such an abominable, infernal blasphemy of Christ, but they are pure and sure, calling us meanwhile rebels, and choking the marriage apostles, even against their own right; they are angry that the Lutherans do not stand as if they were fasting, as they do, nor wearing plates; and they defy the eternal God for all their inhuman wickedness.

(24) Out of this abomination have come, and must have come, and there has been no defense, all other abominations, namely, as much of the monasteries and convents' own sanctity, with their worship, the sacrificial masses, purgatory, vigils, brotherhoods, pilgrimages, indulgences, fasting, holy service, sanctuary, poltergeists, and the whole procession of the infernal cloister. For how can it be otherwise? If a conscience is to sit down and build itself on its works, then it sits on a loose sand that rides and calls 2) on and on, and must seek works, always one after the other, the longer the more, until at last one put on monk's caps for the dead, in which they should go to heaven. Dear Lord God, how should poor consciences do? They had to build on works, that is why they had to search so miserably, and catch what they could find, and fall into such deep foolishness.

025 Moreover, by such shameful doctrine all righteous good works, instituted and ordained of God, were despised, and even brought to nought, as, lord, subject, father, mother, son, daughter, servant, maid; which were not called good works, neither did they belong to repentance, but were called a worldly being, a perilous estate, and a lost work. So this play has both, Christian and worldly.

2) So the original. Jenaer: reiset. - Maybe: rieselt?

They have trampled under their feet and given neither God nor the emperor what is due to them, but have invented a new and unique one, which is neither this nor that, and they themselves do not know what it is, because there is no word of God in it; as Moses says that they serve the gods, whom they do not know. Nor was this a miracle. For in those days they knew no other way of preaching the gospel than to learn from it examples and good works, and no one ever heard a gospel that was drawn from Christ for the conscience's comfort, for faith and trust, as it ought to be, and as it is now being preached again in praise of God, and so the world was in the gospel, but without a gospel.

026 That they might have wisely distinguished such satisfaction for sin, that it might be done against man, and not against God, as Christ hath signified, Matt. 7:12, and 18:15, as the holy fathers also used in time past; and that the Christians, having sinned, might make satisfaction for it before the church and brethren, as is signified by the words, that they did penance two, three, seven years, 2c, Christ would be stayed with his sufficiency for us in heaven. But with this, the services in monasteries and convents, and indulgences (as said above) would not have arisen, and the great God's belly would not have received so much. Therefore, they had to mix it up, and in the end, they had to bring it up before God alone, even though this error has challenged Christianity from the beginning, even through great men, such as Origen, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory, but not so much as come into the regiment and to God's throne, as happened under the pope. For this error has been the oldest from the beginning of the world, and will probably remain the youngest until the end of the world. Let us now recount some of the things that have come to pass.

First of all from the purchase fair or angle fair.

027 Here you yourselves know, dear sirs, what a shameful fair you have made of the sacrament; this has been the common handiwork of all of you, that every day in all the world you have made so many thousands of masses for the sacrament.

Money bought and sold, one for a penny, one for eight pennies, one for six pennies 2c. And no excuse or denial helps here. For though you did not call it a bargain, yet you know that in fact it was nothing else than a bargain. It was done for money; if there was no money, the masses remained. This sin alone is so horrible that it would not be a wonder if God had let all the world become Turks over it, or sink into the abyss, and it is a great wonder to me that God has tolerated it so long. It is an incomprehensible patience, even though the wrath has not been restrained. Now therefore ye have done this, and it was so with you before our gospel came: be not so much as to adorn yourselves, for it is so near in the day, that even at that time ye were afraid of it: nevertheless ye let it go, and it was not called news.

028 Now your scholars will clean themselves, and bring forth old canons and fathers' sayings, that the mass is called a sacrifice with them. Clean thyself, dear little cat, thou mayest; if thou hast long canons and sayings, what is the use? We speak here of the Masses of Sale and of the Masses of the Angles; and the Canons speak of the Common Mass or the Mass of the Communicants, and urge them to communicate. The Masses for sale do not do this, and rhyme with the common or communicant Mass like a secret priest's whore with a pious, honest, public bride. The scholars know how to conduct the canons so well. And what is still finer, the old canons separate the offering and the communicating finely from one another; so they mix them even more finely into one another. For in the beginning of Christendom, when they wished to say mass, they kept the old law, and the Christians offered firstfruits on the altar of all kinds of fruits, also of milk, honey, apples, and pears. 2c. This then the priest offered, as Moses commanded the Jews, wherefore the office was long after called a sacrifice. But after this the communiciren began, or sacrament act; which they call not sacrificing, but communiciren. But our masses of sale make an offering of the sacrament, and leave off communicating.

029 Now here I must speak unto you, good sirs, which cry that Ulan should not allow any novelty: tell me, is not the buying fair a shameful novelty? Why then have you let it arise, and do you yet protect it? Yea, if ye should have allowed no novelty, beloved, what and how much would be found among you now, that is in the old Canonibus and Fathers? I would almost put it in a nutshell, since your news has filled the world.

030 I will say more, What was your state of the church before our gospel, but vain daily novelties, one upon another, with heaps brought in like a cloudburst; there is one that set up St. Annam, St. Christopher, St. George, St. Barbara, St. Bastian, St. Catharine, and who alone will tell such new services? St. George, St. Barbara, St. Bastian, St. Catharine, and probably 14 emergency helpers, and who alone will tell of such new services to the saints? Are they not news? Where were there bishops and shriekers who should not allow such things? So further: one set up the rosary, the other the crown of Mary, the other the psalter of Mary, the latter ten little paternoster stones at the doors, the former St. Bridget's prayer, the latter this prayer, the latter the prayer, and of these all number and measure, and all books full; where was there a bishop or doctor here who would have regarded such novelty a little askance?

(31) So with the pilgrimages, new ones went up every day to Grimmethal, to the oak, to Birnbaum, to Regensburg, and so many Our Lady's; there was almost no chapel or altar, a pilgrimage wanted to go up there, and the people ran as if they were mad, out of service and obedience, that one could grasp it, it would be the devil's ghost; bishops and monasteries and high schools were still silent. And if our gospel had not come, there would have been no room nor place left for pilgrimage. And was this not a special, masterful fraud with our Lord's skirt at Trier? as this shameful lie was revealed afterwards. What did all the Lutheran novelties do against this fraud and mischievousness? But there was no one here who could declare or denounce news, but Luther, who denounces and punishes such news, brings forth new things.

032 How daily and manifoldly doth the indulgence alone renew itself? How many new brotherhoods have been set up by priests and monks through all crafts, through all the saints' names? Daily they sold letters of brotherhood, and gave their good works and holy lives for money, sold vigils, anniversaries, masses of the soul with pomp for the money. Some of them invented the Mass of the Gülden, some of them the Mass of five, some of them the Mass of one kind or another, which also had no number, of which, of course, nothing is found in the old fathers. I will be silent here about the sanctuary, help God, how there were new things over new things; and among them such gross, tangible lies: about the holy cross, about many whole bodies of one and the same saint, about many fingers of one and the same saint, until one also honors St. Francisci Niederwat 1) and women's hair for St. Catharine's hair. Summa, there was no end nor measure here, that you yourselves made a laughing-stock of it at last; nor did it go unpunished, and no bishop saw anything new here.

033 But if I should come to the pulpit and the preaching seat, it would be all the more groundless; there the monks daily preached their new visions, dreams, and thoughts, new miracles and examples, and no measure of them. When a monk had been a preacher two or three years, he would make a new book of sermons, which had to rule the preaching seat for a time, and the world was full of such books, and yet in them was nothing of Christ and faith, but everything of our works, merit, and devotion, with many false, harmful examples. 2) But when they did their best in these books, they did not preach them. But if they did their best therein, it was to be commended by the saints, and their order not forgotten, until they made the holy, noble person, the Virgin Mary, an example to all the world, as a mediatrix of poor sinners, even against her Son Christ Himself. For we all know with one another, and I am as well in it as any other, that we were taught to hold Mariam badly in Christ's stead and office.

1) Niederwad Hosen. See St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 391, § 285, and the note thereto. In draft, Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 105: "Sannt Franciscus Niderclaid".

2) Erlanger: shameful.

held Christ to be our wrathful judge, and Mary our mercy seat, where all our comfort and refuge was, if we would not otherwise despair. Was not this a dreadful news? Where were the bishops here, who punished such new blasphemers and betrayers of Christ, who took away Christ's office, and gave it to Mary? who taught us to flee from Christ, and to be afraid of him, as of the master of the rod, and to turn our confidence, which we owe to him, as the right service of God, elsewhere; vain idolatry have we learned from the betrayers.

034 To this end the doctors in the high schools, who had nothing else to do, helped to devise new opinions, one above the other; and one would not have been a doctor with special honors, who had not brought up something new; but their best was that they despised the holy Scriptures, and left them under the bench. What Biblia, Biblia! said they, Biblia is a heretic book, one must read the Doctores, there one finds it. I know that I am not lying here, for I grew up among them, and have seen and heard all this from them. Scotus writes that one cannot prove from Scripture this article, äeseeuckit ack ivleros. ^> ccam, my dear master, writes that one may not prove from Scripture that a man is in need of God's grace for good works; these are the best two, what should the others do? Over all these goes Thomas Aquinas, teacher of all teachers (say otherwise the preachers rightly), who says freely that to become a monk is as much as to be baptized. Thus one should honor Christ's blood and death. This is not yet news, and he has been canonized by the pope and all the bishops.

035 In sum, there was misery and heartache in preaching and teaching, and all the bishops were still silent, and saw nothing new, who could now see a new gnat in the sun. And so all things stood so wild and desolate with vain discordant doctrines and strange new opinions, that no one could know any more what was certain or uncertain, what was a Christian or an un-Christian. The old doctrine of the faith of Christ, of love, of prayer, of the cross, of consolation in afflictions, was in ruins; indeed, there was no doctor in all the world,
who would have known the whole Catechism, that is, the Lord's Prayer, ten commandments and faith, let alone that they should understand and teach it; as it is now, praise God, taught and learned, even by young children. Of this I refer to all their books, both theologians and jurists. If one will be able to learn a piece of the catechismi rightly from it, then I will let myself be wheeled and wheeled. Nothing new had to be there yet, but this must be new.

(36) Yea, saith thou, these pieces are now accepted and in daily use; but thine is new. Dear, tell me, how old is St. Anne's divine? How old is the rosary, the crown of Mary? How old are the Barefoot Paternostones at the doors and gates and in all corners? How old is the pilgrimage to Grimmenthal, Regensburg, the skirt at Trier, and the like much more? Were they not new 10, 20, 40 years ago? but who then held against the novelty? Let my gospel continue so long, for it shall wax old. Yes, your new gospel is right, but it has a peculiar novelty about it that is not good. What's that? It does harm in the bag and in the kitchen,' say the canons of Magdeburg. That aloud! said that servant, that would be good German for once, that could be understood; if I had known that before! Why do we lose so many words so far? Well then, let us conclude here in secret concilio that new doctrine means what harms the bag and the kitchen; old doctrine means what fills the bag and the kitchen. O dear, now write and seal, we will send it to the Diet in Augsburg, and hear what the gentlemen say to it.

37. God knows that I do not say these things to you for dishonor; I am not helped by your destruction. I would rather that it were better for you. But you may well consider this yourselves; if you will forget such abominations, and adorn yourselves with them, and clean yourselves, there will be men who will not forget them, and perhaps they will act impurely enough. For such impudent outrage is not to be suffered, that news should be called what ye would, but what ye would not, should not be called news, to suppress the true-

...against your own conscience. For this would bring us back to the beginning of things, and afterward we would be worse with you than before. Although it is frightening that one should intend to hide such misery, and still justify himself in it, and blaspheme and persecute others; this is a sign of a hardened, impenitent heart, and that you must soon perish, since no sin offends and perverts God more than when one wants to deny, adorn, and hide public wickedness, as Cain and Saul did. Not so, gentlemen, do not do so; yet some of you give glory to God; confess that you have done evil in such matters; humble yourselves, and he will exalt you; ask, and he will forgive you; amend, and he will help you.

038 But if ye will not humble yourselves, but bury such things, and keep silence, and go unpunished and unpunished, and yet persecute the poor Lutherans, and take it into your minds to subdue them, well, we will watch you. If a plague comes upon you (as it cannot be otherwise), remember that you have been sufficiently warned; you shall not be the first to overthrow God, that I truly know. I mean it heartily and faithfully, if I may move some of you, because I hope that there are still a lot or two in your Sodoma; the others, who remain unrepentant, should not only not recognize such abominations, so that they have deserved death more than a thousand times over, but should also strangle, drown, hang, and burn the innocent (who do not want to praise such vices and disgrace), as they do honestly.

39) Too many things will now fall to me; I will come again to the angular fairs, and save the abominations that now occur to me, until I see how you will mend your ways, or cleanse yourselves and burn yourselves white 1) on this imperial day; so then we will come with your right color, and offer you proficiat 2) if God wills.

Forty, Let this time be enough of the fair of the merchants' monkeys. Well, if they do not ver-

1) In the original: Hawthorns.
2) xroüolat - wohl bekomm's!

but would be held in the best way and for God's sake, yet you teach and hold it for a sacrifice and work, so that one may serve God, and both for us and others, living or dead, be sufficient for sin, and the most for the dead, as we all know that the Mass must almost fight for the dead against purgatory. My suffragan bishop, when he made me a priest, and gave the chalice into my hand, spoke no other way than thus: ^weipo potestatom saeriüeancki pro vivis et mortuis. That the earth did not swallow us both was wrong, and God's patience was too great. The living had this because they believed that whoever saw a mass in the daytime would be healed, safe, and happy; this was the best and meanest custom of the masses, you cannot deny; therefore ask all merchants, and what had to go over the fields, and all pious citizens and burgesses in cities, least of all about the Rorate mass.

(41) Is not this terrible news? Do not your ancient Canons Apostolorum say that no one should be at Mass who does not want to communicate or receive the Sacrament? Has not Christ appointed it to be received, and finely to be remembered, to strengthen faith in him, saying, "Do these things in remembrance of me"? But ye keep silence from such remembrance, neither suffer them to do it, nor receive it; neither teach, nor exhort to faith, as Christ hath instituted; Let it be said that the minister has seen the mass, which ye meanwhile offer in secret, and so let the poor spectator's lies and false confidence remain in his heart, as if he had done well by his watching, and had approved nothing of the sacrament either bodily or spiritual, as Christ would have it, and his apostles after him. I say again, you complain that you are deprived of foundations and monasteries; for the sake of this abomination and blasphemous abuse of the masses, foundations and monasteries should be dealt with as Josiah king of Judah dealt with the altars at Bethel, so that not one stone should be left out of another; that would be just and right, if you would not amend yourselves in this.

042 Ye cry, What good thing is come out of the new doctrine of Luther? I must

Ask you again: Tell me, what good thing has remained with you? Not one thing have ye left uncorrupted. You have disgraced the mass, our one supreme treasure, with innumerable idolatries and abominations, and have trampled underfoot the right Christian custom, disturbed the faith, and kept silent the word. Baptism has remained with infants, though clumsily and industriously enough; but as soon as the child has grown up and come to his senses, you have quickly strangled him, worse than the Turk does, and taken away his baptism again by your grievous penance and works, so that he learns to despise his baptism, now lost and nullified by sin, and henceforth to seek salvation by his own works; just as if baptism had been a transient work of man, as the Anabaptists teach, and not an eternal covenant of God. Tell me here, what good has remained with you? I will be silent as to what good has come of it; for we cannot keep our baptism, sacrament, gospel, faith, and Christ before you, because you have taught nothing right, but everything against baptism, sacrament, and repentance; that is in the day.

043 The advantage of the Turk is, that if a man be baptized, he is not taught against his baptism; but the evil Turkish manner and example is dangerous and grievous. And even if one turns against his baptism, it is good to resist, because the Turk is not a Christian and is despised by a Christian with his teaching. But here among you not only is the example and the nature dangerous, but you also teach against it, and storm against it with words and works, and do this under the name of Christ, as the dear fathers of souls and friends of baptism. This cuteth as a sharp razor, as the Psalm saith [Ps. 52:4]; which also St. Peter complaineth of you, 2 Pet. 2:18: "They speak glorious words, when there is nothing behind, and provoke by fornication to carnal lust them that were rightly escaped, and now must walk in error."

044 But the good that is come out of my doctrine is, that all such abominations and blasphemies of yours are brought to pass, and are condemned, which is too much and great good; though it be not so.
And much more good cometh out of it daily, as shall follow: but with you all good is corrupt, and nothing abideth.

From the spell.

(45) Know ye first of all the great robbery and sacrilege, that ye have taken unto yourselves the great ban, which is called the exeoininunioatio la^or (which, after all, is the right of the temporal authorities), until the popes also took upon themselves to depose emperors, kings, and princes, and to make themselves temporal emperors. Let it be said to you, dear sirs, that this is not right; let your ban be called the little one, which shutteth up not the world, but heaven, and separates from Christendom and Sacrament, as Christ Matthew 18, v. 17, saith, "Hold him as a Gentile," 2c., and St. Paul 1 Cor. 5, 12, "What have I to do with them that are without?" 2c. If other pieces were to be mended, this also ought to be mended, for God is not pleased with any sacrifice or service that comes from robbery, as Isaiah [Cap. 61, 8.] says.

046 This is the custom of excommunication, and shall be, to punish public vices, as robbery, adultery, fornication, murder, hatred, usury, profanity, and the like, as our Lord Christ teacheth, Matt. 18:17, that excommunication shall pass upon them that will not obey the church, or his congregation; as the church teacheth not otherwise than God's word 2c.

47. Now say, what good and old things have remained with you from the ban? What new and harmful abuses have arisen here? I will be silent, that you have banished, cursed, damned, and strangled innocent, pious people for heretics. The ban is nowhere to be used, except to collect interest and debt, and to inflict much misery on poor people. For you know to some extent what the knaves, officials, and commissioners have done here, and we will hereafter (if you do not do so at this Diet) set you a calendar of such virtue, so that you may realize that we have understood your abuse in this, and report it to the whole world.

048 But in the place where the excommunication should have its right power and use, it hath been a plenary indulgence and a blessing,

has not been cut at all, namely with the bishops, canons, yes also with the popes and cardinals themselves. Here I would like to hear a canonist-doctor who would show me how many times, according to the canons and spiritual laws, the pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, monasteries and convents are condemned and cursed for sin and other misdeeds; but who keeps them evil? The declaration stands with them, and is thus called: Whom we will have in the ban, he is in the ban; whom we will not have in the ban, he is not in the ban. So continue, my lords, if your will is to be called right, Christianity may well have such bishops and popes.

(49) And I would know what you ought to be thought of. You do not want to be Christians, because you do not want to suffer Christ's word and order; neither do you want to be papal, because you want to keep the canons and spiritual laws much less, since they are much more difficult to keep than the gospel. But is not this a strange new newspaper, that papists do not wish to be papists, and yet pretend to be papists? that they wish to have the goods and government of the churches, solely for their own convenience, and not for the benefit of the churches; these are inconsistent things. Well, then, be epicurean and Turkish, that you certainly are. But because you are Epicurian, and yet cry out so miserably now that the monastery and priory estates are so rapped, I must therefore hold a secret friendly conversation with you.

(50) It is true, and I do not like it either, that such goods are so torn up and scattered; although the non-Lutherans do this most of all, and have more of it than those who are called Lutherans, as can be proved. And I especially dislike it where bad boys get it (as I well know), who do not deserve it; for those who work and serve faithfully, I do not want to make a conscience of whether they get anything out of it. But I would like to have an answer to this, because there are obviously two kinds of monastery thieves and monastery robbers, which among these two should be called the worst. Some are external, some are internal; the external are the wicked and unworthy, as I said above; the internal are the unworthy.
are the bishops, canons, and monks themselves, who sit in them, namely, who misuse such goods for all immorality and fornication, and brazenly transgress their endowed status, and send great sums of money to Rome, even greater knaves, and so shamefully plunder the monasteries with them.

051 Thinkest thou not that the emperors, kings, princes, and lords, which have endowed such bishoprics and monasteries, if they had intended to endow with them whorehouses, or churches of robbery to the Romans, would have been so sensible, that they would have stood otherwise, and not have assigned their money and goods to harlots and knaves, nor to Roman thieves and robbers. Because such fellows sit in monasteries and convents, and use such goods by persons whom the founders neither intended nor willed, and thus, contrary to their will and endowment, they possess such things, consume them blasphemously and destroy them disgracefully, and for this they are highly cursed in excommunication and insanity: Tell me, then, which are the worst robbers of foundations and thieves of churches; and thou shalt see the pope sitting on high, together with cardinals, bishops, canons, abbots, and monks; for they keep and do nowhere that for which they were founded, but straightway the contradiction, as the foolish, taking and using the goods as they will. If thou canst see the mote that is in another man's eye, and cry out for the plucking of spiritual goods, the beam that is in thine own eye (which thou wilt not see) ought to be shown thee also. If thou canst say one thing, thou must hear another also, that thou mayest know that other men also have eyes, and feel, and smell, and hear.

052 If therefore ye pretend that yours shall not be taken from you, of a surety yours shall not be taken from you: but I will play with you your spiritual law, which judgeth, and banisheth, and curseth, and departeth you, and saith, It is not yours; it is called espousal. For ye have not kept your pen and your law, and have thereby deposed yourselves. Therefore ye have long since lost the goods according to your own right, but have hitherto, like the damned robbers, held them with iniquity. For, should you decinir the verdum vsponatur per oiuiw8 perLOiE and conju-.

gireu, where would pope, cardinal, bishop, and canons remain? it would certainly become a vordum impersonale, which no person would keep. But if it seems fair to you that people should be patient with you for not keeping your rights, let it also seem fair to you that you should be patient with those who, as unrepentant Simonists and banished robbers, take away your goods or do not let them follow, because they have your own rights here, that is, deponatur. Let it be done, then, that what is yours, that is, fornication and fornication, may be left to you; but what is not yours, that is, interest and goods, let it not be left to you, but let it be taken from you as from robbers and thieves.

(53) I do not want to defend anyone here; (1) each one sees for himself from what merit or cause he needs such goods. However, I make a distinction between the ecclesiastical goods custom, against the screamers, and still say: If then the goods of the monasteries and convents are to be wickedly stolen into Rome, and outwardly consumed shamefully with harlots and knaves, and the opinion of the founders is so lacking, then I would rather that the emperors, kings, princes, and lords themselves kept them out, and invested them better, because that is certain, that the founders wanted to provide them with pious, chaste, Christian persons, not those who stand there and bleat, or wear hats, but those who study, read and pray, so that one could take learned people from them as bishops, pastors, preachers, schoolmasters, chancellors, scribes 2c., As was done at the beginning of time. But now they leave such office and works and despise them, even mock them and persecute them, and are variously banished: so I would not weep for them, even if they lost their pay and interest over it. It is said, Loimüomm proptor oZmium, but not, Lonoüemm proptoi- maloüoium, which teacheth your own law, and punisheth it with the most abominable ban, and calleth it Simonias.

054 Tell me now, what pope, bishop, monastery, or convent, hath hitherto ever repented, and

1) In the original (as several times later): "vertheidingt".
2) "Habich" - goshawk, hunting falcon.

Have they suffered because they have let such offices perish, or sought to have them restored? And yet they have used such benefices, and so lived, two-faced church thieves and double monastery robbers, for they have not only held the goods which are endowed to other persons, neither are they, but have also stolen from all Christendom, robbed, and hindered pious, learned, Christian bishops, pastors, preachers, and such needful persons, whom one cannot counsel, and yet they should have given, according to the opinion and will of the founders. Dear, the founders did not mean the Officia, that you wear a long skirt, choir shirt, plates, or put on cassocks and consecrated garments; sticks and stones can also carry that; they wanted to draw people, for the comfort and salvation of Christendom.

055 Now if you will make a great noise that the monasteries and convents are to be restored to you, and that everything is to be restored to you, then it is right to say to you again: Gentlemen, first give and restore your twofold robbery, namely, persons and goods; the persons you have robbed from Christendom, and the goods you have stolen from the founders. If you restore these things, so that the Officia are restored, then the Beueficia will follow you. For Christianity is more interested in such persons than in all the goods and glory of the whole clergy. If not, it will not be a good account, that you alone will calculate the expenditure, and the income will be charged; you should be called to calculate in a different way, and better look at your fists. You have taken the goods of the lords, to keep and to draw people with them; where are they? Reckon. Yes, it is you who make the poor boys' schools melt away, that Christianity may be ruined on all sides by you, but that your Epicurean belly may stand firm.

056 This I have said, that it may be seen what the judges of splinters gain by shaking their filth. Therefore think and pray to God that he may help you to do good in this Diet. The things are great and heavy, and alas, they lie sunk deep and covered with mud, so that the power of men and

-joke may not create anything here. The ban is necessary; but, O Lord God, it must not cow gnats and devour camels, or nothing will come of it.

(57) I am well concerned that the matters of penance, mass, baptism, faith, and works are too high among you; therefore I have little hope that you will conclude anything pure in them, because your scholars themselves do not understand anything about them, and such matters must be preserved and driven by Christ himself and his Holy Spirit alone, without the help of men. For also, except the first Concilium, Apost. 15, 4. ff., hardly one or two of them have acted. Wherefore I will further entreat, entreat, and exhort, that those things in which there may be no special illumination of the Holy Spirit, but which are comprehensible and certain in all Christians, may also be known almost by reason. And first of all:

Of both forms of the sacrament.

(58) Know ye well that the One Form is a grievous novelty, contrary to the clear, bright words of Christ, and contrary to the ancient custom of all Christendom, as all this is mightily signified unto you by many Scriptures; yet ye great enemies of all novelty have not only accepted and kept the blasphemous novelty, but have also defended it with abominable raging and persecution out of pure courage, tempting GOD to the utmost, blaspheming and condemning his word. God grant that you may atone for it and submit your mind to his word. You cannot keep it with any Scripture; if you keep it with pure iniquity and violence against the Scripture, it will not end well in the end. And it is of no avail to you that you should preach that nothing new should be done, nor that anything should be changed; for you have heard that this is a new thing, and that you are the ones who have brought forth new things and changes in Christianity without ceasing. And that which is changed according to the word of God is no innovation; let all custom give way to it, how good they are, speak your own law. God and his word are older than you are, and will be younger and newer than we and you are, for it is eternal.

To change and govern the new, and not to be changed or governed by the new or the old.

059 You pretend that nothing should be changed or added without the consent of the church. Who then is the church? If ye be the church, shew your seals and letters, or else prove it by deeds and fruits. Why are not we also, which are baptized as well as ye? teach, preach, have the sacraments, believe, pray, love, hope, suffer more than ye? Or are you the church because you impose vain novelties, change God's word about them, blaspheme, persecute and murder, and in addition have monasteries and convents as church robbers? Yea, ye feid the church of the devil, which is a liar against the word of God, and a murderess, as she seeth that her God the devil is also a liar and a murderer. For the true church must be the one that keeps God's word and suffers for it, as we do (praise God), and does not murder anyone, nor lead anyone away from God's word. Therefore you shall not say to us much, Church, Church, Church; you shall make us sure that you are the Church, that is the point. The devil also may say, I am God; worship me, Matt. 4:9; the wolf also may say, I am a shepherd, Matt. 7:15; John 10:1; we ourselves know that the church is to be obeyed, but we ask who and where she is.

(60) God help you to amend this article; if you do not, by the grace of God we will still do it as before. And I want to say more: If it is God's will that you neglect something in this Diet, we do not want to take it from you as if it were right now because of your neglect and wrong until now. No, you should be far too lowly for us, that in your arbitrariness and power should stand when and how long God should be true or a liar, and when or how long his word should be right or wrong; for that would have been too high, and according to the end-Christian hope would have raised you above God and his word, and revoked all our teachings and doings; But we want to force it from you by God's word, and have driven it from you as blasphemers, persecutors and murderers, that you humble yourselves before God, confess your sin, murder and blasphemy against God's word, and amend it, as those who have done wrong until now, persecuted God's word, and are innocent of any wrongdoing.

Blood have you shed. We do not want such sin and vice to be hidden, nor do we want to be silent and cover ourselves up, and make ourselves partakers of such abominations, or do we want to put a full stop to what is there, and stand with you at God's word, which you are pursuing. For, as I said at the beginning, we have no need of your Diet and no need to close it; we stand where we stand without your help, even against your raging and raging; but for your sake and for the sake of the poor people, we hereby do what we do, if only you or some of you could help us and advise the people, to the glory of God and the benefit of Christendom.

Of the celibate state.

61 Celibacy, that is, the celibate state or forbidden marriage (as you know), is also one of your papal novelties, contrary to the eternal word of God and contrary to the old blessed custom of Christianity, also contrary to the creature and creation of God Himself; thus is fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel in the 11th, v. 37, where he speaks of your king: "He will respect neither God nor the love of women. It must ever be a great vice (not to love women), because the prophet here denounces it for a special abomination of the end-Christ, next to idolatry. The old tran8latio has: erit in *concupiscentiis* loeminaruin: he will be in love with women. But this would not be an endchristian virtue; but must therefore say: Lrit in *concupiscentiis masculorum*, though he means the same also when he says: ^.üeetnm erZa mulierW non euradit, which is the right text.

(62) Gentlemen, if you wish to be pious and do good, make yourselves repent of all the desolate, unspeakable wretchedness of fornication of all kinds in all the world, which has arisen from this cursed papal novelty, 1) which also lies and remains on the neck of all of you, if you do not do and change it. Ye hear here, that it is an end-scriptural abomination and plague to despise the love of women, that is, to despise marriage.

1) Marginal gloss: In the past, the canons were harshly opposed to the pope, especially those of Menz, because in Erfurt they would almost have slain their archbishop. Viäs ONron. OsrinuniaS.

For God created women to honor and help men, and therefore He wants such love to be unbidden and unregarded. The flesh and the devil teach us to use women only for dishonor, to disgrace one after the other, as your new, laudable, celibate (I would almost have said dishonorable) state has done until now, and still does. That is not to love women, but to love and seek fornication and dishonor in women, and to hold them not as women, but as whores, and to respect them, so that no one may love them or value them. But God wants them to be held and respected like women, and to do this gladly and with love, that is, to have them conjugally and to remain with them with conjugal love. This pleases God, but it is art and grace.

033 Know ye also that the sixth commandment is, Thou shalt not commit adultery? This commandment, like all the others, makes no distinction between persons: whether they be clergy or laymen, priests or laymen, they shall not commit adultery, that is, they shall not touch another man's wife. But because every man committeth adultery with another man's wife, it is certain that every man shall admit his own wife: lest any man touch another man's wife, he shall be compelled to have one of his own. Now if it were true (as the dear Canons blaspheme) that a priest could not serve God by loving his own wives, then this sixth commandment would have to be ill-conceived, and not generally apply to all kinds of persons, and permit them to have their own wives.

64. For so I would say of other commandments also, Thou must not have thine own money nor goods, else thou canst not serve God; when the seventh commandment, Thou shalt not steal, admits of thine own money and goods, but forbids strange goods; yea, that one steal not, it is forbidden to have thine own goods. So I do not yet know whether there is greater danger of sinning with one's own money or with one's own wife. Avarice, mammon, and their fellows are mighty indeed. But in sum, it is a great folly of the Canon to pretend that one cannot serve God with one's own wife, and yet one can serve God with one's own mammon, money, goods, castles, and cities. The contradiction is true, that it is better to serve God with one's own wife than with one's own wife.

Good (though none hinders a Christian). For a wife is a thing to be had, and the care of her is to be had, and she is able to keep herself; but money is never enough, and she careth continually, without ceasing, how she may increase and keep it. But such care and love are the right hindrances to the service of God; which care a woman may take from the priest, that she may care for him, and make him serve God badly.

065 If any man should deceive against the fifth commandment, and say, Thou canst not have weapons, guns, and other weapons, and die before God; for thou mayest slay. The fifth commandment alone forbids killing, but permits arms and weapons, so that murder may be controlled, and it forbids having arms and weapons. But why do our unmarried holy men have both money and arms of their own, and build and fight confidently? Doth not this hinder them from worship? No; but a wife must hinder them. There was a man named Hans Worst, who made such a canon, one Hans Worst another; and he has deceived all the world, even all the learned men.

66. But the devil hath wrought this with this canon, that his wives which are not married have no wives of their own, but instead of them have wives, daughters, maids, and sodomites of all others, which they have not done in marriage. So also instead of their own goods (for it is hard to acquire them) they devour the goods of all the world, and spend them in idleness, which would remain afterward, when they should seek and acquire their own goods. So they have forbidden weapons, so that they may wield the swords of all kings and do with them what they will, which will remain when they should have their own. But wonder of wonders is it that these three things, namely, all kinds of free fornication, all kinds of avarice and splendor, all kinds of weapons and war, do not hinder these celibate saints from serving God, and a few pious wives hinder them.

67 And if all things were lacking, that the pope, bishops, canons, and people, should desire to be in celibacy, or in harlotry, or in knavehood

Although the heathen poet confesses that charlatans and whoremongers do not like to take wives, I hope that you will take pity on the poor priests and pastors and let them marry, and that you will no longer be such shameful, murderous, mad canonists or jurists as you have been up to now. For your canons decree that a marriage priest should be suspended, that is, deposed from office. Thus you have interpreted it with your rough asses and bachants, that they should be hanged, drowned, stabbed, murdered, and chased away; you bloodthirsty and murderous bloodhounds are so utterly bloodthirsty and murderous that you are not ashamed to rage against and above your own right with all your might. If you will not show mercy when I say that it is on your neck, and you are oppressed by so much innocent blood, so much horrible vice and enormous wickedness, that God will hardly give you grace to do anything else but this, so that you will soon provoke your own destruction upon yourselves, as St. Peter says in 2 Peter 2:18, well then, you will still do what God wants, and not what you like.

(68) For the monks I know not how to ask, for it is well known that you would rather that they were all for the devil, God granting that they take wives or not; and not unreasonably; for two cocks on one muck do not suffer each other. They want to have the life that you have and would like to have alone; that is not for you to suffer. Therefore let them go, the rogues; let them not lead an episcopal nor a Roman life; it is only fitting for the church and the servants of God, as you are. May God Almighty graciously do more and better than you think, and provide us for you, amen. Otherwise the devil (I worry) will become abbot, and his mother abbess; without this being my hope and consolation, because you cannot live here forever, and one must always raise up new priests and pastors, so (whether God wills it) the young journeymen who come after will not burden themselves with your great, blasphemous oaths and duties to the dishonorable 1) state and other abominations. But if the

1) So the original. Wittenberger and Jenaer: ehelosen.

If parishes remain desolate, and the people without a word, and the monks are gone, then you shall see how long bishops and canons, monasteries and convents shall remain. There must be parish priests, if there were no bishop, nor canon, nor monks.

(69) Christianity has hitherto been preserved for so many hundred years without such foundation bishops and canons; it may well be preserved henceforth without them. Of course, at the Last Judgment, no Christian soul will be able to boast or testify that in so many hundred years one of its foundation bishops has ever heard the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the faith, or a gospel, or learned it, or felt or enjoyed some episcopal office or work. We have hitherto, before Luther, lived ourselves as if we had no bishops at all, and must still live so. So I know for certain that all the world must say that before Luther's teaching they had no more of their bishops than they have now, and now and no less than they had before, except for the drudgery and the estimation of money. They cannot feel nor notice whether they had bishops before, or have none now, so that nothing of episcopal works and office has gone to them. That is, having diligently waited for souls, they now seek to wait again.

(70) Yes, they say, I consecrate and ordain others in our stead who do this. They do not do this, but the suffragan bishop does it. Nor does he keep any episcopal manner or way, for he consecrates only the sacrificial mass, asks not a morsel about how and what one should preach, and what the people need to learn; therefore he is also satisfied when the priests can hardly read a requiem, then quickly smears his Chresem on the unlearned asses, and has them struck off. God himself creates preachers where they are, and thereby preserves his church. For the sake of the bishops and suffragan bishops, it would have disintegrated a hundred thousand times over long ago. However, that it has stood so badly up to now, and still stands, what is it but the fault of the foundation bishops, who sit in the apostle's place and in the episcopal office, and do none of these, let it all go to ruin? And now they cry out that they should be restored to their former rule; they seek the salvation of souls. It is otherwise
a fine regiment, and seek well the salvation of souls; yes, the devil on their head (who also rides them), and all our misfortune on our neck, as happened to us before. It is a matter of princely nsum and ll? uuin; the episcopal office will remain with the pastors and preachers.

(71) Further, they pretend that we have people studying in high schools who are capable of preaching, and who will then be ordained from our ranks by the suffragan bishop. That is true; unfortunately, you let them study. So do the Turks and the Jews, let them study; what do they give or help? You, too, what do you give and help out of your endowed mammon, so that some one may study, as you are highly indebted? Yea, ye are sorry that high schools are. But there your breath stinks. Now ye are rid of the monks, or ever mighty, that ye cheerfully accept of the gospel; but ye would gladly be rid of the theologians and scholars also, they still lie in your way. If they were gone, then you would be the full masters of the priests. Then ye may again rise above kings and princes, yea, ye may even compel the pope himself, as he could not take you, that ye bishops alone should be gods and lords on earth. 1) That is where you are going, dear sirs. Is it not true, the secret council at Mainz, 2) since I could not be with you, the same quietly went on this way? Then we would have the world full of asses, and the churches no more word, nor pastorate. Oh, if you should have to study, then the benefices, which are taught in the seminaries to the high schools, will not become anyone's, unless he has first studied through other people's help; and if they are to become his, he must first buy and pay for them with a sum of money, and when he has paid for them, he is bound to howl and babble in the seminary, so that his studies and art do not grow into a preaching office or a teaching office. This is how you help Christianity.

022 But I presume that ye appoint others in your stead, (as ye do not,) to preach and to be bishops for your sakes: hear ye, I speak now of

1) So the Wittenbergers and the Jenaers. Erlanger: we - would be.
2) See No. 826 in this volume.

Bishops, and do not speak of appointors. A farmer or a judge in a village, a city, or a prince may also appoint a preacher, but he is not a bishop. A bishop is one who feeds God's people. For it is written in Acts 20:28. 20:28, St. Paul's teaching to the bishops: "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the host, among whom the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed the congregation of God, which he hath purchased by his own blood." If you were bishops, as your name and office demand, your hair would stand on end at this saying, and you would be as reluctant to be foundation bishops as I am to be a preacher and doctor, because you would not have it much better than I and my like. So also saith St. Paul, A bishop ought to be *didacticus*, 1 Tim. 3, 2 Tit. 1:9, that is, didactic, who hath always been occupied with teaching. But he does not mean bishops of princes, nor bishops of castles, but bishops of the church, who do the work, as (praise God!) many fine pastors do now, though they do not wear pointed hats, which the clogs and Niclas bishops 1) can also wear. For that you, as bishops, should look what is rightly taught, and do not know it yourselves, that is ridiculous. Yes, unfortunately not ridiculous, for we have learned so far what good your attention has done; as the above-mentioned pieces show.

(73) I have had to remind and admonish you, dear sirs, for this reason, that I see how you do not fear God, and do not seek repentance or remorse for your wicked ways, nor do you make a conscience of them, so that God may be greatly angered. For since we poor Lutheran wives have been taken, you let yourselves think that you have once seized a little piece of us, because you can find nothing else that you want to make use of, and so sweat and press us with it, that with it all your shameful, lewd whoring, all monastery robbery and monastery thievery, together with all the basic soup of your abominations and perverse, unbishoply abuses, deeds, vices, harm and ruin of Christendom should be hidden, covered,

1) "Niclasbischöfe," children's play bishops. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 675, § 14, and the note thereto.
2) Erlanger: all.

Be silent, beautiful, and praised, that ye henceforth, as the pure and innocent, whom no water grieveth, like unto the apostles themselves, may refrain from all violence. But proceed, good sirs, see that ye lack not. Speak not hoi; ye are not yet over the hill. How ye may cover yourselves and adorn yourselves, that ye have now seen. But ye have not yet seen how to strip yourselves of your beautiful bellows, and therefore to paint yourselves, that ye may spit upon yourselves. But do not be angry or defiant, for your cause is not as good as you think.

74. If you are able to take our wives, whom we confess before God with a clear conscience, and before the world not as our whores, but as our wives: you will never believe how masterfully we will cleanse you of your whores and stolen wives, whom you and we know that you do not have with a good conscience, and who must confess to you before the world no other than as your whores, and must have you called and judged as whoremongers and harlots, both before God and the world. Moreover, we want to strike out your Roman Sodoma, French marriage, Venetian and Turkish brides and Florentine bridegrooms, so that you may see and grasp that our marriage has smelled of your dishonorable chastity. And if perchance some of you are not guilty of such in all things, we do not inquire. Let the patron, the defender, the companion, and the comrades be considered as much as the self-inflicted, because they do not punish, banish, or avoid such vices (as the gospel and your own law teaches), but help and assist such malefactors, and rage against us beside them, and with such assistance make themselves partakers of all such abominations, and so are no better than the self-inflicted, Rom. 2.

075 For no heathen, no Turk, no pope, no emperor, nor any man on earth, hath ever put to death, or done, any man for the sake of marriage; and this is a new unheard-of thing, begun of you new bishops, who are the greatest robbers of foundations, harlots, and whore-hunters in your churches that are on earth. And do it not for chastity's sake.

but because you do not want to commit fornication and immorality, as you do, for you leave them unpunished. And no one can believe that you faithfully mean chastity by such punishment, since greater enemies of chastity are nowhere than you, who pursue it in your own bodies with all fornication without ceasing in the most shameful way.

Seventy-six: though such a thing is the least in comparison with the high common abomination, that ye are such bishops as aforesaid, and in time (if ye amend not) shall be made otherwise. For if we have godless whoremongers and enemies of God as bishops, we will also show them honestly to which churches they belong. For as long as you do not leave our marriage satisfied, you shall not have much joy and honor from your fornication and end-Christian bishoprics. If I die over it, there are others that can do better. In Snmma, we and you know that you live without God's Word, but we have God's Word. Therefore, our highest desire and most humble request is that you give glory to God, that you recognize yourselves, repent, and amend. If not, accept me; if I live, I am your pestilence; if I die, I am your death. For God has set me on you; I must be a bear and a lion to you in the way of Assyria, as Hosea says (Cap. 13:7); you shall have no rest from my name until you amend your ways or perish.

Therefore we offer you the choice. First, since ye cannot nor will not devote your episcopal office and work, as ye do not preach, nor comfort consciences, nor judge, verily, verily, with all your scholars, let us perform your office, which ye owe; Give us the gospel freely to teach, and let us minister to the poor people (who desire to be godly); yet satisfy and forbid not that which ye cannot, and yet are guilty, and others will do for you.

078 Secondly, above these things we will not desire anything of you, neither will we take wages of you; but, where God feedeth us, we will wait, that ye may have both labour and wages, toil and food.
Not that we have so great a desire to preach; for to speak for me, I would not hear a more sweet message, than that which deposed me from the preaching office; for I am so weary, because of the great ingratitude of the people; but much more because of the unmistakable vexation which the devil and the world impute unto me. But the poor souls will not; so there is also a man called Jesus Christ, who saith nay to this, and I will follow him, as he is more deserving of me. So now you (praise God) all know yourselves that the Lutheran preachers are pious, and do you no harm, but are more useful to you than all your and the pope's scholars. And more pious heretics you have never had, nor will you get more pious; pray God that they may remain with you.

79. thirdly, we will let you remain what you are, and teach (as we have done hitherto) that you should be princes and lords for the sake of peace, and leave your goods; which the Hussites and Viglephists did not do, nor do any fanciers or sectarians now want to do, so that you may see that you have not enemies, but great friends, even patrons, in us. For what harm is it to us, whether ye be lords and princes? If ye will not do what is right for yourselves, your station, and your office, then not we, but ye, shall give account: but keep peace, and persecute us not. For we ask no more, neither have we asked any other thing, but the free gospel. You can help us, and we you, to peace. If you do not, we will keep the honor, and you will lose both peace and honor.

80 Fourthly, ye may restore the episcopal constraint (so far as ye leave us free to preach the gospel); then also for my part I will confidently help and counsel, that ye may have some episcopal office also. And so you would have two pieces of episcopal office: one, that we and the preachers teach the gospel in your stead; the other, that you help to administer it with episcopal authority. We left your person, life, and princely being to your conscience and God's judgment; so we have never taken such constraint from you, you have never

Let him himself fall. For since ye could not keep the indulgences and other unpleasant abuses with it, ye dropped it altogether, and would not protect our gospel, neither suffer it, but turn such constraint against us and against the gospel, he must surely stumble and become dull; for God hath not ordained him against fine word, but for his word.

81. Truly we cannot offer ourselves more and higher (than daily prayer, good will, and service, which without these we owe even to all our enemies), namely, we will carry out your ministry, we will feed ourselves without your food, we will help you to remain as you are, we will counsel you to have the upper hand, and see to it that things go right. What more shall we do? Verily we bear heavily; we have brought upon ourselves you, and the spirits of the wicked, and all the world, yea, all the devils; and there is none to help us. If ye will not help us, but press on, see that ye break not our backs in twain, and try not our patience. If you want to dampen the pious heretics who are carrying you, see where you stay. Unfortunately, the game is no longer in our hands, as it was before; the devil has taken it away from us; we can truly never help you; now help yourselves, too, and look not at yourselves, but at the common heap and the dear peace; it is high time, we also want to do our best. And if there be any pious heart among you, it cannot fail to perceive from this whole scripture, that I speak and must speak the truth, and mean heartily to you and to every man; for I cannot do more, because ye have wicked things too well.

022 Whether any man thinketh here that it is ridiculous to hear that the bishops of the foundations should govern the churches, because it is well known that they cannot, nor will they learn to do it, when St. Paul saith, he that presideth evil in his own house shall never preside well in the church; and we see before our eyes how the bishops preside over their foundations, and keep discipline, that they are impunitn lupunaria and latroeinin. Answer: I know, alas, that it is so; but that the wicked people may see.
that we seek peace, and are not lacking, I can well suffer them to supply pastors and preachers' chairs with spiritual persons, and thus help to administer the gospel. I would rather that the lack were in them than in us, and God has ruled before through evil men, and done good; and I must think that now is the time when Herod at Jerusalem sold the priestly office, and the Romans also, and yet the service of God and the word remain. But if they will dampen the gospel, or even remain impenitent, let them stand their adventures; we preach what we will. Neither sit they so fast. If they have a desire for misfortune, God will soon raise up another coiner to overthrow them completely. If they do not want to be bishops in God's name, then let them be bathers in the devil's name, without our fault or cause. The Lutherans remain masters, because Christ remains with them, and they remain with him, even though hell, the world, the devil, princes, and all things should become nonsensical.

But now it will become too much and too long to deal with more pieces. May God help you to proceed in this way at the Diet, so that we do not have to start everything all over again, for that is not good for you; so we would rather be spared the trouble. But so that you do not think that what I am about to say is loose dramatic words, I will tell you here, as much as I can think of now, about the pieces and articles that are being written on both sides.

[1]) The pieces, so necessary to act in the right Christian church, as we deal with.

Which is the law.
What Gospel.
What sin.

1) A draft by Luther of the following, which is much more extensive and detailed, is found in the supplements to Brück's Geschichte der Religionshandlungen auf dem Reichstage zu Augsburg, in the Weimar Archives. Reprinted in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. I, pp. 98 to 108; in the Oorp. RsL., vol. IV, 973 and again (according to Förstemann) vol. XXVI, p. 193 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 254 with detailed explanations, but under the wrong title as "Bedenken Luthers an den Churfürsten" 2c. This error is corrected idick. P. 391. - The comparison of the two documents is interesting.

What grace.
What Geist's gift.
What the right penance.
How to confess properly.
What faith.
What forgiveness of sins.
As for Christian liberty.
What free will.
What love.
What the cross.
What hope.
As for baptism.
What the fair.
What the church.
What the keys.
What a bishop.
What a Diaconus.
As for the preaching ministry.
The Right Catechism,
as ten commandments, Our Father, faith.
The right prayer.
The Litania.
Reading and interpreting Scripture.
What good works are.
Teaching of Marriage,
of children, servants, maids.
To honor the authorities.
Children's schools.
Visit the sick.
Poor and hospital care.
The dying report.

(84) No bishop hath ever preached such things, neither have they ever been thoroughly understood nor taught by you, and a great part of them are even perished. You must not deny this, for we were educated in your schools; your books still exist that bear witness to this; so all the world bears witness that it was never preached before. Now it is certain that these things are needed, and the Christian church is provided with them, and must have nothing of your unnecessary additions everywhere.

Here I will not tell you about the German songs, bridal blessings, and many good, wholesome little books. But how many abominations we have put down with them, and eradicated in our country, I will not tell now; it is enough to show how many pieces we would still have to talk about, where we wanted to take time and space.

The pieces, so in the glistening church in practice and custom find gewest.

First indulgence.
2. sacrificial fairs, and the same innumerable.
3. ban in abuse even.
Four. Purgatory.
Five. Poltergeists.
6. pilgrimages innumerable.
7. vigils.
8. soul masses.
Ninth anniversary.
Ten. Four weeks.
II. soul bath.
12. holy service, which some never born.

13th Holy Celebration, without measurements.
14. made Mary a common idol, with innumerable services, feasts, fasts, chants, antiphons.
15. butter letters.
16. sanctuary innumerable, with lies.
Seventeenth brotherhoods innumerable.
Eighteen. Marital life.
19. consecrate churches.
20. Dedicate altar.
21. consecrate images with indulgences.
22nd baptism of bells, with 200 gevattern on one rope.
23. difference of food.
24. difference of days.
25. difference of the clothes, as necessary.
26. forced seven time or Horä Canonicä.
27. Sunday Procession, a spectacle.
28. the last oelung to death, not to health.
29th Sacrament of Marriage.
Sacrament of the priesthood.
Sacrament of fermlung.
Thirty-two. Acolites.
33. tonsurists.
34. Lectores.
35. subdiacon ordain to no office, but only to the freedom.
Thirty-sixth Brigitta Prayer.
037 And the like without number, and all manner of prayer-books full of blasphemous, shameful dishonours to God.

Plates.
Caseln.
Albums.
Choir shirt.
Caps.
Churches.
Capellen.
Altaria.
Altar cloths.
Lights.
Candlestick.
Images.
Panels.
Crucifix.
Candles.
Flags.
Smoke barrel.
Baptismal font.
Monstrance.
Ciborium.
Chalice.
Organs.
Bells.
Holy water.
Weihsalz.
Würz.
And all kinds of food.

And of all this about necessity alone > as a special worship, against faith.

In Lent: Ash Wednesday.

Hunger cloth.
Cloaking images.
fasting, except for the priests.
Litania of the Saints.
Marian chant of the evening.
Confessor.
Repentance and satisfaction.
Long Preces.
Palm donkey.
Shooting palms.
Swallow palms.
Palm Cross.
Forcing you to go to confession.
Forcing to Sacrament.
Kiss and worship Krenz.
Buried on the cross.
Half Mass on Silent Friday.
Singing Psalter at the grave.
Finster Metten.
Not ring, but rattle.
Passion preach eight hours.
Consecrate fire.
Easter candles.
Lift cross from grave and play carry.
Consecrate pancakes on Easter Day.
St. Marx Procession, i Both good to all cross weeku. / Fornication.

Ascension to None.
Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost.
Procession Corporis Christi.
Assumptio beatä Virginis.
Kirchweih.
Patron Festival.
Commonweeks.
St. Burkart's Feast.
Quater temper.
Feast of All Saints.
All Souls' Day.
St. Mary's Goose.
Advent, more at Mary's service than at Christ's. Rorate Mass.
Conceptio beatä Virginis.
Three Christmas Masses.
Apparuit and game.
Hadern St. Stephen.
Johann's drink.
Candlemas and wax market.
St. Agatha Light.
St. Blasius Light.

(86) I will stop here, for who can tell it all in such brevity? But if one does not want peace, then I (or another better) can tell it even further, so that the dear canons and bishops do not think that the monks alone have sinned, and they are the pure kittens. Not so, I have not wanted to indicate more this time, for what has been the custom in the parish churches alone, which have been the least piece in your regiment, and despised beyond all measure, which you have also trampled underfoot. But if I should enter the^) monasteries, cathedral churches, official houses, convents, and preachers' chairs, and then to the mendicants, stationers, and finally to the sophists in the high schools: God help me, I am not surprised that you forget such baseless abominations and now seek to adorn yourselves. But I have done it myself

1) In the original and in the editions: "den". Walch had (not badly) "the pen churches".

(I have forgotten, and I did not mean that you were sitting there, where I see you sitting now. O now be silent for God's sake, and amend yourselves; otherwise it will become evil with you.

(87) It is true that among the above-mentioned pieces there are some that cannot be rejected, and some of them have fallen that I would not have wanted to fall, but they can easily come up again. And the best thing is that the fine Latin chants have remained, even though they are almost drowned out by the new sacred chants and are of almost no value; yet we keep them firmly and like them from the bottom of our hearts. And that I briefly speak my opinion, this is the summa of it:

(88) If one had let such plays remain a children's play for the youth and young pupils, so that they would have had a childlike image of Christian doctrine and life, as one must give children dolls, horses, and other children's work, and would have remained with the custom as one teaches children. It would have been a good thing for them to take hold of St. Nicholas and the Christ Child, so that they could give them presents at night, as our forefathers did: so it would have been a good thing for them to let Palm Sunday, Ascension Day, and the like go on and happen, because no conscience would have been confused with them.

(89) But that we old fools go about in bishops' hats and spiritual pomp, and make a serious matter of it, yea, not only serious, but articles of faith, that it must be sin, and torture the consciences, whoever does not worship such childish play, that is the devil himself. It follows, then, that all the above-mentioned plays, no matter how childish and ridiculous they may be, nevertheless seriously attack and corrupt the Christian faith and the right, necessary plays, as indicated above, as if there had been no other help, had such things been held. For we have unfortunately experienced that such children's and foolish games have been (and still are) played more seriously than the right main things. So we are now of the opinion: If we can help to preserve such children's games, which are tolerable, for the sake of the youth, without detriment to the right, serious main parts, then we will gladly do so. But that we should regard them as articles of the
Faith should hold, and also in bishop's hats narrare, there nothing becomes from, anger and laugh who wants there.

(90) This I will have pointed out to you, dear sirs, for your friendly and faithful admonition, asking with the utmost diligence that you will earnestly call upon God together with us, that he may grant you grace and wisdom to do and act in these great matters, that it may be your honor and the salvation of us all. And take care that ye do not adorn yourselves, nor excuse, nor defend, nor use violence against your former wrongdoing. For what is the use of making more bad blood among the people? The hearts are already, and not without just cause, too highly embittered, that it is necessary to soothe them with humble confession and noble correction, to quench and calm them, and not to tear and tear further. For ye know, if it were not for the gospel, that your nature and state are fallen and corrupted out of measure and too much, even contrary to your own rights, that ye will not suffer your heads to be lifted up.

91. You also know that Pope Adrian himself confessed through his legate at Nuremberg that the Roman See was the cause of much misery, and he offered to amend. Why then will you be ashamed to confess this, and in addition stubbornly persist in your pride, neither yielding nor relinquishing anything, but having everything by force, regardless of whether improvement or annoyance results from it? For you know, or ought to know, that Christian government or violence, not to destroy, but to amend, is instituted by God, as Paul says, and is not to be a tyranny, but a service. So then we might again help you among the people. For I think that you will not be able to do without the Lutherans, as pious heretics, at the least without their prayers, if you are to accomplish anything lasting in any other way. But if you will go by force, stiff-necked and stiff-necked (since God is for you), I hereby testify, together with all who believe with me, before God and all the world, that our fault is not where your pride would be lacking, that you are reduced to ruins. Let your blood be on your head; we are and will be innocent of the following

your blood and condemnation, as we have sufficiently shown you your iniquity, have faithfully exhorted you to repentance, have earnestly entreated you, and have most earnestly offered you all things that pertain to peace, and have neither sought nor desired anything else but the one consolation of our souls, the free and pure gospel, so that we may boast with a good conscience that we have not been in want. But may God of peace and comfort give you a fine Spirit, who will guide you and lead you to all truth, through our dear Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and thanksgiving for all his unspeakable grace and gifts for ever and ever, amen.

1001 Melanchthon's letter to Luther, July 30, 1530, in which he remembers the above admonition.

In Melanchthon's sxp. , tom. I, x>. 16; in Cölestin, torn. II, p. 252; in Chyträus, p. 260, and in the 6orp. Lsk. vol. II, 240.
Verdeutscht.

It was thought that this day the pope's supposed confession against our confession would be read out publicly, but it was a false rumor. Nevertheless, it is thought that they will no longer be forgiven. After that, as some say, terrible edicts are to follow. Though I cannot yet write anything certain of it, yet I have much news, that I easily believe we shall not receive a very gracious or mild parting. But do not cease to beseech our Lord Christ to incline the Emperor's heart to peace. Some indicate that it would not be unprofitable for us to appeal to the Council. But in a few days we shall know all. I am suffering from a very ugly cough, which I have contracted through sleeplessness several nights. Caspar Aquila, whom not only our friends but also the Bishop of Augsburg himself has honestly traced, will tell you what else is going on here.

The same bishop has also read your admonition to the bishop of Mainz 1) today in the Council of Princes without any hesitation. He takes care of us quite seriously; but how much he can accomplish, I cannot yet see. Hiemit GOtt befohlen. July 30, 1530.

Philip.

1) The scripture read was "Luther's Admonition to Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz," No. 987 in this volume.

E. What the evangelicals have drafted of the mass and traditions for concerns, and what Melanchthon has acted for the sake of traditions with Luther.

1002 Des Joh. Brenz Bedenken, ob die Privatmesse nicht wegen der Eucharistie wiederhergestellt werden kann.

This concern is Latin in Cölestin, toi". II, x. 277 and German in Chyträus, p. 430. Here is another translation.

Translated from the Latin by Al. A. Tittel.

Although the Lord's Supper is to be partaken of with thanksgiving, it is not actually instituted by Christ for thanksgiving, but to comfort the conscience, and to preserve the body and soul of believers unto eternal life.

Reason.

(1) Gifts, whether human or divine, are given for the benefit and fruit of him who receives them. This is a selfish and shameful giver, who, in bestowing his gifts, looks only to his own benefit and not to that which receives them.

Now the Sacrament of the Supper is a gift which Christ distributes, since, according to Augustine, the Sacrament is a visible form of the invisible gift, that is, to say it more clearly, the Sacrament is a visible sign of the invisible gift. For grace was sometimes used by the ancients for a gift which is graciously bestowed.

So it is actually instituted, not that we present something to Christ when we enjoy the supper, but that something is given and handed to us.

2) Further, the bread which is distributed in the supper is the body of Christ, and the wine is his blood.

But as his body was not offered on the cross merely for thanksgiving, nor his blood shed merely for the remission and forgiveness of sins, so in the holy supper they are not merely distributed, that they may be signs of thanksgiving, but certain marks and evidences of the remission and forgiveness of sins.

3) Also, the promises are not actually given for the purpose of giving thanks to GOD, but rather

that one might enjoy the things promised; that is, since God promised Abraham the increase of his seed, he did not actually seek this by awakening Abraham to thanksgiving (although this also came about), but that he might work faith in Abraham and justify him by faith. He also promised the kingdom to David, not that he should give thanks, but that David should possess the kingdom, from which thanksgiving arose in David, as the fruit of good works, not as the cause of the promise.

Now, in the supper promises of body and blood are made, or, if I may say correctly, present offerings are made. Thus the supper is instituted to receive something from God, not to give something to God, although it is the duty of a grateful person to give thanks upon receiving the gift.

4) Christ also saith, "This do in remembrance of me"; and Paul, "As often as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, proclaim the death of the Lord."

Now the proclamation of the Lord's death is not actually instituted for thanksgiving, but for the awakening of faith and the raising of weak consciences, just as the preaching of the divine word is not actually intended merely that we give thanks to God, but that we 1) be taught righteousness and receive comfort. It follows, then, that the Lord's Supper was not instituted for the very end to which the proclamation of the Lord's death is directed.

5) Likewise, as we eat common bread, that we may feed the body. For this is the main purpose of bodily eating, from which thanksgiving arises afterwards, not as the end (or final purpose), but as a consequence of the end.

6) And as we are baptized, not for thanksgiving, but for the washing away of the filth of souls, and that we may obtain blessedness by the bath of regeneration, although the gift of baptism is followed by thanksgiving in the believer: so also we eat the bread of the supper, the conscience, to speak thus, to feed, which after the food then looks to thanksgiving, not as to the end, but as to the consequence of the end.

7) Nor does anyone of the popes say, as much as I know, that the laity, when they communicate (or partake of the Lord's Supper), sacrifice to God, but rather they confess that they are sacrificing the holy em-

1) institiiLWur in ju8titia may well also mean: to do justice. (Walch.)

pfahen. How then may the priests take and presume more of the Lord's Supper than the laity, since Christ instituted it for both, and dedicated it to one estate as much as to the other?

Revival of faith and consolation of conscience is the ultimate purpose of the institution of the holy supper.

Thanksgiving is the consequence (or that which follows the final purpose) of the institution of the holy supper.

Joh. Brentius.

1003 Philipp Melanchthon's Judgment of the Mass, at Augsburg Anno 1530 in the month of July.

In Cölestin, tow. II, p. 278; the following number is also there. This writing is Latin also in the 6orp. Rsk., vol. II, 208.

Translated from the Latin.

(1) There may be five opinions of the mass, the two first of which are nefarious, and easy to be understood and judged, because they refer the sacrament only to the use of men, which does not suffer from the nature of a sacrament. For in the sacraments we have to do with God. The other three opinions have great dark controversy about them, and deal with the use against God, not merely against men.

002 The first opinion is, that the supper of the Lord is a banquet, which was instituted among Christians to signify a friendship thereby, because banquets seem to serve much for the foundation of friendships.

(3) Such is the opinion of good-minded and learned men, who compare this ceremony with the heathen customs. These do not think that it concerns the conscience, or serves to understand the will of God, but use it only as a sign or pattern to bind human society together.

(4) The other opinion is almost the same as the first, that the Lord's Supper was instituted as a sign of confession, by which Christians were distinguished from other nations, as the toga distinguished the Romans from others, or the habit distinguished the monks. So also the Zwinglian mob speaks everywhere of the use of the sacrament. They teach that it is instituted that we may show our faith before men, that is, testify that we are Christians. They also depreciate the dignity of the sacraments. And because these opinions speak of the sacraments in a worldly (bourgeois) way, and are easily mistaken-

If they can be stood on their own, they are considered to be appropriate. Thus they flatter the judgment of crude worldlings, who think that religion serves only for civil use and intercourse in human society, but not for the conscience and the heart's position toward God, so that there is no further use to be sought in it.

(5) Now follow the other opinions which teach the use of the sacraments against God, and seem more godly.

(6) The first is that of Thomas and others like him, which not only has brought a great number of still masses into the church, but also teaches that the mass is a sacrifice for the living and the dead. For the sake of ambiguity, we will not use one word, but will explain the matter.

7 Thomas therefore writes that Christ's passion was sufficient for original sin, and that the Lord's supper, or the mass, was instituted to make such a work sufficient for our daily sins, and to merit grace, not only for him who does it, but for the whole church, and especially for those for whom it is done. This opinion attaches merit to the work itself, and describes the sacrament thus: that it is a work deserving of grace, or God reconciles both him who does it and others, because of the mere act (*ex opere operato*), that is, if they are not already in grace, if only they have no intention of sinning.

(8) After this it was argued whether one mass is of as much use to many as one mass is to individuals. Answer. Now here they reckon up scales of merit. By a common merit, they say, the mass applies to all at the same time. They also say that it is valid for the whole church, even if he who says it is not in grace, as they say. By a very special merit, however, they say, it applies more to individuals. This disputation is found in Scotus. From these dreams have arisen innumerable fairs, foundations, accompaniments, and other many kinds of purchase fairs. It was thought that nothing went right where there was not first a mass that reconciled God.

(9) Luther punished this opinion of the merit of the mass. In this way he denies that it is a sacrifice; but otherwise he does not dispute about the name, whether the mass could not be called a sacrifice in some other way. For he wished to punish the common error which then circulated in the Church, but not to quarrel on account of the name. This opinion, however, can be most easily refuted if one understands the justice of faith.

10. first, Christ has paid for all sins.

nugthan, as the Scripture saith, "With One Sacrifice He hath made the saints perfect." And one must not tolerate in the church the blasphemy that Christ's suffering only paid for the mere debt of inheritance.

011 Secondly, Every man is justified by his own faith, Rom. 3; that is, not by the work of the mass, whether he do it himself or another. But they that ascribe merit to the mass, hold that a man is justified by the work of the mass, if he do it himself, or another; and for the sake of this work sins are forgiven, and by the same all manner of good things are obtained from God. For hence come the masses against pestilence, war, for prosperity, crops, 2c., which all fall away, when the righteousness of faith is considered. Since faith makes righteous, it is impossible for the living or the dead to be made righteous by the work of the Mass. And this reason is so important, when rightly explained, that it may be clearly seen from it that the opinion of reconciliation of God by the work of the Mass is ungodly and intolerable.

012 Neither do I think that there are many who would defend it in this present time, after the doctrine of the righteousness of faith has been brought to light. And if any man will maintain it, he can easily be refuted.

013 Therefore among men of understanding this opinion will not long be disputed, especially as it lacks the testimonies of ancient teachers. It is all a new and fictitious work, of which the ancient church before Gregory knew nothing. Perhaps there are some knaves and fools who cannot be instructed. But for the judgment of them I ask nothing. For this whole matter must depend on the judgment of wise and pious men.

1^. The other opinion is that of some newer people, who, in order to maintain that masses are necessary, and that one must remain in the old tradition of the church, also argue that the mass is a sacrifice. And yet they describe the sacrifice somewhat differently, namely, that it is not praised as a merit, because they see that this is in conflict with the righteousness of the faith. They have the opinion that the Mass is a good work that we do to give thanks to God. They believe that this ceremony was instituted by Christ to be always kept in practice in the Church, for two reasons: first, that the memory of Christ's passion and of history might be preserved; secondly, that by it our gratitude might be testified; as was done in Rome and other places.

The people of the city have set up games in other places in order to preserve the memory of brave men who have rendered outstanding services to the common good, but at the same time also to show the city's gratitude for this work. The mass is said to be such a work, and in this way they defend it as a sacrifice, although it is not a work that makes the one who does it or others righteous, but as it is a good work to give thanks often with words, to give alms often, together with others or alone: so also the mass is a good work that one must do often before God to show one's gratitude. Hence they conclude that the silent masses must be kept, because it is useful that there should be a certain number of priests who celebrate such a spectacle, as a certain number of sacrificers have been appointed in the law. If the people before Luther had had this opinion of the mass, and had not used it for gain and a pretext of merit, Luther might never have taken up this disputation.

(15) Now the adversaries mischievously disguise the vices of former times, and seek a pretence to subdue Luther, that, when they have suppressed him, that may again arise in the church by which they formerly made their profit. For they defend the silent masses for no other reason with the appearance of this other opinion than that it may have the appearance that they are keeping the church interest, of which they think that it is only endowed for the purpose of ordering masses, and that it is not rather given to the students in order to maintain them through the benefit of the church, and finally, if it is necessary, for the government and support of the congregations. Likewise, if the masses are kept under any pretext, the opinion of the merit of the mass, which brings so much profit, will soon fall into the hearts of the people again.

(16) I do not deny that the other opinion is more famous than the first, and has great predecessors. The ancients seem to have thought of the Mass in this way, who had no Masses yet. For these sprang from the delusion of merit. But if the bishops were to adopt the other opinion, they would have to abolish many masses, namely, the masses for the souls and other masses for sale. Such thanksgiving is useful only to him who does it; it is of no profit to others, and therefore no masses can be said for others. For just as giving thanks in words is a work that is none of another's business, so one man's mass is none of another's business, even if it were a sacrifice in this way.

017 But against the falsities of this opinion, we may conclude thus: If the Lord's Supper is a sacrifice which only certain people must make, then the laity must have no part in it. But now the laity as well as the priests partake of it; therefore it is not instituted to be done by a certain class of men. Therefore it is not an appointed sacrifice, which must be made by certain men in the church for and on behalf of the people, as in the Old Testament the sacrifices were made by certain persons.

018 If then laymen and priests have the same communion, what is the use of the silent masses? For then it is enough for each of the people to receive the sacrament in the common supper, when it is administered by one of the priests. For each one gives thanks for himself; therefore it is not necessary to hold silent masses, and to separate the thanksgiving of the people from the thanksgiving of the priests. These are the most probable reasons, which are put forth in many words, and yet are not improperly opposed to silent masses.

019 But other, more important reasons must be sought, and it must be shown that the Lord's Supper was not merely instituted, that it was done as a work before God, to show gratitude.

020 A ceremony without faith is not thanksgiving. Therefore the mass is no sacrifice to the church, whether it be done by a pious or a wicked man, as they are wont to say. For faith and confession alone is thanksgiving, as it is written, "Let us through him offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, that is, the fruit of the lips of them that confess his name." Much might be said here of the sacrifices of the Old Testament, by keeping them together the whole matter would become clearer. For the Canones have written from Moses, which is not rightly understood: An offering (or sacrifice) must make a sacrifice in the church. For they have thought that the legal service made righteous. So also now they dream that the work of the mass or supper is valid in itself, faith may be present or not.

021 Furthermore, every sacrifice is ours, which we present unto God. In the Lord's Supper, however, the body of the Lord is offered to us and grace is offered along with it; thus the supper is not a sacrifice. For the words of the Lord's Supper indicate that here the body is not offered to God, but is presented to us: "Take, eat" 2c. But this opinion will be still more easily refuted if we hold it against the third opinion which follows here:

022 The third opinion is Luther's, which I hold to be quite in accordance with Scripture, namely, that the supper was instituted, not that we might offer the body of Christ, but that something might be offered to us by it, namely, that it was a sacrament by which grace was offered to us, and by it we might be brought to faith, and timid consciences comforted.

(23) This opinion can first of all be proven from the name "sacrament". For "sacrament" is a sign of the grace promised to us. But since, according to the common usage of the church, the evening meal is called a sacrament, it follows that in it something is given us to strengthen our faith and to comfort our consciences.

024 Now it is certain that in the Lord's supper the body of the Lord is given us, and with it grace; therefore the supper is not a thing which we offer to God, or chiefly instituted to offer to God, but to comfort souls, and to receive grace.

Christ calls the Lord's Supper "a testament". But a testament means a promise in which something is given to us that we must accept in faith. So the Lord's Supper is not something we give to God, but rather something in which those who have a guilty conscience receive grace and comfort.

026 Christ saith also, Do these things in remembrance of me. But to remember the benefits of Christ is to believe that through Christ we have received grace and forgiveness of sins. For a remembrance without faith is useless, for even Jews and wicked men can remember a history in this way. Therefore, since memory is so much as faith, which knows that it has received grace, it follows that the supper was actually instituted to give us something that is received in faith.

(27) This third opinion is a great contradiction to the still measurements, for it is not possible to appoint a certain order or class of men to partake of the evening meal at a certain time. Men use it only when they want to comfort their consciences. But such emotions are not bound to a certain time. Nor is it necessary to separate the classes from one another; for a layman's taking or enjoying is nothing different from a priest's 1) taking. Why then, as if there were a great difference, should a certain estate be appointed to take the Lord's Supper, on account of the laity? What is this but a confusion of the spiritual office,

1) "Laymen" in the old edition instead of: "Priests".

that a single person hands himself the body of the Lord?

028 And there is this vexation, that from such a spectacle the common man conceives that this work is a certain worship, by which God must be propitiated.

029 Perhaps someone would be surprised that there are so many different opinions about the use of a single ceremony. Answer: But there must have been many opinions in the church after the righteousness of the faith was lost; for since the learned men of God knew nothing of this, they dreamed that the mass was a work of justification, according to the first opinion; but this opinion is already destroyed.

30. The other still retain many, and there is a small and dark difference between the second and the third. But it is this difference. After the third, the supper comforts the conscience, and we receive certain benefits from God. After the second, a work is performed for God, like a work under the law, at the performance of which the conscience is only more shocked when it is in doubt whether it has sacrificed in a pure way 2c.

031 After the third, they are sent to the supper which have fearful consciences, that they may be comforted; as Ambrose also saith, Because I perish daily, I take medicine daily. According to the second, the work of the Mass can be done at all times, just as one can give thanks in words at all times. For this reason, according to this opinion, the silent masses are more easily defended, because they are thought to be works in which gratitude is shown, just as when one gives thanks orally; but just as one can give thanks for himself more often, so it seems that this work of the evening meal can also be done in silence.

(32) But here again the example of the church in Paul may be contrasted, that such a service was instituted without God's command. Likewise, since there is no difference between the thanksgiving of a layman and that of a priest, it is quite annoying that a certain number should be appointed to sacrifice, as if they did something different from the laity.

033 It were best to leave off all this quarrelling, and to have a common supper, wherein the body of the Lord should be given to them that ask it, teaching that the supper was instituted, first to comfort consciences, and afterwards for thanksgiving. For the thanksgiving of which the adversaries dream, not realizing that it receives at the same time something from Christ, is a hypocrisy.

034 Then is it a true thanksgiving, when consciences know that the benefits of Christ are done unto them, and they are comforted. Therefore in the third opinion there is more thanksgiving, and more certain, than in the second.

035 Finally, since the whole Christian doctrine embraces faith and love, the sign must also be related to both. Therefore, as I have said, it strengthens faith according to the third opinion. Afterwards, however, it must also serve to indicate the love and goodwill of Christians for one another. Thus these opinions may be united to some extent. If, however, any one should wish to maintain the second opinion by all means, in order that he may the sooner pass through the silent masses, he will have to refuse many masses, namely, all those which have been instituted for the dead. Likewise many others, because the common man thinks that there must be masses for everything that one seeks from God. When these masses will be stopped, there will perhaps not be so much dispute about other silent masses, which are truly for thanksgiving. For many would like to maintain a daily ceremony in the church to train and awaken the people to godliness, to which they think that this mass ceremony contributes much.

1004 Another concern of Melanchthon to Margrave George of Brandenburg, in which he asserts that the private mass cannot be permitted according to God's word. September 14, 1531.

In Oorp. Hei., vol. II, 538 from Pezel's Christian Concerns, p. 1. Walch has erroneously moved this concern to the year 1530. Compare Luther's letter to the Margrave on the same matter, Sept. 14, 1531, Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1216. We give the text according to the 6orp. Rest, and have also completed the writing after it.

Whether to arrange the private mass again, so that the people visit the church the more diligently.

Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! Your princely... ...my poor, willing servants are ready beforehand. My lord! (Your Grace... (To Your F. Grace's question as to whether Masses that are not communicants are to be celebrated again, to bring the people into the churches, this is my humble answer: that Masses that are not communicants are not to be celebrated again in any way. And for this reason: the private masses are done, that one has held them as works, thereby giving forgiveness to others.

and eternal life, and to earn all sorts of other things by it. Now, the F. F. G. know that this error is most contrary to salvific doctrine and faith, and causes public idolatry, in that one hopes to become blessed through this work of the mass, and so such false delusion draws and turns the heart away from Christ to this work. Thus faith in Christ is suppressed and blinded, so that the heart cannot comfort itself, and does not know that with this alone we are to seek and attain forgiveness of sins and salvation, that we believe that God wants to be merciful to us for Christ's sake without our merit. And Christ ordained the Sacrament to build and strengthen such faith, that we should use it, not so that the work itself would make us pious, as our opponents teach of the Mass, but so that we should be exhorted by signs to awaken the faith that God is gracious to us, counts us pious and righteous, and wants to make us blessed for Christ's sake, without our merit. If private masses were to be instituted again, it would have to follow that they would again be a work to destroy faith and a service against God's command. For the people are accustomed to the mass, are also driven to it by false opinion, and would also be strengthened in such false opinion that the mass is a work by which they are to be saved. Thus they would again be turned away from the right doctrine of their own faith and the practice of it. For this reason, the E. F. G. do not want to be moved to reestablish the Mass, if they are not communicants.

But that the people come less to church, it must be considered that the mass would not help to drive the people to church. Good, earnest preaching should bring more people to church than the mass, and I think it is partly the preachers' fault that the people are not diligent, so that they do not do things usefully and earnestly in their sermons, nor do they exhort people diligently to God's word, to God's service, to prayer, to the sacrament.

I would also like the authorities to take serious care that the people are driven to church, especially on holidays, and that those are punished who are caught in public houses at the time when they are supposed to be in church.

That E. F. G. also desire to know how it is held here, I add to E. F. G.'s knowledge that no Mass is held where there are not communicants, and are here at Wittenberg and at many other places.

Otherwise, on holidays, there are always many communicants, and otherwise the churches are full. On weekdays, they preach and the students sing several psalms and litanies, and quite a number come to church. Otherwise, in the country, one finds that the people are generally diligent or industrious, according to the preachers.

I am sending E. F. G. the Apologia, again outgoing and improved, in which I have diligently acted the most useful trades, as äs jrwtitioatioiis, and äs posnitsntia and äs Ni88a. Please, E. F. G. accept them graciously, and command me E. F. G. humbly. God keep E. F. G. always. Date Wittenberg, on sxaltatiorim ornoi8 s14. Sept.] 1531.

E. F. G.

more subservient

Philip Melanthon.

uther's two concerns sent from Coburg by the Mass.

The first concern is found in Cölestin, toin. II, p. 281 Latin, German here in Walch. De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 116, confines himself to saying that it can be read in Walch. - The second objection is likewise found in Cölestin, tona. II, p. 284; in Buddeus, p. 170, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 113. In Walch the conclusion is missing. We have retranslated the second concern after De Wette.

a. The first concern. July 1530.

I. Whether the papists would pretend to receive their corner masses, let a priest communicate himself, or give him the sacrament himself; just as the sick are reported, or communicated, singly in houses,

To which the answer is:

002 First, that it is not enough thus to speak and to do, but that they should have a clear word and command from God, that it should be so done; for without the word of God nothing is to be done in the service and things of God.

003 Secondly, it is a perversion of the priestly office which God hath instituted. For the sacraments are to be administered by the public common ministry, in the place of Christ and of Christendom. Now a single person, in contrast to himself, cannot have or need a public or common office. If

But when the sacraments are given to the sick, this is done out of the ordinary office, just as if the sacrament were otherwise taken from the altar and brought to one in the corner or behind the church door; and thus the office here remains intact in its work.

(4) Thirdly, it is well known that the papists do not pretend this out of devotion or desire for the sacrament, but to confirm their merchandising with such a pretense. For their devotion to God and His service is well known. And if they have a desire or devotion for the sacrament, they can have it properly, since there is no danger of such abuse; but if they despise it and want to have it in the wrong, dangerous way, it is publicly understood that they do not mean the sacrament, but their belly.

005 It is also an evil example. For even with the right to communicate oneself, one might say mass secretly alone; or, if he wanted to pretend to lie, he would have said mass secretly, and yet there would be nothing to it. This would be a disgraceful perversion, both of the office and of the custom.

006 And if their own communicating be nothing else than communicating as the laity receive the sacrament, and not a sacrificing; why then should a special state and order be set up for it, by consecrations and vestments and other adornments? Let them, like the laity, receive the sacrament unconsecrated and unclothed, and there is a superfluous, unnecessary distinction between the consecrated and the laity. In sum, priestly ordination would then be in vain, just as it would be in vain for a man to be elected pastor, that he might secretly read the Gospel, and teach or preach himself; for they give neither office nor distinction from the laity.

007 It is also unprofitable for one person to eat and drink by himself, and leave the rest to watch; to whom he saith, Take, eat, and drink; and saith not, I alone will take, eat, and drink, and leave you to watch. For as it hath been said, it is with the sick that they eat and drink with the meat, as it is given from the altar.

008 Christ also would have such a sacrament in remembrance of his passion, to be spoken of openly among the hearers. But such deviates make a silence of it, and call it a silent mass; for they teach the words of the sacrament to be spoken secretly, and to hide them from the people, which is contrary to the institution of Christ. 2c. But with the sick they speak them freely in public, and also preach them to the same. For a mass without preaching Christ will not have, and is also a mass, as a body without a soul, or a bag without money, a cask without wine.

b. The second concern to Spalatin. July 27, 1530.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace from the Lord! It is no less my opinion, my dear Spalatin, than that private masses should be retained, even under whatever pretence it may be. If those are pious who say that they must be kept for the sake of thanksgiving, they are challenged by carnal thoughts. There is no need for thanksgiving in the public mass; then, if any man will, in every work, at every time, in every place, so that the private mass is not necessary for it. For it is a danger and an annoyance, even if it were kept in the best of hearts, just as the ephod (Lpöock) of Gideon was [Judges 8:27]. Christ also instituted the public mass, and all the words are in the numerus of the majority, addressed and spoken to the congregation. It is not enough that one should say, I have a good opinion. One must say: I have the Word of God; for, as we have often taught, a thanksgiving and a new service without the Word must not be established, for we must be certain of a work to be done against God. In the same way one would say: I will become a monk for the sake of thanksgiving. Why do you not do this without the monastic state? Although I would allow it with regard to the monastic state, when and for how long do you think such monks will be? It is not in the capacity of human nature to worship God in this way.

The only way to love them is to seek thanksgiving through the monastic state or private masses; this will hardly be in keeping with the highest grace. Then the masses and monasticism are already rejected for the sake of abuse; therefore they must not be permitted to revive anew. He who is once evil is thought by mau to be always evil. "A thief is nowhere better than on the gallows." Nor can any godly man heartily approve of private mass, under whatever great name it may be praised.

About the traditions I have written to M. Philippus, then in the theses, 1) in which the opponents will find innumerable heresies, but also contradictions, because they are very sharp dialecticians, especially when they move outside those formulas: *Homo currit, Plato murrit,* which alone they have learned. The Lord JEsus be with you and with you all, Amen. From the desert, on Wednesday after Jacobi [July 27] in the year 1530.

Martin Luther.

1006 The reasons why the Mass should not be kept, written by Philipp Melanchthon and handed over to Elector John on the evening before the Nativity of Mary [Sept. 7].

From Cölestin, tom. II, p. 284. also in the Oorp. Heck. , vol. II, 353, where it is remarked: Melanchthon seems to have composed this writing not in Latin, but in German.

Translated into German by Ll. A. Tütel.

001 It is well known that the adversaries write and teach that the mass is such a work, which, if it be given to the living and the dead, earns and acquires for them not only forgiveness of sins and grace, but also all other good things, such as good health, victory, and riches, by the mere work.

002 Now since this is a manifest, gross, and injurious error, we cannot by any means resume and establish the still masses in our churches.

1) "D. Martin Lntber's Article of the Violence of the Eastern Church," which he wishes to receive against the whole -atan school 2c. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 958.

(3) But it is not necessary to prove that this dedication is wholly contrary to the Gospel. For if works can earn us grace and make us righteous before God by mere works, ex opere operato, as they call it, then righteousness will not come from faith.

004 Now it is evident and evident from Paul's doctrine, that righteousness is by faith without all our merit and works.

005 Moreover, to give merit to the mass is just as if I said, This mass is Christ. For if the mass 2c. is a satisfaction for sins, what is Christ's death and suffering for? Let Christ's suffering be compared to the jugglery of a sacristan.

6th Then, since Christ has once paid a full ransom for all men's sins, as the Scripture says, "By one offering the saints are perfected," it follows that no further sacrifice or satisfaction is necessary.

007 Further, since Christ commanded that it should be done for his memory and remembrance, it follows that the sacrament is of no use or profit to those who are absent, since their faith is not awakened by the remembrance of such things. But since the dead are absent, and cannot be remembered, this whole doctrine must necessarily fall away.

008 Likewise the mass is specially instituted, that the word of God may be preached unto the people in such public assemblies, as Paul also saith, "Ye shall proclaim the death of the Lord. But such things cannot be preached to the dead.

009 Likewise, since the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord JESUS Christ is instituted for the use and salvation of the whole church, and there is no distinction between the lay and the priestly communion, it follows that it is most vexatious and a confusion of the ecclesiastical office if, apart from the common communion and assembly, people offer sacrifices and celebrate masses in silence, as if the priestly communion were a better work and something more meritorious than the lay communion.

010 Likewise, as the communion of one layman profiteth not another, neither is it of any use; so also it is clear, that the communion of the priests profiteth not another.

(11) Likewise, since in the sacrament Christ distributes and offers us his body and blood and all the other goods of the New Testament, it follows that it is not a sacrifice by which we give anything to God, but only receive what he presents to us.

From the Canon [of the Mass].

Since the dedication of other things is strengthened by the canon, we cannot approve or accept it, because it is completely contrary to the gospel. For if we did, we should thereby approve and confirm the cession.

1007. two treatises on the liturgy.

In Cölestin, tow. II, x. 287. The second is also German in Chyträus, p. 433. - Compare J. T. Müller: "Die symbolischen Bücher," p. 266. The first so-called treatise is also found inserted in the first draft of the Apology in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 518 f., though not literally, but almost sentence by sentence. Also in the Oorp. Uet., vol. II, 215.

Translated into German by Ll. A. Tittel.

The first, from the origin of the word "liturgy".

(1) We will also add a brief explanation of the liturgy, by which some, in gross ignorance, would make the mass a sacrifice; but we say that this word in the least signifies no sacrifice, but the administration of any office or service, whether far or spiritual. Therefore it is often used for worldly burdens (imposts), e.g. interest, taxes, customs, and the like, hence it signifies also the tax (handout) so done to the saints. Paul used it in 2 Cor. 9, 1. and Phil. 2, 25. he says that Epaphroditus was the one who gave him a hand up in his need, where the word "liturgy" certainly does not mean a sacrifice.

2 Therefore, although this word is already found in the Acts of the Apostles, it does not follow that the mass is a sacrifice, for the text does not only commemorate the mass, but also reports that the apostles otherwise administered their office, by which not only the administration of the holy supper, but also other of their official duties, e.g. preaching, prayer, and other good works, are understood and indicated, so that they served the Christian community and did good for the church.

The other, from the liturgy, as the thing itself is explained.

I. The supper is the presentation of the body; therefore it is not a sacrifice, because something is given to us, whereas in the sacrifice itself we give something.

II. Is it a testament, wherein we are promised something?

III If it be a sacrifice, faith doth not make righteous.

IV. (One might also ask:) Whether such sacrifice consists in the meal, or in the elevation?

V. Likewise it is to be an assembly (*synaxis*), for Paul says, "When ye come together, wait one for another."

VI There is also (or ought to be) no difference between a layman who communicates and a priest. Therefore it is unnecessary to ordain priests to a silent (privatum) communion.

VII The priesthood is a state specially instituted for communion, but there is no distinction. Therefore it is a nuisance that the priest should say mass specially, because it is a special service.

(VIII) It is a confusion of office, when one communicates himself, even as when one baptizes himself. For a pastor communicates himself as a member of the church (that is, with others) 1) and has a double person on him, a special and a common one.

008 Melanchthon's letter to Luther on questions of the traditions. The 14 July 1530.

In Cölestin, tom. II, D. 288; in Chyträus, p. 161; in Buddeus, p. 161 and rm Oorp. Rec. vol. II, 193.

Translated into German.

(1) I received two letters from you yesterday, and I confess with pleasure that you are very much ahead of us in this matter. You not only write more often, but also more pleasant things than we do. Nothing has yet been decided about us and our cause. Every day there are new assassinations; may Christ grant that they may bring peace. Eck, with his pile, has delivered to the Emperor a refutation of our confession. It has not yet come to light; but I hear from good friends that it is a long writing full of invective. Zwingli has sent a printed confession; one should swear he was quite mad. Of original sin, of the use of the sacraments, he evidently rehashes the old errors. Of the ceremonies he speaks quite Swissly, that is, most barbarically; he would like to have them all abolished. He pushes his cause of the Lord's Supper hard. He

1) who in the beginning gave himself the supper. (Walch.)

wants all the bishops exterminated. I will send a copy of the writing when I get it, for the one I have had is going around among the princes.

(2) I send you the question of the statutes of men (trnäitioriibus), and ask you to write about it in some detail. For there is no matter that causes me more trouble in all our disputations than this, which seems to be the easiest. And indeed it is a small thing: the doctrines of men are but cords of conscience; they are held or abolished alike. We have one firm ground of justification; and the other of liberty, that we must hold even above external liberty, finds much offence. But I call this liberty, as Paul also keepeth the law among the Jews with. I have set forth four causes of the statutes of men, from which they are derived, that ye may the sooner see where I am lacking. For if such traditional statutes are kept without any sinful opinion of them, it seems that they are necessary to be kept because of the right of the authorities (x> otsstntis), but not because of any worship. For we see that the bishops do indeed rule by human right.

(3) In the matter of the mass and in the first list of the articles of faith, I think I have been cautious enough; but in the matter of the statutes of men, I am not yet satisfied with myself in this writing. I also believe that the adversaries will make a great noise about the spiritual orders. Farewell, the day after Margaret [July 14] 1530.

There may be five causes of the church statutes:

I. As if they were works that could propitiate God, as the world has believed from the satisfaction and many other ceremonies and the penitential canons.

(ii) As if they were necessary services, as in the Old Testament there was a continual service, with certain days and meat, and such like. This cause is little different from the preceding, but there is some difference, that it seems to include works which follow justification, together with a confession of faith. For this I call service and worship, and to this is added the condition of necessity; for I have said that a necessary service is made up, as in the law with perpetual ceremonies. Of these two causes it is easy to judge. For

because they are ungodly statutes, they will surely be transgressed. And Paul alone deals with these cases; Luther, too, in the beginning dealt only with such. So it is easy to judge of this.

(iii) In the third cause there is nothing ungodly. When statutes are made for the sake of good order, "that things may be done properly," as, holidays, Sundays, the order of the readings at mass, and also that no one may distribute the Lord's Supper unless he be an ordained priest.

IV. The fourth cause also seems right, for the better, that a bodily discipline should be ordained for the rude and ignorant, as certain fasts, certain feasts. Not that the fasts are divine services, but bodily exercises, which keep savage, rough people, that they may be fit to hear the word.

V. The fifth, indeed, because of a service, but which follows faith, as the work of the Magdalene, the anointing of the feet. Thus the Maccabees ordained the consecration of the church, namely, a work by which thanks are given, which should be a testimony and mark of thankfulness and faith.

In the last three cases, the statutes can be safely and justly enforced. And in such a case the opponents may conclude that such statutes are permitted and commanded by the authorities, and therefore they must be kept, just as the Jews were compelled by necessity to keep the consecration of the church ordered by the Maccabees, and the Ninevites to keep the fast proclaimed by the king, just as the Jews were formerly compelled to keep that of Jehoshaphat. For we must confess that the bishops are authorities by human right, and therefore the statutes are binding, not because they are in themselves divine services, but because they are permitted works, and commanded by the authorities. It is the right of authority that is the problem here, not the nature of the work itself.

Here you will say, that there is not only cause why they should be omitted, because they run counter to the doctrine of justification; but also because the liberty given by the gospel cannot be taken away from us, as Paul kept the law freely among the Jews, only that he might offend no man. But this seems not sufficient, or is certainly very offensive to common people. For if obedience be necessary, there is no more liberty. For obedience and freedom conflict with each other. This knot must be untied. For that freedom seems to cancel out obedience altogether, which is not proper.

I also conclude thus: The Jews would have sinned if they had not kept the fast proclaimed by Jehoshaphat; the Ninevites would have sinned if they had not kept the fast commanded. Therefore also we do wrong if we do not keep the fasts commanded in lawful cases. For that Ahab should be reproached for having ordained a divine service is another thing. For he ordained a service to propitiate God, contrary to the doctrine of faith: but if he had ordained nothing contrary to faith, but according to it, as Jehoshaphat did, it should not have been transgressed.

So may it be said of the statutes of ours. For I admit that the bishops can rule according to human law. Answer me, therefore, whether the statutes, if they have been commanded in the three cases, must necessarily be kept because of the authority and command of the authorities, and whether such statutes bind the conscience?

Luther's answer to Melanchthon on the questions sent to him about the statutes of man. July 21, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in 6o6. d, co. 72, and in Aurifaber, vol. lll, p. 60. Printed in Cölestin, tom. II, p. 2891>; in Buddeus, p. 164, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 105. According to the latter we have translated.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! In your previous letters, my dear Philip, you gave me hope that as early as Monday of last week [July 11] you would have the answer of the Adversaries; by an edict soon to follow you would be released. Therefore, I almost certainly expected that you would return the same week. Now these letters show something else. But of that and other things another time.

Now to the disputation of the statutes. Five causes of the ceremonies are treated by you in proper wisdom. But where the knot is, and thou seekest it, viz. on the

1) The first refutation was delivered to the Emperor on July 13; but as he was dissatisfied with it, a second was drafted, and this was read on August 3 (De Wette).

The question of the person or cause of the statutes is a matter of dispute. For the question of the end is easy.

This is my opinion about this whole knot. First, since it is certain that these two governments are separate and distinct, namely, the spiritual and the temporal, which Satan, through the papacy, has extraordinarily confused and mixed together, we armies must keep a sharp watch and not allow them to be mixed together again, nor must we yield to anyone or consent to his mixing them together. For this would be to partake with thieves and robbers, for this is the saying of God, who commands that they be kept separate and unmixed, saying [Luc. 22:26.], "But ye not so."

Secondly. From this it follows that one and the same person cannot be both bishop and prince, nor at the same time pastor and householder. You understand here sufficiently what I want. I want to have the persons unmixed, as well as the governments, although the same person can represent both persons, and one and the same Pomeranian can be pastor and head of household. For I will not trouble the bishops, since there are still good ones among them. Thus the same person Conrad von Thüngen is Duke of Franconia and Bishop of Wuerzburg, although the Duke of Franconia cannot be Bishop of Wuerzburg. This I treat with so many words before thee, because thou knowest that our word hath dealt chiefly also with these effectual causes of the statutes, and not merely with the final causes, which thou hast enumerated.

Thirdly. A bishop, being a bishop, has no power to interpret any statute or ceremony to his church, except with the express or implied consent of the church. For the church is free and the mistress, and bishops are not to be lords over the faith of the churches, nor to weigh them down or oppress them against their will. For they are only servants and stewards, not masters of the church. But when the church has consented to be one body with the bishop, they may impose upon themselves whatever they please, provided that godliness is not violated. If
the bishops do not seek this authority, so they want to rule and keep everything at their own discretion. We must not allow this, nor in any way participate in this impiety and injustice, or in the suppression of the church and the truth.

Fourthly. A bishop, as a prince, can still less impose anything on the church, for that would be to confuse these two powers altogether, and then he would in truth be one who reaches into a foreign office (allotriospiseoxus [1 Pet. 4:15.], and we, if we let him, would be guilty of the same robbery of the church. So against this iniquity and ungodliness we must rather leave our lives. I am speaking of the church, which is already separated from the secular polity.

Fifthly. A bishop, as a prince, may impose on his subjects, as subjects, whatever they think good, if it is only godly and permissible, and the subjects are bound to obey. For then they obey not as a church, but as citizens. For the church is also a twofold person in the same man. Thus, when Conrad of Thuengen commands his Franks, as duke of Franconia, to fast or do some other lawful thing, he compels those who acknowledge him as duke to obey, but not those who acknowledge him as bishop, namely, those who are under the rule of other princes, though they belong to the church of Wurzburg; just as Pomeranian compels his servant to obey his household law, but not his church of Wittenberg.

As for the king of Nineveh, you see that it is a mere secular commandment, regardless of whether there is a church or a pagan nation under him. Thus, if the emperor should command all in general to fast, even those who are the church will obey him, because the church is under the emperor according to the flesh, but it does not obey as a church. Likewise it is with king Jehoshaphat. But of the Maccabees it is clear that they did not institute their church consecration [1 Macc. 4, 59.] themselves alone, but the whole people unanimously consented. This very unanimity could also have annulled it, although here, too, there was much secular law involved, indeed, almost the whole of it secular, since, namely, the church was not consecrated by the people themselves.

ly the Maccabees ruled, and yet it is not decreed without the consent of the people.

Therefore, neither according to spiritual nor according to temporal law can we attribute to the bishops the power to decree anything over the church, however permissible and godly, because it is not necessary to do evil in order that good may come of it. If they should wish to enforce this by force and put it into effect, we must not obey or consent to them, but rather die for the maintenance of the difference of these governments, that is, for the will and law of God, against ungodliness and the robberies of the church. In addition, if they should say (which they will not do) that they would weigh us down at their peril, and be held by us as tyrants, and enforce that we should not resist the evil, 2c.: we must nevertheless resist, nor obey by any work, but do the opposite, because here not only the evil is borne, but ungodliness is confirmed, and the godly nature denied, namely, by the work itself and by acquiescence. But if they force us to fast by physical violence, that is, by taking away our food or keeping us in the dungeon, then the evil will certainly be tolerated, since we have not given our consent to it either by deed or word.

Here, however, I have thoughts that we might be endangered by their deceptions and false pretenses, namely, if they pretend that the emperor, as emperor, and they, as princes, want to have such things decreed, or that the statutes are maintained by the church, not as by the church, but as by subjects, and under this pretext revive and confirm that whole tyranny of confusion, and in this way keep the church nevertheless oppressed and subject under the episcopal power:

Here my opinion is that by the Word of God it is forbidden to believe them, because Christ forbids that the ungodly and the sinner be acknowledged as righteous, unless he has obviously repented, Matth. 18, 17: "If he does not hear the congregation, then stop him.
him as a heathen and a publican." Now, since the bishops are evidently guilty of this disorderly tyranny 1) and of the oppression of the church, they must not be believed, unless they have first, in manifest repentance, abjured and rejected the former laws, and all the facts which have proceeded from disorderly tyranny. If they refuse to do so, it is clear that they wish to remain unrepentant and unpunished, and to restore all their abominations with cunning and deceit, lying that they, as princes, or the emperor, as emperor, command it.

Let us therefore take heed that we walk carefully toward them, because they are full of all the deceitfulness and deceitfulness of their god, Satan, lest they take hold of some of ours, and afterwards leave a sting and incurable sobbing because of the church that is ruined and the abomination that is set up again.

One could grasp this fraud (if they wanted to impose it at all by force) with one's hands, if the bishop of Wuerzburg not only commanded those whose duke he is, but at the same time also those whose bishop he is; so, if the pope did not command only the subjects of his temporal dominion 2c. Thus far you may safely concede to the bishops the power over the statutes. If then 2) by any pretext the church were suppressed, it would be without our consent and without our fault, and I would that they would urge and demand it, that they should be admitted with their charters according to the custom of princes, but not according to the custom of bishops; but Satan will not do this, perceiving beforehand that his rope turns back against himself. Yet it would be well for Duke George, who would thus become bishop of Meissen and Merseburg and Prague, namely, by commanding in his name that the bishops should be obeyed, as if he himself had commanded it; but much better would it be for the Landgrave of Hesse, who would give nothing to the Mainz.

1) eontusa t^rannis, the tyranny which results from the blending of the spiritual and the secular regiments.
2) Here we have with the O06. . I^n. and Aurifaber turn assumed, instead of tantuin at De Anette.

except Hammelburg and Fritzlar, and nothing would be left in Thuringia but the episcopal court at Erfurt.

But these things you despise as coarse and rude. Nevertheless, they are worthy of being used to answer your impertinent and useless questions, since you see that those people want or can want nothing less than to rule the churches according to secular law, or to be taken for princes of the world. They want to be bishops, and if they did not want that, what would they be? what would they remain? That is why I wanted you to be a little calmer. You plague me too with your futile worry, so that it almost annoys me to write to you, since I see that I achieve nothing with my words. "I am foolish in speech, but not foolish in knowledge" [2 Cor. 11:6]. The Lord Christ be with you, amen. From the desert, July 21, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

Melanchthon's repeated inquiry with Luther whether the statutes, which are chosen by pious people out of their own devotion, could be a service of God. July 27, 1530.

In Cölestin, tom. II, x. 291; in Chyträus, according to the Latin edition, p. 167, and according to the German, p. 261, and in the Corp. kok., vol. II, 229.

Verdeutscht.

(1) The adversary's Confutation has not yet been delivered to us, and I hear that the reason for the delay is that they are emendring it from the Emperor's Council and taking out the invective; but today I have heard from Campegius that it will come forth in a few days. If she will come out, then we will be able to conclude about our parting. For we want to ask that they grant us an answer to it; if they will do so, we do not want to stay long.

2 Erasmus has written to the emperor again, and has put up with our cause clearly, as far as priestly marriage, vows, and both are concerned. For he has reported these articles in particular.

(3) I am sorry to say, that ye are somewhat moved in your answers by the statutes of men. But I pray you, let my disputation be for my good.

hold. They are great things, and these are of little help to me. I am absolutely certain that the bishops must not burden the churches with their statutes, and I have written so in the Confession, and do not change the same. But I ask you of other things. I ask you to answer me, not from the causative cause of the ordinances of men, but from the final cause, which I have set for the fifth, namely, whether certain works, chosen by believers out of their own devotion, can be divine service? As if St. Bernard, who already believes in the righteousness of faith, chooses to do something certain, whether such a certain work can be a service to God, or such a work by which God is actually thanked and praised? For this is what Thomas calls

I hold that such a work is only a bodily exercise, and not a worship; as, if he fasts on certain days, the purpose of this work is really mortification of the body, not a worship, but a praise of God. For I am speaking of the most proper and immediate purpose, and I fear that St. Bernard is mistaken if he considers it to be a divine service. Thus, when St. Peter decrees that Sunday should be celebrated, I hold that the work is not a divine service, but has a bodily use, that the people should come together on a certain day. But Thomas is against this, and makes a divine service out of these self-chosen works. Likewise also he writes of the vows. Please, do not complain to speak to me of these matters in writing, since this is not without benefit. Hereby commanded by God. July 27 at Augsburg in the year 1530.

Luther's Answer to Melanchthon. August 3, 1530.

This letter is found in Latin in Buddeus, p. 175, from the Jena manuscript; in Flacius' Latin collection of letters; in Cölestin, tom. II, x>. 292; in Chyträus, p. 168, and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 122. German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 430b; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 117b; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p.244; in the Leipzig, vol.XX, p.88; in Chyträus, p. 112 b, and in Walch. In all German editions the postscript is given as a separate document. We have translated it according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To Magister Philipp Melanchthon, his extremely dear brother.

Grace and peace! Now you are writing to me for the third or fourth time about the

Either I do not understand you, or you are arguing about an impossible matter, namely, whether Bernard, who is already well grounded in doctrine, can choose a certain custom and say, "This is to be the service, honor, and praise of God," or "It is to be used to give thanks to God. This is a quite impossible case, which involves a manifest contradiction. For to say: this is to be God's service or to be, does not stand with Bernhardus, but solely with GOtte. Therefore Bernhardus, who stands right in doctrine, will never be able to say: This shall be God's service, or he will cease to stand rightly in doctrine. For what else would that be but to exalt oneself above GOD and all worship? And what else does the first commandment and all the prophets forbid but such works services? For after all, the final causes may be wholly divine, much less permitted: but by this addition, "Let it be a service of God," 1) the greatest blasphemies and robberies of God are done by man, namely, as if man wanted to make GOtt, or to teach in what manner He must be worshipped. Therefore (as you say) such a work is not a worship, but an exercise. This is also my opinion. Yes, I know for certain that without that addition alone it is an exercise, and with the addition it is idolatry. This is what I mean when I speak of the cause. For if the causative cause is not, then the final cause is necessarily a figment of my imagination (Obiinasra). You force me, therefore, to wonder, and to doubt altogether whether I understand you, since you so reject the causative cause and urge the final cause. I say still more: that very self-chosen work of Bernard, even without addition, is dangerous by its peculiarity and almost like an annoyance, as if all that is ours were not already sufficiently ordained by the general commandment of God for the service of God, that we are to do, speak, bear, and live everything for the glory and praise of God, and only that peculiar saint would have to come with his self-chosen work, without any

1) In Latin emphasized by brackets, because they did not have speech marks.

No need, without the word of God, to put on a show for us, as if he wanted to show us something better than what we already have, decreed by God, although nothing that a man may devise can nor should be considered equal to it. You will see whether I have understood you rightly; I could not think otherwise of your words now. May the Lord soon make you such people as will return. Greetings to all of us. The grace of GOD be with you all, Amen. From the desert, 2) August 3, 1530. Martin Luther.

"My head is obstinate," as you say, but it is obstinate to me now in the highest degree, 3) because Satan thus forces me against my will to be idle and to lose time.

[4]) The church lacks the cause of laws.

1. there is no causation because no one has a right.

(2) The final cause, because everything that is godly, lawful, honorable, and necessary to salvation is already commanded and ordained, and there is no other final cause.

3. the material cause is lacking, because things and external goods of the world do not belong to the church, but spiritual and eternal things.

4. the formal cause, because nothing better and more suitable could be ordained by the word of God, which has written everything with weight, measure, number and order sWeish. 11, 22/, than faith, love, cross, the ten commandments, precepts, promises.

Yes, reason does not comprehend the formal causes, as well as the material ones, nor the causative or final cause in the church.

1. the final cause of the laws in the church must be eternal life.

2) We have omitted "Coburg" with Flacius and Aurifaber. Only from September 23 Luther dates his letters from "Coburg".

3) "siMNkinniMSsimum". The A6NU8 neuter is explained by the eaput, which can be inferred from the preceding.

4) The Folget,de brings Walch as a special

2. the material, the sin and the sinner to be justified, the believer and righteousness before God.
3. the effectual, the Lord of eternal life.
4. the formal cause is the oral word, taught in the mind, recorded, not merely recorded on paper or uttered with the voice.

For what is the law of the church?

It is the Word, believed in the Spirit unto eternal life, given by GOtte. But these things do not rhyme with external laws. Tit. 1,1.2: The godly doctrine of the faith of the elect for the hope of eternal life, which is promised by God, who does not lie.

The question of laws is the most difficult of all, undertaken by many in many ways, but never solved by anyone. This comes

1. Of the imperfect knowledge of the spirit,
2. from the wickedness of men.

1012 Luther's Letter to Melanchthon. August 4, 1530.

This letter is handwritten in Rhediger's collection of letters at Breslau, datirt August 4; in 606. öon. d, toi. 76, and in Aurifaber, vol. Ill, p. 76. Printed in the Latin collection of letters of Flacius; in Cölestin, tom. 11, p. 293; in Buddeus, p. 178; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 161, erroneously and without the conclusion from Börner's collection at Leipzig; and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 124. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 431; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 118; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 244; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 88, and in Walch. In all German editions the conclusion is missing. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

The grace and peace of Christ! I perceive indeed, my dear Philip, that thou wouldest not that thy final causes of the statutes should be despised by me. Therefore I protest again, first of all, that I also do not want my effectual causes of the statutes to be despised by you. "Take it well to heart; it is an important matter." It is nothing that any one should

1) VirZ. Lueolicm, Lei. Ill, v. 54.

And if there is no cause to bring it about, you know that it would be a great cause. Therefore, since neither princes nor bishops have the power to establish statutes in the church, it is nothing for them to boast that it is godly, that it is permitted, that it is an exercise, that it is thanksgiving, that it is discipline. God does not care about this, but demands His commandment. If, therefore, the causative cause is taken away, no abominations of the Antichrist could be resisted, since he would like to say: This is godly, this is permitted 2c. For who will be judge here, who arbitrator? The examples are there, on which they press, and will easily obtain it. It was godly to sacrifice his son after the example of Abraham; it was godly (said Muenzer) to kill the kings of Canaan and the Amorites, so let us kill. Therefore I do not depart from the effecting cause. That is the first thing.

Secondly, thy final causes are all impossible. For if I ask what are the godly or lawful things that are to be established by the statutes, you will say: thanksgiving, discipline 2c. But these are already established by the word of God. For GOD commanded to pray, to preach. To give thanks, to restrain the flesh, to instruct the people and the children. Now show me any work that is subject to the statutes. Will you mention purgatory, pilgrimages, brotherhoods, the service of the saints? These, of course, are without the word of God, but at the same time they are ungodly. Since there is no work that the statute could establish anew, it follows that it takes before itself a work already commanded by God, and presupposes, as it were, the category of substance, which it solicits, as they call it, and clothes with quantity, quality, where, when, to what end; just as giving thanks is a work of the statute, rather not of the statute, but of the divine command. But it becomes a work of the statute, in that the statute prescribes, at this hour, in this place, with this voice, stopping so long, in this dress, with these gestures let us do it. But these categories of accidental things God has in His works as free and in truth accidental.

But in no way as the essence (sudstantiam).

Now the disputation returns to its circle, that also no one can himself impose the accidental things (aeoickoutia,) on others, unless he be commanded, and he be called by God as the effecting cause, as when a man speaketh and executeth the ministry as by the word and power of God. This is my opinion of the statutes. But whether I understand you and yours, I do not know.

But when you mix into the statutes the service of your own choice with your Bernard, whom you assume to be right in doctrine and yet chooses a certain fast in order to give thanks, I do not call this a statute decreed by authority, but an act of the own choice of an individual. From this I judge that it is not lawful for St. Bernard to choose such a fast or order. For this particularity or order would be detrimental to the other orders and works of God, since all ours must be done in the name of Christ and for the glory of God. But that particularity would obscure everything by this dangerous example, and by an irritation harmful to the simple, and, as the Scripture says (Deut. 19:14), it would give offence to the blind.

But if even this trouble were tolerated, mitigated by this remedy, that at the same time it were taught (as it ought to be taught) that, besides this order of Bernard, any order of God was much holier than that of husbands, servants, parents, the state of children, 2c., and much more suitable to give thanks, and a thousand times more agreeable to God than this peculiar and self-chosen one: then it would not be to be feared that this self-chosen worship would get the upper hand. But this is not the point.

The summa is this: That it is not lawful to choose or invent any worship without an express commandment of GOD and a certain word. For so far we have taught, and rightly so. But what would that order of Bernard's be but in fact a service above and apart from what God has commanded, which would be entirely self-chosen?

Take this from me, as from one who guesses more at your opinion than sees it clearly. Perhaps I am so distracted by other thoughts that I do not quite see yours. Otherwise it is strange to me why you should ask about such things as if you did not know them, while I know that you understand all of ours in the best way. I hold that in all these things the causative cause is sufficient, namely, that Bernard should not choose or follow such a service, because he is not called to it, nor does he have any word of God by which he might become the causative cause. Otherwise, the service itself and the final cause would be holy in itself if it were commanded by the word of God, that is, in my opinion, it would become truly holy through the effecting cause.

There is nothing new here, except that a new house is being built for the emperor at Augsburg, so that he may remain in Germany for many years; and that Queen Mary will be given to the voivode as a wife. And the Turkish emperor sent to the emperor ten beautiful maidens (Iwroas) with eighteen horsemen, who brought many gifts on two mules, silver and gold vessels, to fortify the peace. Next, that there is great unrest among our people at Augsburg, namely Philip and Jonas and the whole company (eoIleZium), and also sickness. It is to be wondered at that this, which I have said last, is thundered out with great clamor. This, which I hope will be unknown to you, being present, have I, as one absent, wished to denounce to you?) The Lord Jesus Christ be with you, amen. From the desert, August 4, 1530.

Martin Luther.

1013. postscript to a letter of Luther to Melanchthon.

The document which Walch brings here as a special number is the postscript to No. 1011 where we have transferred it.

1) All of Luther's messages in this last paragraph are hoaxes.

F. Of the Papal Confutation of the Augsburg Confession, which was read out on August 3, 1530, but the copy of which was cut off from the Protestants.

1014 *Confutatio*, or Refutation of the Articles, in the Confession of the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen, delivered at Augsburg, presented by the papist theologians, and publicly read in the presence of the Imperial Majesty, the Electors, Princes, and other estates of the Roman Empire, August 3, Anno 1530.

About the history of the origin of this writing and the most distinguished authors of the same may be read what J. T. Müller, "Die symbolischen Bücher der ev.-luth. Kirche" in the historical-theological introduction, p. HXX ff. has explained. - After Cochläus had printed a short summary of the Confutation soon after the Imperial Diet, it was not until 1573 that the first complete Latin copy came out at Cologne, in des Andreas Fabricius llaririouiu eoukesmoius ^UM8t.uuuo ckoetriuuo 6VuuA6li6U6 60U86U8UM llodrirrmto. Next, in Chytraeus, x>. 173; in Cölestin, limt. comit. ^uZ., tom. III, p. 1; with Joh. Müller in the explüutio ^. uLM8t.uim6 60U1088101118; with Phil. Müller in the eouoorckiu and in Pfaff, lib. 8^mdolio. eoclomuo ovunMliouo in the uppouclix, p. 7. German after the Latin copy of Chyträus <translated by Gelmer Nemorimontius, preacher at Rostock) in his Hist. der Augsb. Conf. p. 270. The German copy of the Confutation appeared in 1572, and was printed in the "Brill auf den evangelischen Augapfel," also in the "catholischen Oculist und Starenstecher."

The Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, when she received a confession of faith the next few days, by the Elector of Saxony, and several princes and two cities, with the signature of their names, has given it to her. K. M., who, with a Christian spirit and zeal, sincerely desires and desires the honor of the most gracious and most powerful God, the salvation of souls, Christian unity and the common peace, honor, union and salvation of the entire German land, has not only read such Confession herself and, as much as was necessary, diligently reviewed it, but also, so that I. K. M. might be able to read it as thoroughly as possible. K. M. may proceed so much more thoroughly and bravely (as is befitting in such great matters), and act the high cause quite diligently, hand over to some learned, wise, proven and honorable men, from many countries, to inspect and examine the same Confession, and earnestly command and enjoin upon them what they must do in the Confession.
and catholic, should be recognized as good and praised; again, also, in which they did not agree with the Catholic Church, should be recorded, and thereafter handed over to their High Commissioner with their answer and concerns. Which was done correctly and properly. For they have perused the aforementioned confession with all diligence and fidelity, and have put in writing what their opinion is of each article, and have thus delivered their answer to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Which answer the Roman Imperial Majesty, as befits a Christian Majesty, as befits a Christian Emperor, has read through most diligently, and has handed over to the other Princes, Princes and Estates of the Roman Empire to read and examine. Which they have also acknowledged and confirmed to be right and catholic, and in full accord with the Gospel and Holy Scripture. Therefore the Imperial Majesty Majesty, after having heard the advice of the aforementioned Princes, Princes and Estates, so that all disagreement and misunderstanding in our lawful holy faith and Christian religion may be removed, has ordered such answer to be read in the present time.

To the articles which have been submitted by the Elector of Saxony and several princes and cities of the Holy Roman Empire, in matters concerning our holy and Christian faith, to the Roman Imperial Majesty. Majesty, this Christian answer may be given:

For the first. That in the first article they confess the unity of the divine essence in three persons, according to the command of the Concilii of Nicaea; such their confession is to be accepted, because it thoroughly agrees with the rule of faith and of the Roman church. For the Nicene Concilium, held under the Emperor Constantius Magus, has always been regarded as entirely pure and holy, in which three hundred and eighteen bishops, who were of holy life, martyrs, and highly honored, after diligent study of the holy Scriptures, decided and declared this article, which they all confess here, of the unity of the divine essence and of the Trinity of Persons. It is therefore to be assumed that they condemn all heresies against this article, the Manichaeans, Arians, Eunomians, Valentinians, and Samosatians. For these also the holy and catholic church formerly condemned.

II. In the other article of the Confession it is well supposed that they confess with the catholic church, that the fall of inheritance is indeed sin, which condemns, and brings eternal death upon those who are not born again by baptism and the Holy Ghost. For they in the right

condemn the new and old Pelagians, whom the Church has long ago condemned. But the explanation of the article, that original sin is that men are born without the fear of God, without faith in God, is to be rejected altogether, because every Christian is aware that without the fear of God and without faith in God it is fine, more real sins of adults, than of a young newborn child, who does not yet need reason, is a pity. Just as the Lord says to Moses: "Your children, who today understand neither good nor evil" [Deut. 1, 39].

They also reject the statement that the fall of inheritance is evil desire, inasmuch as they hold that desire is sin, that sin remains in children after baptism. For these two articles of Martin Luther have been recently condemned by the apostolic see, the other and the third, concerning sin remaining in the child after baptism, and concerning tinder, which prevents the soul from entering heaven. But if, according to the opinion of St. Augustine, they called the original sin a lust, which ceases to be a sin at baptism, it is to be supposed. For even according to St. Paul's opinion, Eph. 2:3, we are all born children of wrath, and in Adam we have all sinned [Rom. 5:12].

III. There is nothing in the third article that is objectionable. For the same agrees entirely with the apostolic symbol and with the right rule of faith. That the Son of God became man, took on human nature in unity of person, was born of the virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, died, went to hell, rose from the dead on the third day, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God.

IV. That in the fourth article the Pelagians are condemned, who hold that man by his own powers, excluded by the grace of God, could attain eternal life, is accepted as catholic, and according to the ancient Conciliis. For the Holy Scriptures expressly testify to this. John 3:27, John the Baptist says, "A man can take nothing, except it be given him from heaven"; Jac. 1:17, "Every good gift, and every perfect gift, cometh down from above, from the Father of lights"; 2 Cor. 3:5.: "That we are able is of GOD, who hath made us able"; and Christ saith, "No man can come unto me, except the Father draw him that sent me," John 6:44.; and Paul, "What hast thou that thou hast not received?" 1 Cor. 4, 7.

But if anyone were to deny the merits of men, which are the result of divine grace, he would be more in accord with the Manichaeans than with the holy Catholic Church. For it is wholly contrary to God's word to deny that our works are meritorious. For Paul says, "I have fought a good fight, I have run the race, I have kept the faith, henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me in that day," 2 Tim. 4:7; and 2 Cor. 5:10: "We must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ, that every man may receive according to that he hath done in life, whether it be good or bad."

For where there is reward, there is also merit, as the Lord also said to Abraham, "Fear not, Abraham; I am thy shield, and thy very great reward," Gen. 15:1; and Isaiah saith, Behold, his reward is with him, and his work is with him, Isa. 40:10; Isa. 58:7: "Break thy bread to the hungry, and bring into the house them that are in misery: then shall thy light break forth as the dawn, and the glory of the LORD shall take thee." Thus saith the Lord to Cain, If thou be godly, thou art acceptable; Genesis 4:7; and thus the gospel parable of the Lord's vineyard is explained, where he made us laborers, and became one with us daily for a penny. Who also said, "Call the labourers, and give them wages," Matt. 20:8. Paul also, who is aware of God's mystery, says: "Each one will receive his reward according to his work", 1 Cor. 3, 14.

Nevertheless, all Catholics confess that our works do not deserve anything of themselves, but that God's grace makes them worthy of eternal life. Thus St. John says: "They shall walk with me in white raiment, for they are worthy"; and St. Paul Col. 1:12: "Give thanks unto the Father, which hath made us able to the inheritance of the saints in light."

V. In the fifth article it is thought proper that the Holy Ghost should be given by the word and holy sacraments, as by instrument. For thus Apost. 10:44, it is written, "While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell upon all them that heard the word:" and John 1:33, "This is he that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost."

But that they here think of faith, this is so far yielded, as far as it is not of faith alone (as some evil teach), but

is understood by faith, which is active through love (as Paul rightly teaches to the Galatians). For also in baptism not only faith, but also hope and love are poured in at the same time, as Pope Alexander proves, C. Nasorss äs daptismo. As also long before John the Baptist taught, speaking of Christ, Luc. 3:16. "He shall lute you with the Holy Ghost and fire."

VI. But that they confess in the sixth article, that faith ought to bring forth good fruits, is accepted with equity and pleasure. For "faith without good works is dead," Jac. 2. And the whole Scripture provokes us to good works. For the wise man saith, "What thy hand can do, do always for and for," Eccl. 9:10. And, "GOD [hath] regarded Habe! and his sacrifice," Gen. 4:4. And [Gen. 18:19.God saw that Abraham would command his children, and his household after him, to love the way of the LORD, and to do that which is right and good," and [said:] "I have sworn by myself, saith the LORD, because thou hast done these things, I will bless thy seed, and multiply them, Gen. 22:16, 17. Thus hath God regarded the fasting of Nineveh, Ion. 3, and the weeping and crying of Ezekiel the king, 2 Kings 20. Therefore all believers should follow the counsel of Paul, who says: "Therefore, since we have time, let us do good to everyone, but most of all to those who believe," Gal. 6, 10. For Christ says: "The night is coming, when no one will be able to work," Joh. 9, 4. For "their works follow them," Revelation 14, 13.

But that in the same article justification is attributed to faith alone is contrary to evangelical truth, which does not exclude works. For "glory and honor and peace to all who do good," Rom. 2; and David Ps. 61, Christ Matt. 15, and Paul Rom. 2 testify that God will give to each one according to his works. Further, Christ says, "Not all that say unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but they that do the will of my Father which is in heaven." From this it follows that a man may believe as much as he wills, but if he does not do good, he is not God's friend'. "Ye are my friends," saith Christ, "if ye do whatsoever I command you." John 15.

Therefore they are not permitted to ascribe righteousness so often to faith, because this belongs to grace and love. For Paul plainly and distinctly saith, If I had all faith, so as to remove mountains, and had not love, I should be nothing: 1 Cor. 13.

St. Paul makes the princes and the whole church certain that faith alone does not make one righteous. Therefore he teaches that love is the chiefest virtue, Col. 3: "But above all things put on love, which is the bond of perfection.

Neither is it of any avail that Christ saith, If ye have done all that is commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; how much more shall they say it which believe alone? If ye believe all things, say, We are unprofitable servants. Therefore this discourse of Christ does not exalt faith without works, but teaches that our works, compared with the eternal reward, are nothing at all. Thus St. Paul says: "I hold that the suffering of this present time is not worthy of the glory that is to be revealed in us," Romans 8. For faith and good works are also God's gift, to which eternal life is given through God's mercy.

So also Ambrose, so dressed here, does not belong here, because St. Ambrose clearly declares himself of the works of the law. For he saith, Without law, understand: without law of the Sabbath and circumcision 2c. And this he tells Heller concerning the Epistle to the Romans Cap. 4, where he introduces St. Jacob of the righteousness of Abraha, without works of the law, before circumcision. For how should Ambrose speak otherwise in his Commentariis, than Paul in the text, when he saith, "By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight," Rom. 3. Wherefore at the end he does not even exclude works, but saith, "We mean that a man is justified without works of the law."

VII The seventh article of the Confession, in which it is said that the church is an assembly of saints, cannot be admitted without detriment to the faith, if thereby the wicked and sinners are entirely excluded and separated from the church. For this article, condemned in the Concilio of Costnitz, is among other errors of the condemned John Hus, and is wholly contrary to the Gospel. For it was said that John the Baptist compared the church to a threshing floor, which Christ sweeps with his shovel and gathers the wheat into his sheds, but burns the chaff with eternal fire, Matt. 3. But what does the chaff mean other than the wicked, and the wheat other than the good? And Christ compares the church to a net, in which are good and evil fishes, Matt. 13; item, Christ compares his church to ten virgins, five of whom were wise and five foolish, Matt. 25. Therefore this article of the Confession cannot be accepted. Ob-

But to praise this in them, that they confess that the church abideth for ever. For here is Christ's promise, that the Spirit of truth shall abide with her for ever, John 14: and Christ himself hath promised to be with her alway, even unto the end of the world.

This also is approved, that they hold that the inequality of the ceremonies does not separate the unity of the faith, so far as they speak of special church ordinances, in which every country may keep its own opinion and manner, says Jerome. But if they would extend this part of the confession to the general ceremonies of the church, it should be rejected altogether, and it should be said to them with St. Paul, "We have no such usage," 1 Cor. 11, for the general ceremonies are to be held by all Christians in unity, as Augustine writes to Januarius, which testimony they also adduce. For to hold that such ceremonies flowed from apostles.

VIII. The eighth article of the Confession, concerning the wicked ministers of the church and hypocrites, so that their wickedness does not interrupt nor harm the sacrament and word, is accepted together with the holy Roman church. And here the princes are praised for condemning the Donatists and all Origenists, who pretend that in the Word of God it is not permitted to receive the sacraments from wicked ministers. Which heresy afterwards the Waldenses and xauxsrss äs I^uAäuno have renewed, followed also by John Wiklef in England, and John Hus in Bohemia.

IX. The ninth article, concerning baptism, that it is necessary for salvation, and that children should be baptized, is praised and accepted. And the Anabaptists, who are seditious, are condemned, and are to be driven far out of the Holy Roman Empire, lest such a terrible and pernicious upheaval and bloodshed should again be wrought in praiseworthy Germany, as happened five years ago with the loss of many thousands of people.

X. The tenth article is to be tolerated, so far as the words are concerned, since they confess that in the holy supper, after lawful consecration has been held, the body and blood of Christ are essentially and truly present, if they only believe that the whole Christ is present under any form, that is, that no less Christ's blood is under the form of bread xsr oonooirätantiuni than it is under the form of wine, and again. Otherwise Christ's body in the Eucharist would be dead and without blood, contrary to St. Paulum. For "Christ
raised from the dead, dieth no more henceforth," Rom. 6.

In this article of the Confession it is necessary to remember and add this, that they should rather believe the Church than some others who teach otherwise, that through the almighty Word of God in the Consecration of the Eucharist, the essence of bread is changed into the body of Christ. For thus in the general Concilio concluded, 0. I'irnätsr äs 8th Prini. st üäs satUoIisa. Therefore we praise those who expressly condemn the Capernaites, who deny the true presence of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Lord's Supper.

XI. That they confess in the eleventh article, that private absolution should be kept in the church with confession, is approved as catholic and conformable to our faith. For absolution is affirmed with the word of Christ, as he saith John 20 to his disciples, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them." Yet two things are to be required of them: One, that the annual confession may be kept by their subjects, according to the Constitution 0. Omriis utriusqus, Os xsnit. st rsmiss. and according to common custom of the Church. The other, that they may by their preachers faithfully exhort their subjects how they ought to confess; though they cannot tell all their sins at once, yet, when they have diligently searched their consciences, they make a perfect confession of all their sins which occur to them in such reflection. But in others, which we have forgotten, and are not mindful of, we may make common confession, and say with David Psalm 18 s19:13,1, "Who can know how oft he sinneth? Forgive me the hidden faults."

XII. But that they confess in the twelfth article that those who have fallen may obtain forgiveness of sins at all times, if they are converted, and that the church should impart absolution to those who return, this is considered right and praised. For they with all fairness condemn the Novatians, who denied that after the first repentance one could repent again. And this is against the prophet, who promises God's grace to the sinner, at what hour he will be converted, Ezek. 18. 18 And it is also against the saying of grace of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which answered St. Peter, how often he should forgive, and said, Not seven, but seventy times seven times in a day shalt thou forgive."

But the other part of this article is wholly rejected. For in that they appropriate only two pieces of repentance, they are contrary to the whole of the general

This is contrary to the church, which from the time of the apostles held and believed that there are three parts of repentance, repentance, confession, and satisfaction. Thus the ancient teachers, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Gregory, Augustine, taught with Scripture testimonies, especially from 2 Sam. 12 of David; 2 Chron. 33 of Manasseh, Ps. 31. 37. 50.101 2c. Therefore Pope Leo the Tenth, of blessed memory, has justly condemned the articles of Luther, who thus set: That there are three parts of repentance, repentance, confession, and satisfaction, is not founded in the holy Christian teachings. Therefore this part of the article cannot be admitted. Neither can it be said that faith is a part of repentance, since it is known to all that faith precedes repentance. For he that believeth not shall never repent. Nor is that part of this article to be accepted which despises repentance. For it is against the Gospel, against the Apostles, against the Fathers, against the Conciliarity, and against the whole Catholic Church. John the Baptist cries, "Do worthy fruits of repentance," Matt. 3. St. Paul gives, "As ye have given your members for the service of uncleanness, even so now give your members for the service of righteousness, that they may be sanctified," Rom. 6. He also preached the same to the Gentiles, how they should repent, and turn to God, and do worthy works of repentance, Acts 26. Christ also began to preach and teach, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," Matt. 4. He then commanded his apostles to preach and teach in this manner, Luc. 24, and St. Peter faithfully followed him in his first sermon, Acts 2. 2 Augustine also exhorts that every man should be in earnest against himself, that he, being judged by himself, may not be judged by God, 1 Cor. 11.

Pope Leo Magnus says: "The mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ, has given the church this superior power, that she should impose works of penance on those who confess, and admit those who have been cleansed by wholesome satisfaction to the communion of sacraments through the door of reconciliation. Thus Ambrose says: after one's conscience has been burdened with sins, one should impose penance. Various canons of penance are set forth in the holy synod held at Nicaea. The heretic Jovinianus thought that all sins were equal; therefore, he did not want to permit the inequality of penances for sin.

Therefore, the satisfaction in the church, against the Bright Gospel, of the conciliar and the

The decree of the fathers is by no means to be relinquished. Rather, those who have been absolved by the priest should do the penance imposed, and follow St. Paul: "He gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all unrighteousness, and purify for himself a people for his own possession, diligent to do good works. So Christ has done enough for us, that we also should be followers of good works, to fulfill the satisfaction imposed.

(XIII) The thirteenth article is considered good, inasmuch as they say that the sacraments are not ordained for the sole reason that they are to be the marks of Christians, but rather that they are to be signs and testimonies of the divine will toward us. But it is to be desired of them, what they here speak of sacraments in general, that they also confess this especially of the seven sacraments of the church, and provide that they may be kept by their subjects.

XIV But when they confess in the fourteenth article that no one shall administer the word of God and the holy sacraments in the church, unless he be duly called, it is to be understood that he is duly called who is called according to the form of law, according to the statutes and decrees of the church, which have been held everywhere in the Christian world. Not as Jeroboam called his priests, nor by the tumult of the common rabble, nor by any other disorderly intrusion. For let no man arrogate honour to himself, except he be called, as Aaron was. In this understanding the confession is accepted. But they are to be admonished to persevere in it, and not to admit any pastor or preacher, unless he be rightly called, into their lands.

XV. If they confess in the fifteenth article that ceremonies are to be kept in the churches, which can be kept without sin, and are useful for unity and good order in the church, this is accepted. And the princes and cities are to be exhorted to keep the church ordinances, both of the general church, and those which are kept in every country except ours, with all godliness and devotion, also in their dominions and territories, and to re-establish those which have hitherto been omitted. And to decree that everything be done in their churches according to the old way, and also to command their subjects to do the same.

But the appendix of the article, as being altogether false, shall be wholly taken away, that the human statutes, being instituted to propitiate God, and to do enough for sin, may be added unto the

The same is to be explained at length hereafter concerning vows, the difference of food, and the like.

The sixteenth article, of temporal authority, is gladly accepted, as being conformable, not only to temporal, but also to spiritual law, the gospel, the holy scriptures, and the whole rule of faith. For the apostle commanded that "every man should be subject to the authority that has power over him. For there is no authority without from God, but where there is authority, it is ordered by God. He who resists the authorities resists God's order. But those who resist will receive judgment upon themselves," Rom. 13:1 ff. And it is pledged that the princes condemn the Anabaptists, who destroy all worldly order, and forbid the Christians to have authority, and other civil offices, without which no civil community can be governed.

XVII The confession of the seventeenth article is accepted. For the whole Catholic Church knows from the apostolic symbol and from the holy Scriptures that Christ will come on the last day to judge the living and the dead. Wherefore they also justly condemn the Anabaptists, who are of opinion that there is an end of the damned and of the devil's torment. Who also, after the manner of the Jews, devise unto themselves a kingdom of godliness before the resurrection of the dead in this world, wherein they shall subdue all ungodly men.

XVIII. In the eighteenth article they confess the power of free will, that it has liberty to do civil righteousness, but has not power, without the Holy Spirit, to do God's righteousness. This confession is approved and accepted. For so it behooves Catholics to take the middle course, lest too much be given to free will with the Pelagians, nor all liberty be taken from the will with the ungodly Manichees; for both are unjust.

Thus Augustine says: "That there is a free will in man, we ought to believe with certain faith, and to confess without doubt. For it is an inhuman error to deny that there is a free will in man, which every man can find in himself, and which is often proved in the holy Scriptures. St. Paul says, "But he that hath power of his own will," 1 Cor. 7. Of the righteous, the wise man says, "He that might transgress, and hath not transgressed; he that might do evil, hath not done it," Sir. 31:10. God said to Cain, "If thou be righteous, thou art

But if thou be not godly, sin resteth at the door. But leave not thou her will, but have dominion over her," Gen. 4. By the prophet Isaias he saith, "If ye will, and hearken unto me, ye shall eat the goods of the earth. But if ye will not, and provoke me to anger, the sword shall devour you." This Jeremiah lately apprehended, "Behold, thou hast spoken evil, and hast done evil, and hast been able to do it," Jer. 3.

Let us also add to this the testimony of St. Ezekiel in the 18th chapter: "Cast away from you all your iniquities, that ye have transgressed; and make you a new heart, and a new spirit. And why then wilt thou die, O house of Israel? For I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, 1) saith the LORD. Therefore be converted, and ye shall live"; and St. Paul, "The spirit of the prophets is subject to the prophets," 1 Cor. 14; and 2 Cor. 9, "Every man according to his will, not with unwillingness, nor of constraint. For a cheerful giver GOD loveth." Finally, Christ with One Word has struck down all the Manichaeans, when He says, "The poor ye have always with you, and if ye will ye may do them good," Marc. 14; and to Jerusalem, "How often have I willed to gather thy children under my wings, and thou hast not willed," saith Christ Matt. 23.

XIX The nineteenth article is also found to be right. For God, as the highest good, is not a cause of evil, but the rational and apostate will is a cause of sins. Therefore no one should impute his iniquity and sin to God, but to himself, according to the saying of Jer. 2: "It is the fault of your wickedness that you are thus punished, and of your disobedience that you are thus punished"; and Hosea the 13th: "Israel, you bring yourself into misfortune, for your salvation is with me alone." And David perceived in the Spirit that GOD would not have sin, Ps. 5.

XX. In the twentieth article, which is not so much the confession of princes and cities as the excuse of preachers, there is a clause which applies to princes and cities, namely, that good works do not merit forgiveness of sins; for as it was rejected and condemned above, so it is rejected and condemned again. For the saying of Daniel, which is very wicked, saith otherwise, Loose thy sin with alms, Dan. 004 And Tobias saith unto his son, that alms are a remission of all sin, and of that which is sinful.

1) "Godless" put by us instead of: "dying" in the old edition. For also in the Vulgate it is written: imxit.

And Christ: "Give alms, and all things shall be clean unto you," Luc. 11. If works deserve nothing, why should the wise man have said, "God rewardeth the saints their labour? Weish. 10. Why did St. Peter so diligently exhort us to good works? saying, "Therefore, brethren, be the more diligent to establish your profession and election by good works," 2 Pet. 1. Why should Paul have said, "God is not unjust, that He should forget your work and labor of love, which ye have shown toward His name"? Heb. 6.

By this we do not despise the merit of Christ, but know that our works are nothing, and are not meritorious, except in the power of the merit of Christ's suffering. We know that Christ is the way, the life, and the truth, John 14: but Christ, being a good shepherd, which began to do and to teach (Acts 1), hath given us an example, that as he hath done, so should we do, John 13: and hath passed through the wilderness by the way of good works, which all Christians ought to follow, and after his commandment to take up their cross, and to follow him, Matt. 10 and 16: and he that taketh not the cross cannot be Christ's disciple. And is it also true that John saith, Whosoever saith that he abideth in Christ, even so shall he walk, even as he walked, 1 John 2.

But this opinion of good works was condemned and rejected eleven hundred years ago, in the time of Augustine.
XXI Lastly, they set forth the twenty-first article, in which they declare that the saints are to be remembered, that we may follow their faith and good works, but not that they are to be invoked, and that help is to be sought from them. Which is to be wondered at, that the princes and cities have tolerated that such error has been awakened in their dominions, which is so often condemned in the church, since eleven hundred years ago St. Jerome overcame the heretic Vigilantius in this matter. A long time afterwards the Albigenses, parixsrss äs I^Zänno, the Picardians, brought forth again this error, all of which have long since been lawfully condemned. Wherefore this Article of the Confession, for oftentimes condemned, is wholly to be rejected, and to be reprobated with the general whole orthodox Church. For that one should call upon the saints, we have not only the custom and authority of the general church, but also the consensus of all the holy fathers, Augustine, Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Basil, Bernhardt, and the
other teachers of the Church, nor is this Catholic doctrine lacking in the testimony and authority of Holy Scripture.

For that one should honor the saints was also taught by Christ, when he said: "Whoever serves me, my Father who is in heaven will honor him", John 12. If then God honors the saints, why should we humans not honor them? The Lord also turned to the repentance of Job, when he asked for his friends, Job 42. Why then should not the pious God rather grant the request of the virgins Mary, because he granted Job? We also read in the Baruch at 3. Cap. ^V. 4. Vulg.], "O Lord, Almighty GOD Israel, hear now the prayer of the dead Israel." This is what the dead pray for us. So did Onias and Jeremiah in the Old Testament. For Judas Maccabaeus saw Oniam the high priest stretching forth his hand, and praying for all the people of the Jews. And afterward there appeared unto him an old glorious man, clothed in delicious apparel, and in a very glorious form beside him. And Onias said unto Judah, This is Jeremiah the prophet of God, which loveth thy brethren greatly, and prayeth always for the people, and for the holy city:" 2 Macc. 15.

We also know from God's Word that the angels also pray for us. Why then should we deny this of the saints? "O LORD of hosts," saith the angel, "how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast been wroth these seventy years? and the LORD answered the angel that talked with him with words of comfort and kindness. 1 Job also bears witness to this: "If an angel, baptizing one, speak unto him, to shew unto a man how he ought to do right, he shall incline unto him, and say, He shall be delivered, that he go not down to destruction," Job 33:23, 24. It is also evident from the words of the holy souls of John the Evangelist, where he saith, "Then the four beasts, and the four and twenty elders, fell down before the Lamb, having every man harps, and golden vials, and incense, which are the prayers of the saints," Revelation 5:14, and 8:3. 5:14. and 8:3. f. "And another angel came and stood by the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, the prayer of all the saints upon the golden altar before the throne: and the smoke of the incense of the prayer of the saints ascended up from the hand of the angel before God."

At last St. Cyprianus, martyr, writing a thousand two hundred and fifty years ago to the pope Cornelius, in the first book in the

first epistle, requesting that whoever first departed should not cease to pray for his brothers and sisters. If the holy man had not believed it to be true that the saints prayed for the living after this life, he would have exhorted Cornelium to do so in vain.

Nor is this article of the Confession sufficiently confirmed by the fact that there is only One Mediator of God and of men, 1 Tim. 2 and 1 John 2. For although Imperial Maj. Maj. confesses with the whole Church that there is but One Mediator of salvation, yet there are many Mediators of intercession. So also Moses was a mediator and intercessor between God and men, Deut. 5, for he interceded for the children of Israel, Ex. 17 and 32. So St. Paul interceded for those who were with him in the ship, Acts 27. 27; so Paul himself desired that the Romans might pray for him, Rom. 15; the Corinthians, 2 Cor. 1; the Colossians, Col. 4; so that when St. Peter was in prison, prayer was made without ceasing in the church for him, Acts 12. 12. for which cause Christ is our chief intercessor, and the greatest. But because the saints are the members of Christ (1 Cor. 12 and Eph. 5), and they conform their wills to the will of Christ, and see that our Head, Christ, pleads for us, who can doubt that the saints do that which they see Christ do?

In consideration of all these causes, it is to be requested of the princes and cities, dependent on them, that they reject this little piece of the Confession, and hold with the holy general orthodox church, believe and confess of the holy honors and intercession, what the whole Christian world believes and confesses, and also at the time of Augustine was customary in all churches; As he says, the Christian people remember the martyrs with great devotion and glory, that they may be awakened to follow them, and be made partakers of their merits, and be helped by their prayers.

Response to the other part of the Confession.

Of both shapes.

That in the confession of princes and cities it is counted among the abuses that only one form of the sacrament is administered to the laity, and that therefore in their dominions the laity have both forms administered, from this it is to be answered: that according to the custom of the holy church this is not rightly counted among the abuses, since according to the same church usage and statutes it is
is more of an abuse and disobedience to hand both figures to the laity.

For under one form of bread the saints communicated in the first church, of whom Lucas says, "But they continued in the apostles' doctrine, and in fellowship, and in the breaking of bread," Acts 2. 2 Here Lucas thinks only of the bread. As he also says Apost. 20, "Now on a sabbath day, when the disciples came together to break bread." Yea, Christ also, the founder of this most holy sacrament, rising from the dead, gave under one form alone the Eucharistiam to the disciples that went to Emmaus, when he took bread, and blessed it, and broke it, and gave it unto them, but they knew him by the breaking of bread, Luc. 24. 24 Augustine, Chrysostom, Theophylactus, and Beda, some of whom lived many hundreds of years ago, and not long after the apostles' time, prove that it was the Eucharist. Christ Joh. 6 also often remembers the bread alone. St. Ignatius, St. John the Evangelist's disciple, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, remembers the bread alone in the "Eucharist" communion.

Blessed Ambrose does the same in the book of the Sacraments, where he speaks of the Communion of the Laity. In the Concilio Remensi, the laity are forbidden to bring the sacrament of the body to the sick. And there is no mention of the form of wine. From this it is to be understood that the sacrament is to be given to the sick only under one form. This is affirmed by the ancient Eunonss xosriitsntiules. For the Concilium Agathense thrusts a poor priest into the monastery, and gives him Communion after the laity. Osius, in the Concilio Sardicensi, forbids some of the wicked to take the communion of the laity, for they confess beforehand. Therefore there has always been a distinction in the church between lay communion under one form and that of a priest under two forms.

Which was finely foretold in the Old Testament, by the descendants of Heli: "It shall come to pass (saith God 1 Sam. 2), that whosoever shall remain in thy house, that he shall come to be prayed for, and he shall offer a penny of silver, and a morsel of bread. And he shall say, Let me to a priest's portion, that I may eat a morsel of bread." Here the holy Scripture clearly shows that the descendants of Heli, when the priesthood is taken from them, desire that they may be admitted to a priestly portion, to a morsel of bread. So also our laymen shall be admitted to a priestly portion, to a morsel of bread.

To be satiated with one figure. For even the Roman popes, cardinals, and all bishops and priests, besides the mass, and in their last, to take to the Viatico (as it is called in the Nicene Concilio), are satisfied with one form; which they would not do, if they thought that both forms were necessary to beatitude.

Although in former times in many churches both forms were given to the laity (for at that time it was free to communicate under one or two forms), yet, for the sake of danger, such a custom of giving both forms has remained. For if one considers the multitude of the people, there are old, young, trembling, sick, crippled; where great care is not taken, the sacrament could easily be dishonored by the pouring out of the wine (li^nitti). Also, in front of such a large crowd of people, it would be difficult to carefully pour a measure of wine from a chalice, and if it were kept for a long time, it would become vinegar, and give rise to disgust among the communicants, or cause vomiting, nor could it be carried around to the sick without danger of being poured out.

By these and other causes, no doubt from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the churches, when it was the custom for both forms to be given to the laity, have been moved that henceforth only One Form shall be given. And this is principally considered, that the whole Christ is received under one form, and not less under one than under two forms.

And so it was decided in the Concilium at Costnitz, and a decree was issued. Thus the Concilium of Basel lawfully decreed. And although it was formerly free to use one or both forms in the Lord's Supper, nevertheless, since the heresy arose which taught that both forms were necessary, the holy church, guided by the Holy Spirit, has forbidden both forms to the laity. For thus the church sometimes also uses repugnant statutes to restrain heresies. When those who disputed that only unleavened bread should be consecrated in the Sacrament were first raised, the Church for a time commanded that leavened bread should be consecrated. Since Nestorius wanted the ever-virgin Mary to be Christ's mother, and not God's mother, the Church forbade that she should be called Christ's mother. For this reason, the princes and cities should be requested not to introduce this rift or schism into the Roman Empire in Germany, and not to allow themselves to be led away from the common church custom.

Nor do the arguments introduced in this article prove anything. For although Christ ordained both forms of the sacrament, yet nowhere in the Gospel is it found that both forms are commanded to be used by the laity. But that Christ saith, Matt. 26, "Drink ye all of it," is told to the twelve apostles, the priests; which is evident from Marco, when he saith, "And they all drank of it." Which indeed is not yet fulfilled in the laity. For this reason it has never been customary in the whole church for the laity to be given both forms, although the custom may have been observed among the Corinthians and Carthaginians and some other churches.

But that they bring in Gelasius, oux>. Ooirix>6riiriu8, äs oon866rutioii6, äi8t. 2nd: If they look at the letter, they will find that Gelasius speaks of the priests, and not of the laity. Therefore it is to be rejected that they say that the custom of giving a form is contrary to divine right.

And especially the appendix of the article, that the procession with the Eucharist should be omitted, because otherwise the sacrament would be divided, should be rejected. For they themselves know, or ought to know, from the Christian faith, that Christ is not divided, but is wholly under both forms, and that the Gospel nowhere forbids the division of the forms of the Sacrament. Which is done on the day of Paraskeue 1) in the common catholic church; although he who celebrates mass consecrates both forms, he also ought to take both forms. Therefore the princes and cities are to be admonished that they show due reverence and honor to the Lord Christ, the Son of the living God, our Redeemer and Savior, the Lord in heaven and on earth, because they truly believe and confess that he is present. Which they also know to have been kept with all devotion by their forefathers, the Christian princes.

From the priest marriage.

That they should refer to the celibate state of the clergy among abuses, and allow their priests to take wives, and advise others to take them: is it to be wondered at that they should call the priestly celibacy an abuse, since, on the contrary, the priestly celibacy is an abuse?

1) In writing No. 1000 in this volume, § 85 towards the end, we read: "Half Mass on silent Friday. " The explanation is given us in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. I, p. 101: "On silent Friday half masses without (at) the figure of wine." - "Paraskene" - preparation day, the day before the Sabbath.

the transgression of the celibacy, and the improper admission to the married state in priests is to be called the very worst abuse.

For that the priests should never take wives is testified by Aurelius in the Concilio of Carthage, where he says: "That which the apostles taught by their example, and the ancients kept, we also ought to keep. And a little before this such a Canon is read: It pleases us that bishops, priests, deacons, and those who administer the sacraments, should preserve chastity, and abstain from women. From these words it is evident that this tradition was adopted by the Apostles, and not recently invented by the Church. Augustine, who followed Aurelio in the bishopric, in the last question of the New and Old Testaments, writes with these words, and asks: "If it be said, that it is right and good to be free, why then must priests have no wives? Pope Calixtus, a holy man and martyr, decreed thirteen hundred years ago that priests should not take wives. In the same case we read in the holy Conciliis, Caesariensi, Neocaesariensi, Africano, Agathensi, Gerundensi, Meldensi, Aurelianensi. And so it has been held from the time of the Gospel and the Apostles that no one in the priestly office is permitted by right to take a wife.

It is true that in the first church, for want of ministers, husbands were admitted to the priesthood, as is evident from the canons of the apostles and Paphnutii's answer in the Nicene Conciliar; yet those who wished to be free had to do so before they were admitted to the subdiaconal order; as is stated in 6. 8i Huis sorum, ist. 32. (32) This custom of the early Church has continued to this day, and has been retained by the Greek Church. But since by the grace of God the Church increased, that there was no lack of the servants of God in the Church, the pope Siricius, eleven hundred and forty years ago, no doubt not without the Holy Spirit, commanded perfect chastity to the priests, 0. riirios, aist. 28. which the popes Jnnocentius I., Leo Magnus and Gregorius Magnus have recognized and confirmed as right, and the Catholic Church has kept it everywhere to this day. From which arguments it is sufficiently proved that the celibacy of the clergy is not an abuse, because it has been confirmed by such holy fathers for so long a time, and has been accepted by the whole Latin Church.

There were also the priests of the old law at the time of their office and service in the temple of
separated unto women, as Zacharias was in the time of his ordinance, Luc. 1. But because a priest of the new law shall always wait for his priesthood, it followeth that he shall always be chaste.

Further, the husband and wife shall not deprive one another of their duty, but only for a time (1 Cor. 7), that they may pray. Since a priest should pray for and for, he should also abstain from women at all times. These causes have attracted Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine.

St. Paul also says: "I want you to be without care. He that is without a wife careth for the things that pertain unto the Lord, as he pleaseth the Lord: but he that is free careth for the things that pertain unto the world, as he pleaseth the wife." Genesis 7. Therefore a priest, who is to please God forever, should avoid the care of a wife, nor look back with the wife of Lot, Genesis 19.

Further, priestly chastity was prefigured in the Old Testament. For Moses, when he received the law, commanded that they should not come nigh unto their wives until the third day, Exodus 19: Wherefore the priests, which should receive the lawgiver, Christ the Lord our Saviour, should come nigh unto their wives much less. Likewise the priests must wear linen garments to cover the flesh of the shame, Exodus 28, which was a sign of the future abstinence in the priests, says Beda.

When Abimelech gave the sacred bread to the sons of David, did he first ask them if they had abstained from women? David answered the priest, and said unto him, The women were withheld from us three days, when I went forth, 1 Sam. 21. Therefore they shall always be clean, when they take the living bread, which cometh down from heaven, Joh. 6.

Their loins were girded when they ate the paschal lamb, Exodus 12: therefore also the priests, which oft eat our paschal lamb, Christ, shall gird up their loins with abstinence and purity.

As the LORD commanded them, "Be pure," saith he, "ye that bear the LORD's vessel," Isa. 52. "Be ye holy, for I am holy," Deut. 19. Therefore the priests shall serve GOD in holiness and righteousness all their days, Luc. 1.

Therefore the holy martyr Cyprian testifies that it was revealed to him by the Lord, and earnestly commanded, that he should diligently exhort the clerics that they should not have a common habitation with women. Therefore priestly chastity, because it is commanded by the councils and popes, revealed by God, with its own arbitrariness.

vowed to God by the priest, is not to be rejected. For the high and excellent sacrifice which they perform, the daily prayer, the freedom and purity of spirit, that they may be anxious to please God, according to Paul's teaching, require such chastity.

For since it is evident that this is the old heresy of Joviniani, which the Roman church has condemned, and St. Jerome has subdued with writings, and St. For since it is evident that this is the old heresy of Jovinian, which the Roman Church has condemned, and which St. Jerome has suppressed with writings, and St. Augustine says that this heresy will soon be eradicated, and that it will not come to such a pass that the priests will be taken in and corrupted by it, the princes should by no means tolerate such corruption of the priests, which is to the everlasting dishonor and dishonor of the holy Roman Empire, but should much rather keep themselves in conformity with the general Church, and should not be moved by that which is brought before them against it.

For that St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. 7, "Let every man have his own wife, to avoid fornication;" to this Jerome answers, that he speaketh of him that hath not made a vow. As also Anastasius or Vulgarius understands this saying of St. Paul, "A virgin sinneth not if she be free." Here he calls a virgin who is not consecrated to God.

Thus to the saying, "It is best to be free than to suffer heat," St. Jerome answered sharply against the Jovinianum. For the same Paul saith, "It is good for a man that he touch no woman." For a priest has the means that he neither suffer heat nor free, but abstains by God's grace, which he obtains from God through intimate prayer and chastening of the flesh, through fasting and vigil.

Further, that they say Christ taught that not all men are fit for the celibate life: this is well true, therefore they are not all fit for the priesthood. But if a priest prays diligently, he will be able to grasp Christ's word of abstinence, as St. Paul says: "I can do all things in him who strengthens me," Phil. 4. For abstinence is God's gift, Wis. 8.

Further, that one pretends that this is God's order and commandment, Genesis 1, to which Jerome answered a thousand years ago with these words: "It was necessary to first plant a forest and let it grow, so that afterwards one would have it, so that one could build from it. At that time it was commanded concerning the bringing forth of children, that the earth should be filled. But because it is full, and so full that one almost crushes another, it is not commanded to those who can abstain.

They also boast in vain of the divine command. But they may prove, if they can, where God commanded the priests that they should take wives.

For this purpose it is found in the divine law that the vows once made shall be kept, Ps. 40 and 75, Eccl. 5. Why then do they not keep the bright divine law?

They also pervert St. Paul, who commandeth that a bishop that is elected shall be a husband, when St. Paul saith that he shall be the husband of one wife. Which is not to be understood that he should be a husband. Otherwise Martinus, Nicolaus, Titus, John the Evangelist, and even Christ would not have been bishops. Therefore Jerome explains these words of St. Paul: "That a bishop should be the husband of one wife is that he should not have had two wives in succession. The truth of this statement is not only evident from Jerome, whose authority should nevertheless be held in high esteem by every Catholic, but also from St. Paul, who writes of a widow: "Let no widow be mentioned under sixty years of age, who has been a man's wife," 1 Tim. 5.

The fact that they are finally attracting the Germans, who are opposed to celibacy, is a mere act and not a right. For when Emperor Henricus IV was at odds with the pope and his son and the princes of the empire, and made war, both human and divine rights were thrown into one heap. Thus, at that time, laymen were allowed to measure, to use dung for holy oil, to baptize, and to do many other things contrary to the Christian religion. The clergy also did too much with such disobedience, which cannot now be considered right.

It has not been wrong to divorce ungodly marriages that have been contracted against the vows and statutes of the fathers and councils. Just as today priests' marriages to their supposed wives are invalid. For this reason they complain in vain that the world is growing old, and that this medicine should be granted to the weak. For those who are consecrated to God have another remedy for weakness, namely, that they should avoid the company of women, that they should not walk idly, that they should discipline their flesh with fasting and vigilance, and that they should keep their outward senses, especially their eyes and ears, from all that is unseemly, and their eyes from seeing vanity. Finally, they shall keep their little ones, that is, the carnal thoughts, from the

They should stop their desires, call upon and knock upon the pious God for and for with true devotion. These are undoubtedly the most powerful remedies useful for the preservation of chastity in persons who serve the Church and God.

St. Paul rightly said that it is the doctrine of the devil for those who forbid marriage. Such were the heretics Tatianus and Marcion, whom Augustine and Jerome remember. But the church does not forbid marriage at all, and so it also counts marriage among the seven sacraments. In this it exists that, for the sake of the high office, it gives the ministers of the church a higher degree of purity. For it is false that a commandment of God is to be free, otherwise John the Evangelist, St. James, St. Lawrence, Titus, Martin, Catharine, and Barbara would have sinned.

Cyprian also, being attracted by them, speaks not of a virgin who had made a glorious vow, but of one who had undertaken to abstain from marriage; as the beginning of the other epistle of the first book sufficiently indicates. For it is certain in the opinion of St. Augustine that it is a crime for virgins who take a vow not only to be free, but also to desire to be free. For this reason, the abuse of the marriage state and the breaking of vows is by no means to be tolerated in the clergy.

From the fair.

What is set forth in this article of the most holy office of the Mass, which is in accordance with the holy Roman and apostolic Church, is accepted. But whatever is done to it, which is contrary to the common and catholic church observation, is rejected, because it greatly angers God, violates Christian unity, and arouses dissension and sedition in the holy Roman Empire.

For as much as the things which they allege in this article concern us, we are displeased first of all with this: that they, contrary to the whole Roman church custom, do not say mass and other church ceremonies in the Roman, but in the German language, for the most part. And that they pretend to do it by St. Paul's command, which is to teach that such a language should be used in the church as the common man can understand, 1 Cor. 14: if this were the mind of Paul's words, they would be urged to say the whole mass in German, which yet they do not do.

But because the priest is a common person of the whole church, not only of the bystanders,
it's no wonder the priest says mass in Latin in the Latin church.

But the Latin language is also useful for the German to hear, if he hears mass in the faith of the church. And experience shows that there is far more devotion among devout Germans when they hear Mass in an unknown language than there is today among those who hear Mass in German. And if the words of the Apostle are rightly considered, it is enough that one who answers fills the place of a layman who says Amen. Which the canons also prescribe. And it is not necessary that he should hear and understand all the words of the Mass, or, if he understands them, that he should always pay the same attention to them. For it is better to understand and consider the end for which the Mass is said, namely, that the *Eucharist may be* offered up in remembrance of the passion of Christ.

It also serves to show that the apostles and their successors, according to the common opinion of the fathers, up to the time of Emperor Adrian, celebrated mass only in the Hebrew language, which was truly unknown to the Christians, and especially to the converted pagans. Even if the mass had been said in a language known and used by the common people at that time, it is not necessary now. For at that time many were daily converted to the Christian faith who knew nothing of the ceremonies and mysteries of the Christian churches. Therefore it was good for them to understand the words of the ministry from time to time. But now the Catholics are brought up from childhood in the habits and customs of the church, so that they can easily know what is to be done in church at all times.

But that they complain of the abuses of the masses, there is no understanding man that would not that the abuses were abolished. But that they which serve the altar should live of the altar, is not an abuse, but according to divine and human rights: for "who ever getteth on his own wages?" saith Paul, "Know ye not that they which offer eat of the sacrifice, and they which minister of the altar enjoy of the altar?" And Christ saith, "A labourer is worthy of his hire," Matt. 10.

It is, however, above all, criminal that in some places private masses have been abolished, as if, although they already have large pensions, they should nevertheless be held no less than others for the sake of profit. But by this abolition of the masses, the divine service is diminished, the saints are deprived of their honor, the founder's last will is broken and nullified, the deceased

deprived of their suffragies, and the living devotion is distorted and perishes. For this reason, the abolition of private masses is by no means to be yielded to, nor tolerated.

Nor can it be sufficiently understood what is meant by the objection that Christ has done enough for original sin, and has instituted the mass for real sins. For this has never been heard of among the Catholics, and those who are now inquired of testify constantly that they have never taught it in this way. For the mass does not blot out sins which are cured by penance, as by a peculiar remedy. It removes the punishment for sin, fulfills pardons, increases grace, is beneficial to the living, and finally brings the hope of divine comfort and help in all concerns and needs.

That they further allege that Christ is not sacrificed in the Mass, which, being formerly condemned and rejected by the faithful, is altogether unacceptable. For this is the old heresy of the Arians, says Augustine, who denied that in the Mass a sacrifice is made for the living and the dead. And this is contrary to holy Scripture and to the whole Catholic Church. For the Lord, by the prophet Malachiam, preached the rejection of the Jews, the profession of the Gentiles, and the sacrifice of the Gospel law: "I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts. And the meat offering of your hands is not acceptable unto me. But from the going forth of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be glorified among the heathen, and in every place incense shall be burned unto my name, and a pure meat offering shall be offered," Mal. 1 Now there is no pure sacrifice offered in all places to God, but the purest *eucharistia* in the sacrifice of the altar. This testimony was used by St. Augustine and other Catholics against the unfaithful Jews, which is more true of the Catholic princes than all the opponents' counter-talk.

The same prophet, speaking of the future of Messiah, saith, He shall purify and cleanse the children of Levi as gold and silver, and they shall offer meat offerings unto the LORD in righteousness: and the meat offering of Judah and Jerusalem shall be acceptable unto the LORD, as it was before, and as it was many years ago. 3 Here the prophet saw beforehand in the spirit the children of Levi, that is, the evangelical priests, saith Jerome, that they should sacrifice, not in the blood of goats, but in righteousness. Therefore these words in the same spirit, that they might be written out by the prophet, are repeated in the holy canon of the mass.

The angel also said unto Daniel, Many shall be purged, and purified, and tried: and the wicked shall lead an ungodly life; and the wicked shall not esteem it, but the prudent shall esteem it. And from the time that the daily sacrifice is taken away, and an abomination of desolation is offered, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days," Dan. 12. That this prophecy shall be fulfilled, and is not yet fulfilled, Christ testifies, Matt. 24. Therefore, in the future of abomination, that is, of antichrist, the daily sacrifice of Christians will cease completely, as it has now ceased in part in some churches, and will thus sit in the place of desolation, when the churches will be desolate, and no horue canonicus will be sung in them, nor masses said, nor sacraments administered, no altars, no images of the saints, no lights, no ornaments.

Wherefore to exhort all princes, and the faithful subjects of the holy Roman empire, that they do not do, or forbear, thereby to prepare the way for such an utter impiety of the Antichrist, when the common, that is, the catholic church, as St. John saw in the Spirit, shall flee into the wilderness, having a place prepared of God, that there it may be nourished a thousand two hundred and threescore days, Revelation 12.

Finally, St. Paul says in Heb. 5: "Every high priest that is taken from among men is set apart for men against God, that he may offer gifts and sacrifices for sin." Since the outward high priesthood does not cease in the new law, but has been changed into a better one, therefore also this day the high priest and the whole priesthood in the church shall offer an outward sacrifice, which is none other than the Eucharist.

Here may be drawn, that in the Acts of the Apostles in the 13th chapter is read, according to the new translation, that Barnabas, Simon, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaches, and Saul sacrificed, which is not to be understood of the sacrifice made to idols, but of the mass, because it is called Liturgia by the Greeks.

And that the mass in the church was a sacrifice is abundantly attested by all the holy fathers. For Ignatius, a disciple of St. John the Apostle, says: "One should neither offer sacrifice nor celebrate mass without a bishop. And Irenaeus, a disciple of St. John the Evangelist, testifies that Christ taught the new sacrifice of the New Testament, which the church received from the apostles and offered to God throughout the world. This bishop,

who lived soon after the apostles' time, testifies that the evangelical sacrifice is offered in the whole world. The same is taught by Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Basil, Hilarius, etc., which words are omitted for the sake of brevity. Therefore, since the Catholic Church has always taught and held the same way from the time of the apostles throughout the Christian world, as it does now, it should also be held and maintained in this way everywhere from now on, without any contradiction.

Thus the saying of St. Paul to the Hebrews is not against the sacrifice of the mass, when he saith, "That we are sanctified by the one sacrifice of the body of JEsu Christ, which was once made." For St. Paul speaks of the offering of the bloody sacrifice, of the slain lamb, on the altar of the holy cross, which sacrifice was indeed once made, whence all the sacraments, and also the sacrifice of the mass, have their power. For this reason it was sacrificed once on the cross, by the pouring out of its blood, but today it is sacrificed daily at mass in secret, without suffering, as it was sacrificed in the Old Testament in an exemplary and figurative way.

Finally, that the mass is a sacrifice is given by the words themselves; for missa is not otherwise called than a sacrifice on the altar, which in Hebrew is nisdsuok, and in Greek from sacrifice.
is called.

But it is sufficiently explained above that we are not justified by faith, but by love. But if there be found in the holy scriptures any such speech, the catholics know that it is said of faith, which worketh by love and good works, Gal. 5; and because justification is begun by faith, for it is the substance of things hoped for, Heb. 11.

Nor is it denied that the mass is a memorial of Christ's suffering and of God's good deeds. For the example of the paschal lamb, which was both a sacrifice and a memorial, has been proved, Exodus 12, and is represented in the Catholic Church not only with words and sacrament, but also with holy vestments and garments. But in memory of the sacrifice made on the cross, the Church offers the Eucharist in secret to God the Father Almighty.
Therefore it is not punished that princes and cities hold a common mass in their churches, if they do this rightly according to the holy canon, as all Catholics do. But that they all
other masses have taken place, the Christian
Profession doesn't.

The fact that all the present communicated in the past is not punished. Would to God that they were all so skillful as to take this bread worthily every day. But if they think that one mass is useful, how much more would many masses be useful, which they have unjustly taken away.

In consideration of all these causes mentioned, it is to be desired that they completely abolish and discard the new form of keeping Mass, invented by them and now changed several times, and that they again adopt the old way of keeping Mass, according to the old usage and custom of the Germans and of all Christendom, and that they again establish the abolished Masses, according to the last will of the founders, in which they themselves can create all welfare and honor, and again peace and tranquility for the whole German country.

From confession.

As to confession, let it remain with the answer and opinion previously given in the XI article. For it is false what they bring forward from Chrysostom, who speaks of public confession, but they refer it to sacramental and priestly confession. Which his words plainly declare, since he saith in the beginning, I say not unto thee, that thou shalt openly betray thyself, and accuse thyself to others. Thus Gratianus and Longobardus answered three hundred years ago, and this answer becomes clearer from other oerterns of Chrysostom, as when in the 29th sermon he speaks of the penitent: He repents of sin in his heart, and confesses, and shows righteous humility in his works. This is fruitful and perfect repentance. Does he not here expressly set three pieces of repentance? So in the 10th Homily on Matthew he also teaches the appointed time for confession, and that afterwards the opened wounds of sins are healed by repentance. But how can sins be opened if they are not revealed to the priest by confession? Thus Chrysostom himself in many places refutes this opinion, which Jerome also completely overthrows, saying: "If the serpent, the devil, bites one secretly, and, since no one knows of it, poisons him with the poison of sins, if he is silent, who is wounded, and does not repent, and will not confess his wounds to his brother and master. For if a sick man is ashamed to reveal his wounds to the physician, the art of medicine, if it knows not, cannot cure the disease. Therefore the

Princes and estates should much rather believe these excellent old doctrines, than the some gloss in the decree, which, however, has always been contested and rejected by the legal scholars.

Therefore they are to be admonished, because a perfect confession is not only necessary to salvation, but is also the noblest bond of Christian discipline and of all church obedience, that in this they conform to the orthodox church. For as Jerome testifies, the same is their opinion of the Montan heresy, which was condemned twelve hundred and more years ago, because they were ashamed to confess their sin. For this reason they should not follow the error of Montani, but rather the practice of the holy fathers and the entire Catholic Church, that each one in his dominions should command confession, as the most precious treasure in the Church of God, to be kept according to the rule of faith and all custom, even in their church.

Of human statutes.

The things which they have brought forward concerning the difference of food, and such like statutes, which they regard as contemptible, are to be rejected. For we know from the apostle that all authority is from God, and especially spiritual authority is given by God for edification. Therefore, by a Christian heart obedient to the holy church, the same holy catholic and apostolic church should adopt ordinances that serve the church, both to increase the worship of God and to restrain the lusts of the flesh, because they make it easier to keep the divine commandments, and are advised in the holy Scriptures; and he who despises them or opposes them freely angers God, according to the saying of the Lord Christ: "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me," Luc. 10. but a prelate is despised when his statutes are despised, and St. Paul says, "He that despiseth these despiseth not a man, but God, who hath given you his Holy Ghost in you," 1 Thess. 4; and, speaking to the bishops, "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the host, among whom the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to govern the Church of God," Acts 20. 20.

If then the prelates have power to govern, they must also have power to make statutes for the wholesome government of the church, and the best of the subjects. For the same apostle also commanded the Corinthians, that all things should be done among them.

But this cannot happen without laws. Therefore he commanded the Hebrews, saying, "Obey your teachers," Heb. 13, since Paul not only demands obedience, but also indicates the cause of obedience.

St. Paul used such authority when he gave so many laws besides the gospel, concerning the election of a bishop, widows, women, that they should cover their heads, and keep silence in the church, and also concerning other worldly things, 1 Thess. 4, worldly courts, 1 Cor. 6, and says plainly to the Corinthians, "To others I say, and not to the Lord," 1 Cor. 7.

And elsewhere he says: "Behold and keep the statutes which ye have learned, or by our epistles, or by the preachers," 2 Thess. 2, 15. Therefore the princes and cities are to be admonished that they render and show obedience to the ordinances and statutes of the church, lest, when they deprive God of His due obedience, they again be despised by their subjects, and they also would not render them due obedience, as in the next peasant uprising the subjects submitted themselves. Therefore, they should be careful not to be seduced by false teachings.

It is also quite wrong for them to say that the righteousness of faith is obscured by these statutes. For one would be foolish and mad who would keep them without faith, because they are prescribed for believers, not for Turks or Agarenes. For "what have I to do with them that are without?" saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. 5. But that they here exalt faith above all things, in this they are contrary to St. Paul, as we have also said above, and tear St. Paul apart, whom, speaking of the works of the law, they draw to the evangelical works, as all such errors are rejected above.

It is also false that the statutes should obscure the commandments of God, since they are useful to a man in keeping the divine commandments, as by the fastings of the flesh lusts are subdued and slain, that it become not lustful.

It is also a falsehood that it is impossible to keep the statutes, for the Mother, the Church, is not so merciless that she should not, in case of need, dispense with holidays, fasting, and the like.

About this they falsely introduce Augustine aä in^uisitiontziri Januarii, who is squarely opposed to them. For he in the same place expressly

What is taught and commanded by the church in general is to be kept by all. But the middle things, and those which are free, may be kept or not kept. Thus the holy father Augustine and the blessed Ambrose conclude that the custom of every church should be observed, for, says he, "When I come to Rome, I fast; when I am here, I do not fast.

Furthermore, they do violence to the holy scripture by daring to strengthen their errors with it. For Christ, Matt. 15, does not reject all human statutes, but only those that are contrary to God's law, which is revealed in Marci the seventh; and here Matt. 15: "Why then," saith Christ, "do ye transgress God's commandment for yourselves?" So Paul gives Col. 2, that no man should judge in eating and drinking, and in holidays, according to the Jewish custom. For the church therefore holdeth not the flesh to be unclean, whether it be yet to eat it, as the Jews thought in the synagogue.

Thus the saying of Christ concerning that which passeth through the mouth is drawn here without right understanding, since it was the mind of the Lord Christ to abolish the error of the Jews herewith, who meant that food touched without washed hands was unclean, and he that did eat it was unclean; as is evident from the circumstances of the text, and the church with these statutes does not desire to interpret again Moses, who has heavy hands, to the church.

In the same way they reject St. Paul, who calls the doctrine of the devil forbidding food, 1 Tim. 4, namely, as the Tatians, Marcionites, and Manichaeans held that food was unclean; as is evident from the following words, since St. Paul adds: "All creatures of God are good." But the church does not reject food because it is evil and unclean, but to make men more able to keep the commandments of God, so that the arguments against it are defeated.

But if they praised the cross and bodily discipline, and fasting in such a way that the body would be tamed by it, we would well put up with their doctrine in the play; but because they want to have all this freely, it is condemned and rejected as quite contrary to the faith and the discipline of the church. And it is no help to them to pretend that the church ordinances are unequal; for although it is true that in some special ceremonies each country keeps its own way, nevertheless, what general church ordinances are to be kept, they are not to be kept apart.

are held the same everywhere, and the particular ones in countries where they are common.

And is nothing that they admit of the paschal feast. For the Roman popes at last brought those from Asia to celebrate the Pascha with the general church in a uniform manner. So also Irenaeus is to be understood. For, without any harm to the faith, several apostles' evenings are held in France without fasting, although they are fasted in Germany.

The princes and cities are also to be exhorted to follow the decree of Pope Gregory. This decree states that the ways of every country should be observed, as long as they are not contrary to the Catholic faith, C. *Quoniam consuetudinem*, *dist*. 12. from which we know that inequality of ceremonies can be in unity of faith, and that in every country the custom taught and accepted by the ancients should be kept, but without detriment to the general customs and ceremonies of the whole Catholic Church.

Of the monastic vows.

Although much and various things are brought forward in this article out of some inspiration, nevertheless, if one considers everything with mature counsel, it is found that the monastic vows are founded in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and that many holy people, who have performed miraculous signs and led a miraculously holy life, have lived in these orders with many thousands of times thousands, and that their rules have been accepted and approved by the Catholic Church for so many hundreds of years throughout the entire Christian world. Therefore, it is by no means to be tolerated that such vows are broken out of frivolity and courage, without all fear of God.

For in the Old Testament God vowed vows to the Nazarites, Deut. 6, to the Rechabites, who did not drink wine nor eat grapes, Jer. 35.

God also earnestly requires that what is vowed once shall be kept without rebuke, Deut. 23: But he that retracteth his vows afterward shall fall, Prov. 20: But the vows of the upright are pleasant, Prov. 15.

Furthermore, God also teaches through the prophet that He is especially pleased with the monastic vows, Isaiah 56: "Thus says the Lord to those who are cut off, who keep My Sabbaths, and choose what is pleasing to Me, and make My covenant firm: I will give them a place in my house and within my walls, and a better name,

for the sons and daughters. I will give them an everlasting name, which shall not pass away." But to whom does God say this? To those whom Christ praises, who have made themselves uncircumcised for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, who deny their own will, take up the cross, and deny themselves, and take up their cross every day, and follow Him, Luc. 9, that they no longer live according to their own will, but according to the rule and the will of their Sovereign.

Better also, as St. Paul testifies, do the virgins who leave the world, despise the lusts, and vow and keep virginity in the monasteries, than those who submit their necks to the conjugal yoke. For thus saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7, "He that marrieth his virgin doeth well; but he that marrieth her not doeth better." So it follows of a widow, "Blessed is she, if she abide thus after my counsel."

None of the holy monks, Pauli Eremitä, Basilii, Antonii, Benedicti, Bernhardt, Dominici, Francisci, Wilhelmi, Augustini, Clara, Brigittä, and the like, who have all despised this world's kingdom and all its ornaments for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, is unknown. The Lampertian heresy has also recently been condemned, which the heretic Jovinianus in Rome has again tried to awaken.

Therefore all that is said in this article against monastic life is to be rejected, namely, that at the time of Augustine there were free collegia, that the vows were subsequently imposed on the monasteries; since the contradiction is true that the monasteries only arose after the vows.

Of the virgin monasteries, although they are a weak instrument, it is nevertheless sufficiently evident that the holy nuns have remained and persevered in their vows, once made, in many monasteries, even among these princes and cities, much more steadfastly than the monks have not done. To this day, they have not been able to be led away from their sacred duties by pleas, sweet words, afflictions, fears, anxieties, and troubles.

Therefore, one should by no means give in to what is here interpreted as the worst of the worst. Because it is expressed in God's Word that the monastic life, if it is kept with proper obedience, which all monastics can keep by God's grace, deserves eternal life and much more. For Christ promised them this: "Whoever leaves house, or brother, or sister, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or fields for my name's sake?

he shall take it a hundredfold, and inherit eternal life," Matth. 19.

That the monasteries of old have been schools is not denied, and yet it is not unconscious that they were first schools of godliness and Christian discipline, since later the study of other arts were added.

But because no one who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is sent to the kingdom of God, Luc. 9, according to the rule of the holy Scriptures, also of the secular and spiritual laws, all marriages and vow-breaking of monks and nuns who have broken the first faith, and have their damnation, are to be considered ungodly and condemned, as Paul says 1 Tim. 5.

But that the vows are not contrary to God's order has been explained in the other article of the abuses referred to.

But that they want to protect themselves with the dispensation, no one is moved. For although the pope may have dispensed with the king of Arragon, who nevertheless, as we read, having received an heir, has returned to the monastery, or with another prince, this has been done for the sake of peace, so that a whole kingdom or country may not be put into extreme distress and devastated with wars, murders, robberies, fornication, fires, and deaths; nevertheless, such causes of dispensation cannot truly be put forward by private persons who have become apostates from their orders and have abandoned their vows.

It is also rejected that one pretends to vow in impossible things. For to abstain is not impossible, which so many thousands of men and virgins have held. For though the wise man saith, "I know that I cannot abstain, except God give me," yet Christ promised, "Ask," saith he, "and ye shall receive," Luc. 11, Matt. 18; and St. Paul, "Who will not leave you to be tried above your ability, but will give you strength in the time of your temptation, that ye may be able to bear it," 1 Cor. 10.

They also keep their things very badly by confessing that breaking the vows is criminal. Which is to be explained, that the marriages of the monks are against all rights, and again are to be broken up, C. Oontinsntins 27th, hnnsst. 1, as also many old imperial laws decree.

But that they attract for themselves the E.. ^uxUnrum, they do nothing with it. For C. does not speak of bad, but of solemn vows, which even the church has made to this day.

holds. Therefore no marriages of monks, nuns or priests have ever been right.

It is also rejected that they pretend that monastic life is a human invention. For it is founded in the Holy Scriptures by the Holy Spirit, and inspired by the godly fathers, and does not take away from the glory of Christ. For monastics keep all things for Christ's glory, and that they may follow Christ.

Therefore it is wrong for them to condemn the worship in the monasteries as ungodly, since it is the most Christian worship. For the monastics are not fallen from the grace of God, as are the Jews, of whom St. Paul says in Galatians 5 that they still seek righteousness in the Law of Moses. But the monastics take care to 1) live closer to the Gospel, so that they may earn eternal life. Therefore all that is introduced here against the monastic life is ungodly.

But the fact that it is all maliciously accused here that the monks want to be in the state of perfection has never been heard from them. For monastics do not attribute perfection to themselves, but are in the state in which they attain perfection. For their rules and practices are instruments for attaining perfection, not perfection itself. And in this way is Gerson to be understood, who does not deny that the monastic orders are states that attain perfection, as he explains in the Tractate sorära proxristarios, in the Rule of Saint Augustine, in the Tractate äs sorisiiiis svariMÜsis, in the Tractate äs xsrksstions soräis, and other places. Therefore the princes and cities are to be exhorted to be at peace, that the monasteries be reformed by their proper superiors and elders, but not entirely exterminated, and that the monks be rather godly admonished and corrected than entirely exterminated; as also their godly forefathers, the Christian princes, have done.

But if they do not want to believe the godly and holy fathers of monastic vows, let them hear the high imperial majesty, namely the Emperor Justinianus in antUsnäsa äs Nonasiiis, shall. I.

Of church power.

Although there is much interweaving of ecclesiastical power here, even much more ugly than would be necessary, it is nevertheless to be declared that the most reverend bishops and priests, and the entire clergy, are left free and inviolate in all their ecclesiastical power, which is due to them by right or custom. That they may also exercise all

1) Here we have erased "after".

may retain their liberty, privileges, sovereignties, and prerogatives given to them by the godly Roman emperors and kings. And it is not to be suffered that what has been given to the ecclesiastics by imperial clemency should be weakened and diminished by some princes or others subject to the Roman Empire.

For it can be sufficiently proved that the power of the churches in spiritual matters is founded in divine law, of which St. Paul says: "Though I boast more of our power, which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your corruption," 2 Cor. 10. And it follows: "For therefore I write these things in absentia, lest at present I should act more harshly according to the power which the Lord hath given me, for edification, and not for your corruption," 2 Cor. 10.

The same St. Paul also shows a constraint of judgment, saying, "Which will ye? Shall I come to you with a rod, or in love and in the spirit of gentleness?" 1 Cor. 4. As he writes of judicial matters to Timothy, "Against an elder take no complaint, save two or three witnesses," 1 Tim. 5.

From which it is evident enough that the bishops not only have power in the office of the divine word, but also have power to govern, to compel, and to punish, to the end that they may guide their subjects to eternal blessedness.

But the power of government includes the power to judge, to conclude, and to order those things that are useful and beneficial to the aforementioned end. For this reason, everything that has been objected against the priests' and churches' immunity from the law is futile and null and void.

Therefore all the subjects of the Roman Empire are to be enjoined not to bring ecclesiastical persons before secular tribunals against their privileges granted by the Empire. For Clement the Pope and Martyr says: "If priests have matters among themselves, they are not to be judged by secular judges, but what occurs is to be decided by the elders of the churches. Therefore Constantine Magnus, the Christian emperor, in the holy Nicene Concilio, did not wish to judge the bishops even in secular matters: Ye are gods, said he, and by GOD truly set before us. Go and settle the matter among yourselves, for it is not fitting that we should judge the gods.

As far as the statutes of the church are concerned, enough has been said above.

Nor will it help them the Christian liberty they pretend to have, because they are not a free-

The Christian liberty is not the same as the Christian freedom, but a cruel and abominable presumption, which, when it is imagined by the mob, arouses it to the most harmful and dangerous sedition. For Christian liberty ^is not contrary to the church statutes, because they serve for good, but opposed to the servitude of the law of Moses and sins. For "he that committeth sin is the servant of sin," saith Christ Jn. 8. Wherefore they that break fasts, eat meat freely, and forbear their horas canonicus, do not confess at Pascha, and do the like, and forbear, do not use liberty, but abuse it, contrary to St. Paul's admonition. Paul's exhortation, which he had diligently warned them before: "But ye, brethren, are called to liberty; only see that ye by liberty give no place to the flesh, but by charity serve one another," Gal. 5. Therefore let no man cover up any sin under a semblance of evangelical liberty. Which also St. Peter forbade: "As free men, and not as having liberty to cover wickedness, but as the servants of God," 1 Peter 2.

But what they have objected to concerning the abuses, all the princes and estates of the empire know without a doubt, that neither the imperial majesty, nor some princes, nor any Christian man, vows even the slightest abuse, but all wish that the princes and estates of the empire will endeavor with common counsel and united will, that the abuses be abolished and improved, and that what happens too much or too little in both estates be completely done away with, or reformed for the best, and that finally the spiritual estate, so much weakened, and the Christian religion, which in many has grown cold and desolate, be restored and brought back to its former glory and honor. In this Imperial. Maj., as all are aware, has so far had much work and care, and has graciously promised that she will not let her diligence and effort be lacking in this matter.

Because now Imperial Majesty has heard from the Confession and the answer now read that they, the Elector, Princes and Cities, agree in many articles. Majesty has heard from the Confession and the answer now read that they, the Elector, Princes and Cities, agree in many articles with the Catholic and Roman Church, and do not agree with the ungodly doctrines which are otherwise publicly blown up and spread about in booklets in Germany, but reject and condemn the same: the Imperial Majesty is confident and hopeful that the Elector, Princes and Cities, now that they have heard this answer, will also agree with the Catholic and Roman Church in other matters. Majesty is confident and hopeful that the Elector, princes and cities, having heard and accepted this answer, will also agree with the Roman Catholic Church in other matters in which they may have been at variance.

will henceforth agree with one heart, and also in all other things will obediently conform to the holy Catholic and Roman Church and the Christian faith and religion, as they have hitherto been held in unison by common Christendom, and will most humbly obey their Imperial Majesty. Maj. most humbly. Which will be especially pleasing to Her Imperial Maj. Maj. will be especially pleased, and will recognize and reward with special graces against them all in general, and, as occasion may give, against each one in particular. For, since God is in favor, if this Christian and entirely gracious remembrance is not given, they, the Elector, Princes and cities, can think that one can give Imperial Majesty the necessary cause for this. Majesty that they, as befits a Roman and Christian Emperor, and a patron and advocate of the Catholic and Christian Church, and that their Imperial Majesty has ordered them to exercise their office and conscience. Maj.'s commanded office and conscience, they must provide for and preside over these matters.

1015 Some pieces of the papist supposed refutation of the Augsburg Confession, as such have been caught under the reading.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 421; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 95 d; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 221; and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 229.

Kaiserl. Majesty has heard the confession of the princes and princes, together with that of two cities, in which she herself has personally seen, and after having held council with many nations 1) respectable and reasonable 2c. has found this opinion, and has previously sent it to the princes and princes, upon which her Imperial Majesty rests as follows. Majesty, as follows. The following answer may be given to the articles held up.

The first article is right and acceptable, because it is founded in Scripture, and confirmed by Concilia, before Mesnum 2c. And the princes condemn the heresies contrary to this article.

The II. article is admitted, but sonder appended explanation. For the sins of not fearing God, not believing Him 2c. are not original sins, but 2) real sins, and Luther's opinion that sin remains after baptism was also condemned earlier.

The III Article is rightly founded from Scripture, and confirmed by the Church.

1) "of many nations" put by us instead of: "many nation," in the editions.
2) Added by us.

IV. is right where it is understood with a meager explanation. For it is true that all our works are nothing without the grace of God; but merit is not to be set aside, for where there is reward there is also merit. Many sayings have been reported here that are based on merit, and this Pauli: "I have done a good work, and my reward is ready, which the Lord will give me at that day" (2 Tim. 4:7).

The v. is right, [what] is said of the merit [of Christ] 1). The princes here also condemn the Anabaptists, by whose seditious doctrine so much turmoil has arisen as five years ago, and bloodshed has been caused.

The VI, in so far as it annuls merit, is not right. So also the saying, "If ye have done all things, say, we are unprofitable servants," is of no avail; for if they are counted unprofitable that have done all these things, how much more are they counted unprofitable that omit them? 2) So this is the right understanding of the saying, that our works are useless, though they are useful to us.

VII, that the church is the assembly of the faithful, 2c., is condemned among other articles of the Church of Costnitz, and contrary to Scripture, where the church is compared to a threshing-floor, wherein the angels gather the good corn of the chaff, 2c. (Matth. 3, 12. Luc. 3, 17.), and the net (Matth. 13, 47.), and the ten virgins (Matth. 25, 1. ff.).

The eighth is right, first of all, because it also condemns the Donatists. Note: In the articles or points that are accepted as right, there is always a special and long probation and explanation attached, so that the unbelievers would not be believed.

The IX is right.

The X. is right, but that it teaches how the essence of bread and wine ceases, and is changed into the true body and blood of Christ. Thus princes know, or ought to know, that under every form of the holy sacrament is the true body and blood of Christ; if not, the body would be without blood, and therefore dead, contrary to the saying of Paul, "Death shall not henceforth have dominion over him" (Rom. 6:9).

The XI is right in declaring that, according to the chapter Omnis utriuZyus ssxus, the

1) Added by us.

2) This is incomplete and therefore misleading. Before: "who refrain from it" it should read: "who alone believe and do it". The following is also not in accordance with the Confutation, but should (as can be seen in No. 1029, §1I) read: "Say: useless servants of the dear Lord, not ourselves. Compare also No. 1029, s 16.

Subjects are to be held and admonished to confession and reception of the sacrament, so that they may, as much as possible, confess all sin. But if, after such diligence, they still forget something, they believe they are absolved from it.

The Second Vatican Council did not divide repentance properly into two parts, and Pope Leo also condemned Luther's article on this subject: 3) Faith precedes repentance, for he who does not believe cannot do true repentance. Thus in the Synodo Nicene by oanoiiss posnitsutialss form and measure of true repentance are given. Here they have cited much *loca of* Scripture, and before that from the Psalms; the princes are also to be praised for rejecting the invading heresies, as Novatianorum 2c.

The XIIIth is right, provided it is taught that there are seven sacraments, and the subjects are required to confess them.

The XIVth is right, but this is understood, that the calling is done by public spiritual authority, and not by mob or violent intrusion. Where such preachers are found, they should be abolished.

The XV. is to be praised; but in rejecting the laws of the Church, not right, nor to be admitted.

The XVI is quite good.

The XVII is right.

The XVIII is right; for yes to confess that of our own powers we may not please God, and yet nevertheless have a free will. And this is only further attracted with much words, and proved with sayings, than, L66l68^ig,8ti6U8^: IZUSNI st gHuani (Sir. 15:16.). Item, Hos. 13:9. "Israel, out of thee thy destruction, but out of me thy salvation"; item, that the Manichaei wholly abrogate free-will. And this would be the right way between Pelagians and Manichaeans, so that neither too much nor too little would be added to free will.

The XIX is right. 4)

The XXth is right, provided one understands that of faith working through love. Here many words are made, and, in that the main part lies, they are left with circumlocutions.

The XXI is not right. For though Christ be the Mediator, yet he is not alone, and the saints are to be called. Here they have led many examples, as 2 Macc. 15, 12-14., 5) that Onias and Jeremias prayed for Israel 2c. Item,

3) Here we have erased "And".

4) This is missing in the editions and has been added by us. Walch has erroneously entered XIX and XX in the two following articles.

5) In the editions wrong: "as Macha. 1".

That the angels pray for us. Item, how Cyprianus Cornelio wrote that whoever among them dies sooner prays for the other, which, of course, the holy bishop would not have done, since he considered the intercession of the saints to be void or unjust. Item, there is mentioned how Job prayed for his friends, and God spared them (Job 42:8. f.), and thus subsequently a great deal was introduced about the living intercession of the saints. Item, much has been said about holy honor, as if someone did not teach it to be honored. Christ is the head, and the saints the members; therefore, because the head prays for us, the members also pray.

It has been said of both forms that it is unreasonable for princes to consider it an abuse that the sacrament should be administered to the laity under one form alone, and that it would be rather an abuse for the laity to be given both forms. Here it is to be proved that in the first church it was also held thus, and from the Actis Apostolorum: "They continue in the breaking of the bread"; and how Christ broke the bread to the disciples at Emmaus, which all according to the interpretation of the teachers was understood of the body of Christ. There is also a story told here of Heli (1 Sam. 2), in which it is written how his descendants, cast out of the priesthood, would desire a portion and morsel of bread, which is the one figure to be given to the laity.

Nor does it help them to read: Lidits sx Uoe 01111168, for this was spoken to the apostles who were priests. There is also a distinction drawn from the spiritual laws between the priestly and lay communion, from which it is proved that the two have always been distinct, and that they alone have received the sacrament in one form. So popes, cardinals, bishops, and priests, in time of their sickness, take the sacrament, which Meorm calls LMockus vrertreum, as do the laity. Therefore they do not have to complain at all that they have been deprived of the One Form, since the whole Christ has come among everyone.

There have been told many disgraces which might befall the holy sacrament, if the blood of the Lord were administered to the laity, and so to a great multitude; namely, that it might be spilled, and that it might not be known in what kind of vessel it should be kept; from which the use of administering to the laity in both forms was tacitly discontinued in the Roman church, though in the Corinthians and in those at Carthage both forms might have been retained. And the Concilium of Costnitz and Basle have confirmed this custom of the 2c. one form.
in the presence of many bishops, 2c. also of the emperor, princes and lords. Thus also the Procession Corporis Christi was unreasonably stopped, by which the holy Sacrament was greatly honored, and before that, because the same in every form is whole and unholy.

Of the Mass. In this article, what is in accordance with the usage of the Roman Church is accepted, and what is contrary to it is rejected. It is not to be tolerated that a special (private or corner) mass be dismissed. For this would destroy the foundation, diminish the service, and deprive souls of their consolation. Item, the mass should not be said in German, because the priest is a common person of the Roman church; so there are also all those who speak for the congregation: Amen.

Item, the Latin mass causes more and greater devotion. The mass is to be celebrated in Hebrew until the time of Adrian. If an abuse should occur, the princes are to believe completely that no one likes it, and that the abuse will be stopped. But this is no abuse at all, that he who serves the altar also lives from the altar, according to the Scriptures. Nor would it be a purchase of the mass, which is on endowment 2c. Item, the mass is a sacrifice; for so it is kept more than a thousand years ago; so Hebrew and Greek N188U is called an altar; [1]) Dog Christ saith, Hoo kueito. But in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, kueors is to sacrifice.

Of spiritual vows. Spiritual vows are founded in the Old and New Testaments. The vows were made before the monasteries. It has never been heard that the clergy are taught to be in a state of perfection, but that the clergy are an instrument of perfection. The king of Arragon answered that he was dispensed with because others avoided much misfortune and bloodshed. This is not the opinion of some bad persons. Item, he went back to the monastery after the birth of his son. Item, it is not impossible to keep the vows, especially to accomplish everything well by praying and fasting, and before that by fleeing the cause, and that one smashes the little children, that are the first thoughts, against the rock, that is, Christ. It is also written, "Ask, and it shall be given you." Let it also be known, that so many thousands of persons,

1) The following is not correct. Compare Col. 1052.

Man and woman have kept their monastic vows aright, and have been saved thereby; neither is it because of the weakness of women 2c.

For many virgins have been found more constant in their monastic vows, above all that is repugnant to them at this time, than some monastics.

Of clerical marriage. It has always been called supposed clerical matrimony, and it is wonderful to hear that Her 1) Imperial Majesty desires such a thing, since it has never been in use since the time of the apostles. Item, the priests, because they are always to perform and pray the sacrament, are also always to be pure. Here it is reported how in the old marriage the priests had to abstain three days before the service (Ex. 19, 10. 22.), and from Zachariah (Luc. 1, 5. 8. 9.). This is not a commandment: "Grow and multiply" (Gen. 1, 22), which constantly binds, but was only valid at that time, when there were still few people, and no longer now, when one pressed upon another because of the multitude. Otherwise many saints (2) and virgins would have done wrong by remaining outside of marriage. Item, the saying, unusquisque habeat uxo-
rsm 8UÄin; item, rnsllus 68t nudsrs, Hnum uri (1 Cor. 7, 2. 8.), they have interpreted according to their opinion, not according to the teachers, before Hieronymo. Item, Lpiseopus 8it unin8 nxori8 vir (1 Tim. 3, 2.), is not to be understood that a bishop must have a wife, otherwise Martinus, Nicolaus, Titus, and Christ himself would not have been bishops; but it is said that he should not have had more than One Wife, as is to be clearly noted hereafter of the widow who is to be received. Item, the marriage is vowed and honored with them, also held for a sacrament, but not theirs, who surrender and vow chastity, to take to the supposed marriage state. Here is much that is indicated from the spiritual rights.

It is reported that this article would be quite ugly if it were about the power of the clergy 2c. Item, the clergy have power to govern. For Paul saith, "Having been given power to build, and not to tear down," 2c. If they have power to govern, they have also power to punish, and to make laws, forbidding all eating of flesh on certain days, which it is the duty to observe, and transgressing the same, is not called Christian liberty, but rather a wantonness, thereby giving cause to sedition. Among other things, it is told how, through Daniel.

1) "their" put by us instead of "E.".

2) In the old edition: "heathens" instead of: "saints".

prophesies that in the time of Antichrist the continual sacrifice should cease; that would be the mass and worship, for it is seen how some have laid waste the churches, torn up the altars, broken the images, sung or read nothing, burned no candles, called the holy sacrament baked bread. And all these are to be prevented, lest there be cause for the prophecy to be fulfilled.

Decision: Because [Imperial Majesty] now hear that the Prince and Princes compare themselves with the Christian Church in some matters, and also condemn many erroneous doctrines which have gone out in print before, and because some of the articles they have handed over are quite repugnant to the Christian Church, and are by no means to be admitted: Her Imperial Majesty hopes that they will compare themselves on such erroneous points. ...that they will concur in such erroneous points... This the Imperial Majesty Majesty will graciously acknowledge, not forget in good, and be your gracious Emperor. But where not, that imperial Maj. did not hope, her Electoral and Princely Grace would have to consider that the Emperor would not forget it. and princes to consider that the Emperor. Majesty, as a bailiff and supreme protector of the Holy Christian Church, would do well to show himself in this matter as a Christian Emperor is officially responsible to do.

1016 Contents of the Confutation as Cochläus had it printed immediately after the Diet.

This writing was printed in 1531 by Wolfgang Stöcke! in Dresden under the following title. Cyprian included it in the Supplements to the Hist. of the Augsburg Conf. Conf., p. 196.

Summarium of the imperial answer to the five princes' and six cities' confession to Augsburg at the next Imperial Diet.

The first article: of the Holy Trinity, is wholly admitted in all points.

The other: of original sin, is admitted in part, namely, in that original sin is truly sin 2c., and in part not, namely, in that they say that original sin is without fear of God and without trust in God, and that it fei the desire which remains in children after baptism.

The third: of two natures in Christ, that he should be true God and man, is admitted in all things.

The fourth, of the merit of good works, is admitted in that we may merit nothing by our own efforts. And therefore the Pelagians are damnable heretics. But is rejected

in that they do not confess with us the merit of good works done by divine grace.

The fifth, of the word and sacraments, is admitted, that thereby, as by an instrument, the Holy Ghost is given. But that they should speak of faith alone, and not of love and hope, is rejected.

The sixth, of good works, is admitted in that faith should bring good works, and rejected in that they say faith alone makes righteous, in which they wrongly understand the words of Christ Luc. 17, Pauli and Ambrosii ad Rom. 3. 4. 2c.

The seventh, of the church, is rejected, because they would understand that the church is the assembly of the saints alone; for in the church are gathered together both good and evil. But this is admitted, that the church may abide for ever.

The eighth: of ministers of the church, that even the wicked may preach and minister sacraments, is admitted in all things.

The ninth: of baptism, is also altogether admitted, that infants should be baptized, and Anabaptists not admitted.

The tenth: of the reverend Sacrament of the Altar, is also admitted, but with this appendix, that one should firmly believe under every form of the Sacrament the whole of Christ, and that the substance of the bread be truly changed into the body of Christ.

The eleventh, confession, is also permitted, with two requirements. First, that one confess at Easter time, according to Cap. Oniriis utriu8<^u6 86xu8. Second, that one remember beforehand to confess all the sins of which one's conscience knows oneself guilty, and not to conceal any of them with one's own will.

The twelfth, of repentance, is allowed, that a sinner, if he be converted, may be forgiven his sin as often as he sins. But it is rejected, first, in that they do not put more than two parts of repentance. Secondly, in that they say that faith is one part of repentance. Third, in that they do not confess repentance, which is the third part of repentance.

The thirteenth: of the use of the sacraments, is entirely admitted, namely, that the sacraments are not only signs among men, but also testimonies of the divine will toward us.

The fourteenth, of the ecclesiastical estate, is allowed, that no man shall preach, or minister sacraments, unless he be duly called, with this
Addendum, that such appointment shall be made according to the old order of Christian churches, not whom the secular authorities or the mob shall choose, but whom the bishop, or whoever else by right or custom has to do it, shall call or appoint.

The fifteenth, of the customs of the churches, is also admitted, that they should be kept, if they may be kept without sin. But they are rejected because they say that such customs are contrary to the Gospel, if they are done to propitiate God or for sin.

The sixteenth: of secular authority, is altogether admitted, with condemnation of the Anabaptists, who do not wish to suffer any authority among Christians.

The seventeenth: of the last judgment, is also altogether admitted, with rejection of the Anabaptists and others, who would at last admit salvation and blessedness to devils and the damned.

The eighteenth: of free will, is also admitted, namely, that we have a free will in human things; but in divine things we may accomplish nothing without the grace of God.

The nineteenth: of cause of sin, is also admitted, namely, that not GOD, but man's will is the cause of sin.

The twentieth, of faith and good works, is rejected. For they will not confess that by good works one may obtain remission of sins.

The twenty-first: of honouring and calling upon the saints, is also rejected, because they confess the error of the Vigilantii, the Waldenses, Picards 2c. and do not want to call upon the saints, in which they act against the Scriptures of both Testaments and against all teachers 2c.

End of article.

The other part of princely confession of abuses.

In this part no piece is admitted, for they are called abuses, which is not abuse.

Of the two forms of the Sacrament

Scripture and ancient sacred teachers indicate that it has always been the custom in the Christian Church to receive this sacrament outside of the Mass under one form, namely bread, and that it is rather an abuse to offer both forms to the laity, contrary to the order of the Church and without God's command.

Of the priests and monks marriage

It is also proved here from Scripture, from ancient teachers and many conciliarities, that not priestly purity, but rather lewd marriage of monks and priests is an unpleasant abuse, for eleven hundred years ago such was condemned in the heresy of Joviniani, and all their arguments are justified and resolved with good reason of Scripture.

From the fair

First, it is condemned that they hold the German mass contrary to the custom of the common churches. Second, that they consider it an abuse that he who serves the altar must live from the altar, because Scripture permits this in Luc. 10 and 1 Cor. 9 2c. Thirdly, that they have sacrificed many instituted masses against the glory of God, and against the last will and testament of the donors, for a sacrilege. Fourth, that they deny the sacrifice of the mass, which is an ancient heresy (as St. Augustine indicates), Arianorum, and Sacrificium Missae, proved in many writings, as well as in the most ancient teachers and councils, for which reason the mass should by no means be denied.

From confession

First, it is considered an abuse that so few people in Luther's sect confess. Second, that they are silent about repentance and satisfaction for sin. Third, that they wrongly understand and interpret Chrysostom's words about oral confession. Fourth, that they do not confess all secret sins of which they are aware, which is an old heresy of Montanorum, who were ashamed to confess all sins.

From the difference of the food

First, that they despise the statutes and authority of the church against Christ, Luc. 10, and Paul, 1 Thess. 2 2c. Secondly, that they regard such statutes as useless. Third, that they say it is contrary to faith, contrary to the gospel, contrary to the commandments of God. Fourth, that they consider it impossible. Fifth, that they wrongly understand Christ and Paul from such statutes. Sixth, that they would have all these things free and unbidden.

Of monastic vows"

First, that they would take such vows, contrary to so many writings in both Testaments. Second, that they consider the monastic life unseemly, contrary to so many thousands of holy
People who have lived and been saved in it from the beginning of Christianity until now. Third, that they would have such vows free, contrary to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Fourth, that they say such vows are impossible, contrary to so much Scripture and the promise of Christ. Fifth, that they say that monks and nuns should not be separated in marriage. Sixthly, that they say such a life is contrary to the gospel, when it is evident that it is according to the gospel, and for Christ's sake leave father and mother, house and home, according to his counsel, Matt. 19, Luke 9, and 14, 2c.

From the church power

First of all, they reject the jurisdiction, authority, liberties, and privileges of the clergy that have come to them from emperors and kings. Secondly, that they do not permit the writings of the clergy to be used, and that they suppress their jurisdiction. Third, that they despise the freedom of the consecrated against the Scriptures and imperial laws. Fourth, that they want to subject the clergy to the secular courts, which is also contrary to Scripture and imperial law. Fifthly, that they have, contrary to the commandments of the church, reproached them for their wanton liberty, as if they were not obliged to keep them. Sixth, that they want to throw away even good order for the sake of the abuses of the clergy. Finally, His Imperial Majesty desires that they again come to Christian unity, and help to bring all abuses into proper order. Amen.

1017 Melanchthon's letter to Camerarius from the Confutation before it had been handed over.

This letter is found in Melanchthon's epist. ack Camerar., p. 139 and in Cyprian's Beilagen zur Hist. der Augsb. Conf. p. 192. also in the 6orp. Kek. Vol. II, 229, dated July 26, 1530.

Translated into German.

The opponents have not yet answered, but I hear that their confutation is ready, and will appear within two or three days. It is said that the Emperor will give orders that everything should be set in the previous state until the disputes are examined in a concilio. The council shall come to that. And if this pronouncement be not mitigated, ye may easily he-

...what unrest it will bring about. Our Prince's cousin is said to have put this harsh opinion on the track; if he would let go of his great stubbornness, which, as you know, is quite iron, everything would go better here. That is it all with each other. Capito has come here from Strasbourg, but is still in silence, and the other day asked the one at Mainz that he might be admitted for consultation. Since the statement described above was made against us, the man from Mainz did not want to be present, because he had already argued very vehemently the day before and could not bring our prince's cousin to softer thoughts; but the theologians at the court of Mainz have been excluded by Eck from the meeting that is being held against us. Arnold, whom I recommend to you, will tell you the most salutary advice of the Spanish noble heads in our cause. Philip.

(9) Now I have had a letter from Strasbourg that the French and Lorraine are in great armor, and the king has commanded in Alsace that the French should be accepted and allowed to live on their pennies until further notice. There is talk that the king wants to use them against the Swiss and the cities.

010 This is certain, that Eck and Faber are very urgent, that we should do it by force, and yield nothing; and the Hispanics are not pleased that our people should thus advise war, neither have they provided that so many princes should be opposed to us.

(11) The great chancellor Mercurinus spoke to the king at Bononia about the Concilii, and when the king said that the pope did not want it, the great chancellor answered again and admonished the king not to let it go, and to remember that he was lord.

1018 Philipp Melanchthon's news about the Confutation of the Confession before its reading, and conjectures about the attacks of the opposite.

In Cyprian's Supplements to the Hist. of the Augsb. Conf., p. 194, from Melanchthon's autograph. Also in the Oorp. Rsk. There Bretschneider remarks that it is not a "concern" (as Walch calls it), but a leaf belonging to a letter, in which Melanchthon communicates news.

1. we shall be read the confutation, not in the name of the theologians, but of the emperor.

002 And for this cause is healed by the emperor's men.

(3) It also looks to me as if the reading will be followed by the question whether we may suffer the Lord to judge us?

(4) But it was said, that the king would offer to change abuses, provided that the statutes of the church remain.

005 It is advised that we stop for the sake of the council.

(6) The pope has urged hard that the emperor should not take any action, but should straightway lead his army into Germany and suppress the cause by force.

7th And may the popes not hear talk of the Concilio.

008 The Hispanics have advised that both forms should be allowed to those who ask them, but the legate will not.

1019 Imperial speech delivered by Count Palatine Frederick to the protesting estates before the reading of the Confutation on August 3, 1530.

From an unnamed nnalor npoloZins raunu86riptu6 recorded in Müller's Historie von der evang. Stände Protestation, lib. Ill, eup. 24, p. 698.

Let it be remembered that the five princes, the 1) Elector, the four princes and related cities have presented their opinion and confession, as they called it, to Imperial Majesty and requested to be read publicly. Majesty, and requested to hear it read publicly, which was done; whereupon Her Majesty graciously requested to consider the same Confession further on Her Majesty's occasion. Now that Her Majesty has had a counter-answer drafted by scholars of many nations and experienced men, which also pleases Her Majesty, the same should now be publicly read out; with the request that the reported Electors, Princes, 2) and cities with the Pope and Her Majesty, as well as other Christian kings, potentates, Electors, Princes, and Estates, should compare themselves in a Christian manner, so that in the event of a counter-case Her Majesty would not be forced to use Her Majesty's imperial office. Imperial Office.

1) So put by us instead of: "the five Churfürsten, princes" 2c.

2) In our original: "Churfürsten und"; in the original probably: "Chur-, Fürsten und".

1020. notice of Count Palatine Frederick made on account of imperial majesty after the reading of the confutation to the Elector of Saxony and his followers.

This writing, besides the locations given in the previous number, is found inCölestinus,toru. Ill, x. 17, and in Chyträus, p. 213 according to the Latin, and p. 312 according to the German edition.

Because the Imperial. Majesty has so considered the Scripture read to him, and has found it to be Christian and so arranged that it cannot be refuted or rejected: Her Majesty's gracious and very serious request is that the Elector of Saxony and other princes and cities of this part, together with their prelates, should adhere to the same document equally and unanimously, as the Imperial Majesty would certainly want to do, and would be willing to rely on it.

1021: The protesting Estates, after the reading of the Confutation, by the Chancellor Brück, in which they request the copy of the same.

Both this and the next following scripture are found in Cölestin, Chyträus and Müller at the places indicated in the previous number.

Their Electoral and Princely Grace Together with the cities related to this matter they have listened to the document read out, and as much as their electors and princes have heard. They have noted that some of the articles of confession previously read and presented by them have been displaced by the sayings of the Scriptures and the fathers, and by the statutes of the rights and councils of those who have compiled such writings. So that their sovereign and princely sovereigns may decide on such a most important matter, concerning the salvation and harm of souls, and that they, together with their subjects and relatives, may satisfy their consciences on it, their sovereign and princely sovereigns, as well as the towns and cities, would like to have this article published. Their nobles and princes, as well as the cities, have an unavoidable need to receive such a document, or a copy of it, and to examine it with the best diligence, and to consider whether their previously submitted articles have been thoroughly transposed with the indicated reasons of the Holy Scriptures, and also how and in what manner the sayings of the fathers, together with the relevant conciliation, would be implemented against it. For it would be known that a special rule would apply to those who are to be given to their Imperial Majesty. Maj.

The only thing that could be said is that the rights described by the laws of the Church of Saxony and her Majesty are not to be believed in their advice and sayings, for as far as the rights that are attracted by them would confirm and prove their pretence. On the contrary, the Elector of Saxony and his Electorate wanted to have their rights confirmed and proven. Gn. Rather, it would be necessary for the Elector of Saxony, and his kinsmen, to get hold of the mentioned scripture, and to actually and diligently consider how the scripture, along with the fathers' sayings and conciliarities, which are referred to in such scripture, would be conducted. For this purpose, her Majesty's decree for this Imperial Diet clearly states that every opinion and view should be heard, and that it should be discussed and considered in love and kindness what has not been rightly interpreted on both sides; which discussion in love and kindness, and consideration of what has not been rightly interpreted on both sides, requires that the reasons and views of one part of the other part should not be withheld, but revealed and delivered, so that it may be determined what has not been rightly interpreted by each part. Thus to those to whom the Imperial Majesty of the Elector Majesty of the Elector of Saxony and his co-relatives, would have been just as little able as they to actually take up the matters in dignity, where such a confession, after having been read out, would have been put on the agenda of the Imperial Majesty of Saxony. Majesty. Majesty's request. In addition, Imperial Majesty Majesty, together with the attending Electors, Royal Dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, also Princes and Estates of the Empire, that such would not be refused in much lesser legal matters, but that Oopia proäueti cmni eonipstsnti törrnino äsliftsrunäi would be decerned and recognized. Therefore it would be the most humble request of the Elector, the Princes and cities of this part that Imperial Maj. Maj. would graciously, for the sake of all these and similar most important circumstances and opportunities of the trade, let the read consulation document, or a copy of it, come to their hands, so that their Electors and Fathers and the cities would overlook and move it, and let their need again be heard in a Christian manner against their Maj.

1022 The Emperor's answer given by Count Palatine Frederick to the Estates to the request and plea that one should send them a copy of the read Confutation.

See the previous number. Also in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. II, p. 179, from Ansbach's Acts at Nuremberg, No. 18, likewise in Brück's Geschichte des Reichstags zu Augsburg, p. 72. The Palgrave read this answer from a note.

Imperial Roman Maj. Maj. our most gracious Lord, at the request of the Elector of Saxony and the other Princes and two cities, have resolved to hand over to them the read imperial document, as such has been presented orally and further on their behalf, namely thus: so that it may be felt by men that Imperial Maj. Maj.'s gracious mind and opinion do not stand otherwise than to comply with the writ graciously and with all due diligence. Her Imperial Majesty wished to have the document sent to them, but in such a way that Her Majesty would not enter into any further correspondence with them by handing over this document. For the matter has now been sufficiently introduced in all parts of the writ. And is the Imperial Maj. Maj.'s gracious request that they consult with their Imperial Maj. Maj. and the same Princes, Princes, and Estates, as the resolution of the document read to them contains and is capable of doing.

Imperial Maj. Maj. is also of the opinion that, in view of their relationship to Her Majesty, they will not allow the reported or any other of their writings to be printed, nor will they allow them to come out of their hands or give them; Her Majesty wishes to provide them with this entirely. This Her Imperial Maj. Maj. does not wish to restrain them at their request and plea of gracious opinion.

1023 Spalatin's news of the above circumstances.

This writing is found in the collective editions: in the Wittenberg i 1569). Vol. IX, p. 423; in the Jenaer (1566), Vol. V, p. 98; in the Altenburger, Vol. V, p. 224 and in the Leipziger, Vol. XX, p. 232. Where Walch got knowledge that it was Spalatin's message is unknown to us.

Thereupon D. Brück of the Elector and Princes also of related cities requests to deliver to their electors and f. gn. the read document, that then their high necessity has required 1) to see themselves in it.

Thereupon by reason of Imperial Majesty. Duke Frederick of Bavaria, after having held council, answered: because it was now late and the matters were important, Imperial Majesty wanted to consider them and to know the answer in time. Maj. would consider it, and in due time give her beloved an answer. Quinta Augusti we have received an answer from Imperial Maj. Maj. that the princes and princesses, together with their own, should be bound by their oaths.

1) So set by us. Jn the editions: "have required themselves "ic.

to undertake against Imperial Maj. Maj. that they would not give their Confutation to anyone nor have it copied, nor would they answer it, and then they would be given a copy of the Confutation. Whereupon ours argued that Imperial Maj. Maj. would graciously remember the letter, as it would be unseemly to say to Imperial Maj. Maj. would be to say that they were thus treated unkindly.

Soon after this Archbishop of Mainz, Joachim Margrave, Elector, Duke Henry of Brunswick, and others stood up and asked Imperial Maj. Maj. asked that her Maj. graciously permit them to take action with the protesting churons and princes. Maj. has permitted; likewise also ours.

Melanchthon's Letter to Luther of the Confutation Read. August 6, 1530.

This letter is found in Melanchthon's epict., lib. I, r>. 16; in Cölestin, tom. III, p. 25; in Chyträus according to the Latin edition, p. 215, and according to the German, p. 317; in Cyprian in the Beilagen zur Historie der Augsb. Conf., p. 195, and in the Oorp. Uet., vol. II, 253.

The postmen are coming much more sparingly than we would have liked, especially at the time when our cause is being severely attacked. We finally heard the papists' confutation on the third of August, along with the Emperor's declaration, which was quite harsh. For before the Confutation was read, the Emperor said that he wanted to stick to the opinion that he had written down, and that he wanted our princes to agree with him. If not, then he, as a patron of the church, would no longer tolerate such division in Germany.

This was the sum of the speech. Although this was very harsh, nevertheless, since the Confutation was very childish, our people became quite cheerful after reading it. For this Confutation is the most outstanding of all of Faber's childish and ludicrous books. Of both, he drew on the story of the sons of Eli, that they would ask a morsel of bread from the priest, and from this he proved that the laity alone should receive the form of bread. They defended the mass with particularly cold and lame antics. When Joachim 2) came back after the reading of the Confutation (for I was not present), he said that it was a great mistake for me to have been so much concerned about the various disputations of human tradition.

2) Camerarius.

...that I'm worried about... For such thoughts would never enter their minds.

The Bavarians have requested a copy of the Confutation, but the Imperial Majesty has taken it into consideration. Maj. took it into consideration, and the following day again admonished our Princes to unite and compare themselves with their Imperial Majesty by means of the Confutation. Maj. by means of the Writ of Confutation. Let also their Imperial Maj. Maj. should have the document sent to them, but in such a way that it would not be printed or copied. There has been a long dispute about this, until finally the Archbishop of Mainz and his brother, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Brunswick have decreed to our Princes and requested that they not press further, so that Imperial Majesty would not be moved more violently. Maj. would not be moved more violently. They wanted to think of convenient ways and means by which the whole matter could be amicably settled and reconciled. So we have not yet been able to see the same confutation, and today we are waiting to see what means those princes will propose. There you have all our news.

(4) All good-hearted and understanding people are now much more courageous and joyful after they have heard the confutation so childishly made. Our princes could more easily obtain peace if they would diligently ask the Emperor himself and some more understanding princes for it, and if they would ask for it in an official manner; but they are quite negligent in this, and, as I think, secretly indignant that they do not do so. The whole matter is in God's will, and is not governed by human diligence. Meanwhile, I am impatient with our negligence, and I think that God is depriving us of this human help, so that we do not trust in ourselves. Therefore, you will pray diligently that God will preserve and keep us and give us peace. The Landgrave is keeping himself quite well and moderate; he has expressly told me that for the sake of peace he also wants to accept very burdensome conditions, as long as they can be tolerated without disgrace and harm to the Gospel. Hereby commanded by God. August 6, 1530.

1025 Melanchthon's Letter to Luther. August 8, 1530.

In Cölestin and Chytraeus, in the places given in the preceding number, and in the 6orp. Uek., vol. II, 259.

After the Emperor had earnestly and steadily urged that ours should compare with the confutation made by Faber, and ours, on the other hand, vehemently urged that we should be given the
Confutation, and it was not possible to come to an agreement about it, several princes have admonished ours to desist from this diligent request and promise that they will think of a reasonable peace and unity by means and ways. This I indicated in the next letter. But behold, soon the next day the Landgrave secretly departs, even though he has left orders behind him. The Emperor, as soon as he hears of it, requests of our people that they not depart, especially because their Imperial Majesty has allowed the Prince to leave. Majesty has permitted the princes to deal amicably with our people. This demand of the Emperor seemed just. To this the nobles replied that they would not leave without the knowledge of their Imperial Majesty. Imperial Majesty's knowledge. What the Landgrave's concerns and intentions are, I cannot say with certainty. But it seems to me that the inequity of the actions that had occurred had moved him to the point where he no longer had any hope of obtaining peace. But to say what I think, the pretence of moderation in such dealings was suspicious to me.

Now the princes, who took up the negotiation, have not yet given anything that would particularly serve peace. The entrance has been from the Imperial Majesty's gracious and paternal will. Maj.'s gracious and paternal will, and that Her Majesty desires that they settle with Her Majesty and other princes and chieftains, and prevent their own, as well as the common German nation's, damage and harm that might arise from their stubbornness and division. The Elector of Brandenburg has done this extensively to deter ours from their doctrine. We do not yet know whether they will propose other painful means. The ghost of the Speier monks, of which Eisleben writes, undoubtedly means a terrible noise. God be with us always. Aug. 8, 1530.

1026 Melanchthon's Letter to Luther (?). Aug. 6, 1530.

This letter is found in Cölestin, tom. III, p. 28 and in 6orp. Lei. vol. II, 252. Burkhardt, p. 183, remarks on it that, because of the letter preceding it here, he hardly believed it to be to Luther, since Melanchthon would in any case have written to Luther at greater length. We have given the time determination according to Burkhardt.

Translated from the Latin.

We have at last once heard the refutation of our confession; only merely heard it, for we cannot obtain that it will give us

is given into the hands. However, according to my understanding, it is done with the good sense of those who understand that it is not written accurately, and that it would be highly detrimental to the reputation of Imperial Majesty, who would be able to present it to us in her name. Majesty, who would be able to present it to us in her name, if it were to come to light. The false and perverse theologians wanted to protect themselves with this lion's skin, so that they would make themselves even more fearful to us. But methinks that all honest men, having heard such refutation, would have fallen still more in with our party, and that the opponents, who have sense, should have felt great displeasure that such ravings should have been forced upon the Emperor's Majesty. Majesty.

Now we await what they will do with us. The emperor makes his opinion clear, but well-meaning princes still have proposals for peace. May the Lord Christ grant us the same. In the month of August 1530.

1027 Luther's Letter to Melanchthon. Aug. 15, 1530.

This letter is found in Buddeus, p. 183, after the Jena manuscript; in Cölestin, toni. III, x>. 28 d; in the Latin collection of letters of Flacius, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 133. German in the Wittenberg edition, < 1569), vol. IX, p. 432; in the Jena (1566), vol.V, p. 120 d; in the Altenburg, vol.V, p. 248, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 191. We have translated according to De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To his exceedingly dear brother in the Lord, N. Philipp Melanchthon, confessor of Christ at Augsburg.

Grace and peace in Christ, who is a Lord even over his enemies! We have received all your letters, and I praise God, who has made the refutation of the adversaries so limpid. - But "fresh through!" Before, I had heard it, but did not want to believe it. But after I had read Eisleben's letter first of all, which at the same time deals with riots and devils 1), I was very frightened, because I feared that terrible horrible things would happen. However, at that very hour I was quite moved by other things. But Chri

stus lives and reigns. After all, the devils (if they so choose) may become monks or nuns. No form is more suitable for them than the one under which they have sold themselves to the world for worship. I have interpreted this entirely to mean that there is some unrest in Augsburg, for the winds and the downpours have been raging here in such a way that I was almost frightened by the roar, and the clear weather has not yet returned. I begin to bear desire for you, and wish that the Lord may bring you home shortly, amen. "It may well" this delay and unjust treatment 2) "make another landgrave weary."

I hope that Caspar Müller has arrived and has delivered our letters. Did I not also predict that you would torture yourself in vain over the statutes, because this matter is too much beyond the comprehension of the sophists? There has been an eternal dispute about the laws, even among the greatest men, and it is something entirely apostolic to judge about them purely and certainly. For there is no writer except the one Paul, who has written completely and perfectly about this matter, because it is the death of all reason to judge about the law; the Spirit alone is the judge here. What, therefore, can the sophists, who are also deprived of reason, do here? "Well, we have done him enough." Now is the time for the Lord alone to do it, who ruleth and keepeth you, amen.

I have finally also put down Ezekiel out of weariness, not only because of the illness of the head, and in the meantime I am translating the minor prophets and will finish these within a week, God willing; for there are only Haggai and Malachi left. I am occupied with these more for the sake of comfort than for work. Greet all of us respectfully. Farewell. From the desert, August 15, 1530.

Martin Luther.

2) Instead of inälAnutio [indignation] we have assumed iucliAultus with Cölestin, Buddeus and Aurifaber.

1) Namely of a spook that monks in disguise had crossed the Rhine at Speier. Cf. no. 1058 in this volume.

Luther's letter to his wife to tell Pomeranus and others what he had heard about the reading and refusal of the copy of the Confutation. August 14, 1530.

This letter is found in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 557; in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 186; and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 131.

Grace and peace in Christ. My dear Käthe! This messenger passed by in such a hurry that I could not write anything more without wanting to let him go without my handwriting. You may tell Mr. Johann Pommern and everyone that I want to write more soon. We have nothing from Augsburg yet, but wait all hours for message and writing. We have heard that our opponent's answer is to be read publicly, but no copy has been given to ours so that they can answer it. I know not if it be true. Where they shun the light so, ours will not stay long. I have been almost well since St. Lawrence's day, and have not felt any buzzing in my head; that has made me very happy to write, for up to now the buzzing has been a nuisance to me. Greetings to all, and everything; another time. God be with you, amen, and pray confidently, for it is well laid out, and God will help. Given on the Sunday after St. Lawrence's Day [14 Aug.] Anno 1530. Martinus Luther.

G. From the Apology of the Augsburg Confession.

1029.

The first and still imperfect apologia.

First draft of the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, which was presented to Emperor Carl on Sept. 22 at the Imperial Diet of 1530, but was not accepted.

This writing had Chyträus printed after a manuscript of Spalatin in the Latin edition of his Uist. XuZ. aont., p. 337. it is then reprinted in the appendix of Pfaff's edition likr. "odesia" "vanASlioatz dolio, p. 94. Another Latin recension from
The first edition of the Margravial Brandenburg Neichstag Acts of 1530, No. 19, is found in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. II, p. 483. A third redaction is in the ducal library in Wolfenbüttel. It consists of 57 leaves in folio format, thirty of which are written by Spalatin, but 21 by Melanchthon's own hand. Among the latter, ten or twelve pages are blank. That written by Spalatin is a fair copy, but here and there with corrections by Melanchthon, while that written by Melanchthon is a concept, often crossed out and changed. Reprinted in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 357-380. - But also in German language the Apology in its first draft is already published in 1577 by the provost of Berlin Georg Cölestin in his first edition of the German Augsburg Confession. He gives the text "faithfully copied according to Philippi and the theologians and hand present at the time". Bertram has published this text in his litterar. Abhandlungen, Theil III, p. 56. Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, Vol. II, p. 530, has another edition of this writing, not significantly different from this one, from a volume of acts of the Hessian secret state archives at Casfel. The imprint in Cölestin was so unknown that even Salig did not know about it and had Walch retranslate it from the Latin of Chyträus. We leave it at the old translation, and limit ourselves to making the most necessary improvements according to Förstemann.

Translated from the Latin by M. A. Littet.

1. Majesty will immediately see that those who wrote the refutation of our confession acted not only without understanding, but also without honesty. For they attack in vain the description of original sin when they say: The fear of God and trust in God are effects (avtvw), and thus if original sin were not well described, that it would be an absence of such effects, because not even the nature of children in the state of innocence would have had such effects in itself. But the German Confession says that we are not speaking of the effects, but of the gifts which nature had in the state of innocence. For this is the description there: "Further, it is taught that after the fall of Adae all men who are born naturally are conceived and born in sins, that is, that they are all full of evil desire and inclination from their mother's womb, and can have no true fear of God, no true faith in God by nature." Here the words show that we are not speaking of actual sins, but of the faculty, namely, that men, being born naturally, cannot by natural powers bring forth a true fear of God and a true trust toward God. And this is nothing new, that fear and trust are not only effects, but also gifts. And we have spoken with diligence in such a way that we have the ge-.

explained my description of original sin, which is somewhat obscure. For they otherwise describe it thus: original sin is a lack of inherent righteousness. But we prefer to take the parts that there is a lack of the fear of God, a lack of trust in God 2c. For inherent righteousness would have put the fear of God and trust in God in the children who are born. And we have counted these things because, when others speak of original sin, they only touch on the most base desires against the other table, but do not mention the much worse vices of nature, namely, how in nature there is contempt for God, distrust of God, and such spiritual harm and corruption. They think nothing of this in schools. In the meantime, they argue in vain whether the tinder (of original sin) is a property of the body; whether it came in through the infection of the apple or the poisonous blowing of the snake?

002 But that they add that this is also a damned article of Luther, that original sin remains after baptism, is an unnecessary blasphemy. For they know well that Luther, rightly taught, that guilt was forgiven through baptism, although the rnatsrigls of sin, as one speaks, still remains. This Luther calls sin. For so also speaketh the Scripture and Augustine. Others call it tinder; and, according to philosophical opinions, dream that the nature of man, though it may be weak, can yet of its own ability produce the fear of God, trust in God, and such like impulses. And because they left the Gospel aside and introduced Aristotle into the church, who wrote that the affections (or movements of the mind) were mean things, they also judged that tinder (or the lust for blood) was a mean thing. So the school teachers kept the name of original sin, but did not explain the matter properly. Therefore Luther had to explain what original sin is, and how guilt is taken away and sin begins to be put to death by the Holy Spirit, but that it is not yet entirely taken away. Likewise the law of sins, which is in the members of the body, is remitted in spiritual regeneration, and yet remains in the mortal body; remitted, because the guilt is abolished by the sacrament in which believers are born again. From this her Imperial Majesty will easily see that Majesty will easily see that we speak and believe of original sin just as the Catholic Church believes.

1) In Latin vitia; with Förstemann in German: Lüste.

From the IVth and VIth articles.

(3) In the fourth and sixth articles there is a great deal of controversy about merit, but it is not really stated how far the works of men are meritorious. And those who do not explain this, with their praise of works, completely obscure the righteousness of faith, which is of great need to the pious, and which must especially prevail and be preached in the church.

004 But how modestly they speak now of merit! Before this, when they spoke of the remission of sins, and of justification, there was no thought of faith; works only were thought of. They also said, that works without the Holy Spirit merited grace, but afterwards, with grace, they merited eternal life. So the whole Christian doctrine was nothing but a human worldly wisdom of civil morals. For this also they evidently wrote: A good work done without grace, and a good work done with grace, are of the same kind, and grace contributes only so much that eK is regarded as merit.

005 They so emphasized the ability of human nature, that they thought there was no need of the Holy Ghost. Yes, some were still in doubt as to whether grace does anything in the justified. They also taught that man could keep God's commandment by natural ability, according to the nature of the thing (or deed), although the appearance of merit would be removed.

(6) Such blasphemies were not punished by popes at that time, but rather were freely taught in schools. But since there were doubts about indulgences, and also about the tyrannical rule of the pope, they were first made into intolerable heresies, and they were considered worthy of being made terrible examples of.

(7) But where there have been more thoughtful theologians, they have gradually improved much in such scholastic teaching. They recognize that more than reasonable philosophy has crept into Christian doctrine; they see that the human faculty has been exalted too high; they admit that the commandments of God do not only command civil duties, which reason can still meet to some extent, but also spiritual emotions, such as faith, hope, invocation of God, love of one's neighbor, killing of the flesh 2c.

008 They also now gladly add faith, when they speak of justification and remission of sins, that sins are not imputed unto them for faith's sake,

who believe that they are forgiven for Christ's sake.

009 But they make a little of the merit of works, and confess that it is small. They say that works done in grace deserve eternal life, but minus prineipalitsr. Out of such a heap of evil opinions they have kept this little piece.

010 And even if works were to some extent meritorious, yet our article is quite rightly and catholically worded, that the works commanded by God are indeed necessary to be done, but yet in such a way that we do not defy them, as if we thereby merited grace and righteousness, but merely and solely by the merits and voluntary promise of Christ. So much is written in our article. And there is no doubt that all Catholics confess and preach this; for thus saith the Prophet in the Psalm, "Thou wilt not enter into judgment with thy servant, for there is none living that is righteous before thee." Likewise, "If thou wilt impute sin, O Lord, who shall stand?" And Augustine says, "God does not bring us to eternal life by our merits, but by His mercy. So our Article commands us to do good works because of the divine will and command, and yet rejects reliance on works. This all pious and catholic men have always rejected, and it is a grievous blindness of the adversaries to be so defiant about merits, when they themselves confess that all our good works are impure, as the Scripture saith, "Who can say, I am pure in heart?" Fie! that we still boast of merits in such impurity of heart, since even the saints complain that they do not trust God, are angry with God's judgment, are plagued by many evil desires.

(11) The adversaries destroy Christ's saying with a fictitious interpretation, of which wise men can easily see what men will judge when it comes to light. "When ye have done all things, say, We are unprofitable servants;" they interpret it thus: Unprofitable servants to the dear God, not to ourselves.

012 What might not all things be said against this paltry interpretation, if I spared not your imperial majesty, our most gracious lord? For since the adversaries would put their names before their writing, they ought to have written with more diligence and accuracy.

(13) Ambrose has explained this passage much better, when he says: "It follows, therefore, that no one has to boast of works, because we owe obedience to God by right. And

Soon after: Grace must be praised, but the weakness of nature must not be forgotten. But let us briefly prove that this word of Christ condemns merit and the confidence of merit. Christ has this very thing in view, that he would draw us away from ungodly confidence in our works. But he makes a conclusion of the same thing, that we could not make God our debtor. As a servant who does his duty does not make his master his debtor, so you also, he says, cannot make God your debtor, since you are servants. But since God is not a debtor, it necessarily follows that we cannot boast that works are meritorious. For how do they merit, since God owes them nothing?

014 To which is added, that he calleth us unprofitable servants. He that understandeth the manner of speaking, seeth easily that it is called unprofitable servants. For who fears God enough? who believes him as he should? Who loves God enough? Who is patient enough in tribulation? Who loves his neighbor rightly? Who does in all things as his profession requires? So he calls them "useless" korinulitsr, for one must speak to the sophists in a dialectical way. So Paul teaches that works are unclean: "I do not the good that I will, but the evil that I will not." Likewise, "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit." For sin, lust, contempt of God, distrust of God is in nature. These infirmities also trouble the saints and hinder good works. This is the true and louder opinion of the words of Christ.

(15) So the conclusion follows, which removes the confidence of works: Since GOD is not a debtor, nor are our works sufficient: who then can boast of merit? Will even a servant boast, if he has tilled the field very badly?

016 Finally, even the interpretation of the adversaries does us no good. For if the works of God are of no use, it follows that he owes them nothing. If he owes them nothing, how can they have the glory of merit?

017 But let us put aside these apparent subtleties, since every one sees that in this very saying Christ wished to punish confidence in works. And yet the adversaries seek to destroy such testimony by a false and deceitful interpretation. But there is no need for further argument. For it is clear that the Scriptures everywhere declare that we do not boast of ourselves, that we do not rely on our works or our abilities.

1) inadequate, insuKeisntes.

defy. Therefore we have rightly said that the works commanded by God must be done, and yet one must not rely on such works, but on the grace of Christ.

018 But, say they, the scripture requires the word "reward," therefore good works are meritorious. What do the adversaries bring forward but such childish and paltry contrivances, and want to appear to argue according to right reasoning, since they do not understand the language of Scripture? But that we may not endure and trouble any one too long with the refutation of such petty sophisms (for they are so obscure on account of their pointed nature that they are scarcely understood even in schools), we will only briefly say that it is called "reward," not for the sake of the worthiness of works, but for the sake of the promise of God. But the promise, as Paul teaches, is received by faith, not for our works, but for the merit of Christ. Now as the promise requires faith according to Paul, so the reward requires faith because it is a promised thing. But the cause of the promise is not the value of our works, but the merit of Christ.

(19) All this would be understandable enough, if the philosophical quarrels had not suppressed Paul's doctrine of the promises, of grace, of justification, of faith, in the church. Therefore, in our confession we have been content with these two sayings and sentences: 1) that we must necessarily do good works because of the commandment of God; 2) and that we must not rely on our works, but on the gracious promise of God. For though the righteousness of the law merits rewards of the law, yet we do not merit grace and righteousness before GOD by our works. For those who attach such glory to our works diminish the glory of Christ, as Paul says, "If righteousness comes from the law, Christ died in vain."

20 And in this way we say that we are justified by faith alone, because faith grasps the grace and mercy of God, seeing that God is gracious to us for Christ's sake. This faith is counted as righteousness before God. And because he receives the Holy Spirit, the Spirit renews the hearts and impels them to do good; as it is written in the prophet, "I will put my law in their hearts"; thus good works are the fruits of faith.

021 Meanwhile, faith recognizes that for Christ's sake, not for our works, we have a gracious God. Therefore Faith is righteous, and not works, because faith looks to Christ, for whom we are saved.

022 Otherwise men would have no sure and certain comfort against sins, if we obtained grace because of our works, because we always have something frail in us. But faith giveth a sure consolation to the conscience, in that it perceiveth that for Christ's sake we are surely accepted unto grace, though works be worthless.

023 The adversaries dispute about the word "alone," and would have it their jest. For they have made up a new name, that they may pass through us, and call us *solarios,* because we teach that men are justified *sola fide*, by faith alone; they also cry out that such a word ("alone") is not found in Scripture. They complain that the sacraments are excluded from this way. But we hold that a man is justified by faith, not because of works, either antecedent or antecedent. This faith is awakened by the Word and the Sacraments. So the sacraments are not excluded, but the merit of works. This also Paul does when he speaks, "It is the gift of GOD, not of works." This negation clearly excludes works. He also often speaks, "We are justified by grace through faith." Is not then "by grace" (or in vain) also an exclusionary word? And is it not just as much as if it said, we are justified by faith alone, when it is said, we are justified by grace (or freely)? Are not works thereby excluded? Here the imperial majesty sees Majesty, that once again a quarrel has arisen over a word, and that the adversaries interpret and misuse this word *sola* (alone) in a treacherous way, since all Catholics have always confessed that forgiveness of sins takes place by grace. And the adversaries themselves do not deny it. But they have their delight in childish bickering and quarreling over words. If the word sola is so annoying to them, why do they not scrape it out of the old books? for ours did not first speak in this way. In the Confession we have drawn on the words of Ambrosius: "Thus it is ordained of God, that whosoever believeth in Christ should be saved without works, by faith alone, and receive forgiveness of sins freely. Hilarius also says in Matt. 8: "It vexed the scribes that a man should forgive sins (for they regarded Christ as merely a man), and that that should be forgiven which the law could not remit; for the law is the law.

Faith alone (*sola*) makes righteous. Do these severe judges then wish to blot out the word sola even in the books of these, which have now been read so many hundred years? But the adversaries are ashamed of nothing. This whole matter of justification has been diligently and extensively treated by Augustine against the Pelagians, and by Ambrose in several books, and since they know that we follow their opinion, they yet catch a word which they can take about.

(24) In the seventh article they intend to make us hateful by mentioning John Hus, since we soon after clearly confess that in the church in this life there are many wicked and hypocrites mixed in. These adversaries are also called dead members of the church. Therefore, when we describe the church, we understand by it the living members. And lest any one think that we are dreaming of a Platonic church (or civil society), we add the outward marks by which the church is to be recognized, namely, unanimity (or agreement) in the gospel and use of the sacraments, as the gospel teaches. That assembly is the church in which such marks are. But among those who have these marks, some are holy; who rightly use such marks, others hypocrites and wicked, who abuse such marks. What can be said of loud-mouthed men? or what godly man 1) has spoken otherwise? But the adversaries have not shunned to report their imperial. Majesty evidently false. Does not Paul say Eph. 5: "Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, and cleanse it by the washing of water in the word" 2c. ? Here he calls the church a church, not of all, but of those who are being cleansed, and adds the outward signs, baptism and word.

025 That they say that the general (universal) ordinances of men are necessary for the right unity of the churches, we constantly deny. For the ordinances of men are not the ordinances of God, which are necessary to righteousness. Therefore equality in such laws is not necessary. As other nations have different lengths of days, so they may have different customs in the church. The Scriptures teach this in many places, Rom. 14: "The kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit"; Gal. 3: "You are all children of God through the Holy Spirit.

1) Chytraeus offers: plus instead of: xius.

Believing in Jesus Christ. For as many of you as have been baptized have put on Christ. For there is neither Jew nor Greek here, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female." But hereafter.

026 In the tenth we do not say that the dead body of Christ, or a body without blood, or blood without a body, is taken, but that the whole and living Christ is present in every part of the sacrament.

27 In the eleventh, although we consider confession and absolution to be right, as is known, we do not want to bind anyone's conscience to keep the chapter: Oinriis utrius^us ssxus them. All men and women 2c. because it is an impossible commandment that one confess all sins. It is not only impossible to remember all deeds, but also impossible to know all sins. For the heart of man is evil and unsearchable; human nature is full of evil desires, wickedness, and contempt for God. These sins are so inherent in nature that they cannot be seen or understood unless the Holy Spirit shows them in our hearts. But it is necessary to teach the consciences that even sins which are not told are forgiven believers.

028 And since the people ought to have been taught of absolution, and of the faith: the one care of all them that wrote, and taught in the churches, was to accustom the people to keep a register of sins. Meanwhile all was quiet from the faith.

029 Wherefore we will not lay this burden of the chapter, All of Both Sexes 2c. upon pious consciences, since it is burdensome enough in itself, without what they have added of innumerable and most dangerous cords of glosses.

030 In the twelfth, that they say that certain works must be laid upon the confessors for satisfaction, cannot be proved from Scripture.

031 And that they should say that the punishment of eternal death is changed into a temporal punishment, which is the expiation of the power of the keys, cannot be proved. And this opinion is too near to the glory of Christ's merit and satisfaction, because Christ is the sacrifice for sin, as the Scripture says, "He is the propitiation for our sins."

032 And what wickedness is this, to think that the guilt is taken away because of the merit of Christ, and the punishment because of our works, seeing Christ is the conqueror of death and sins, as it is written in Hebrews 2, "that he destroyed by death

the one who had the dominion of death, that is, the devil, and delivered those who through fear of death had to be slaves all their lives."

033 Likewise, since the gospel preaches the forgiveness of sins by grace, it is false that sin is forgiven partly because of the death of Christ, and partly because of our atonement and repentance.

034 But though God may exercise the saints through divers afflictions, yet these cannot be put away nor taken away by the power of the keys.

035 David was punished after adultery; this punishment for sin was not necessary. But it pleased God both to humble him and to set an example to others. As he himself says, "It is good for me that thou hast humbled me, that I may learn thy statutes."

036 But when penitential canons (rules) were made in the churches, they had nothing to do with the forgiveness of sins, but were only a public chastisement, which served for an example, or that they might be tested who converted again to the church. It was a human custom that was not necessary for the forgiveness of sins or punishment.

(37) But it is not necessary to argue at length here. All pious men in all places testify that our doctrine of repentance has delivered many godly consciences from despair, and shown the true and certain consolation according to the Gospel. None of the school teachers ever set forth how sins are forgiven. This whole matter has remained unknown.

038 In the thirteenth article they require that we confess that there are seven sacraments. Of this number we have said nothing in our confession. For no one ever believed in the Church that it was necessary to count seven sacraments, when by sacraments we understand such ceremonies as Christ commanded to be kept, and to which he added the promise of grace. It is known that two such ceremonies are baptism and the Lord's Supper. Meanwhile we readily admit that absolution also may be called a sacrament, for it is a commandment and promise of Christ. We are also willing to accept that this name be given to the ordination of priests, if it is understood to mean the office of preaching, for it is God's command. Likewise also when it is given to marriage, for that also has God's command. But this (scil. Sacrament of Marriage) does not belong to the New Testament alone. Confirmation and the last rites are church customs,

But they have no express command from Christ. For this reason, these customs are to be regarded as necessary to salvation, just as other ordinances of men.

(39) And it is to be wondered at that they did not include prayer among the sacraments, since Dionysius includes it among them, and it can truly be called a sacrament, because it has a commandment from God and glorious promises. This name of a sacrament would have elevated prayer, as it were, and attracted it the more to prayer and faith.

040 But here again the adversaries lack sincerity. They do not quarrel with us about the number of the sacraments for any other cause than that they cast hatred upon us of the unintelligent. For they know well that this number has nothing dangerous in it, and yet that the simple are incensed when they hear that the sacraments are, as it were, mad. But they are strange to themselves, and do not want to know what errors they taught before, not only about the number of the sacraments, where there is no danger at all, but also about the use of them, which the Sophists have entirely perverted. For they taught that the sacraments conferred grace, and that mere works conferred grace by themselves (*ex opere operato*).

041 And this also is something more inconsistent, that a good disposition is not required for the reception of grace through the sacrament; who does not see that this is spoken quite blasphemously?

042 Wherefore this doctrine hath cast down all the faith of righteousness, and the right spiritual exercises of faith, and hath set up confidence in works, which falleth away in death and in the judgment of God. And afterwards consciences have had no consolation, because the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins and of righteousness by grace was not known. Now, however, even most of the adversaries recognize the usefulness of the doctrine which has driven ours from the use of the sacraments, namely, that the sacraments do not confer grace for the sake of mere action or deed, but that they are instituted to awaken faith, and are of use when faith is present; by which the timid consciences are raised up, and believe that God cares for them and accepts them for grace, and that they are heard by God for Christ's sake. For the word and the sacrament have the same effect, as Augustine also indicates when he writes: the sacrament is a visible word, that is, a sign that falls on the eyes, so that it moves the heart to faith.

(43) In the fourteenth, they demand that the ordination (or consecration) of bishops take place. Here we shall briefly reply that we desire to preserve the government of the church, and believe that it is conducive to the tranquility of the church. For this reason we would not accept ecclesiastics without the authority of bishops, if only the bishops were kinder and did not persecute true doctrine. But they ordain no one, and admit no one to the ecclesiastical office, to whom they do not lay before them the very severest points, namely, that he should not practice the doctrine of the Gospel, nor marry. And there are others that are just as hard.

44. But because our priests cannot in good conscience accept such points, they do not ask for the authority of the bishops. For "one must obey God more than men. If the bishops were to put an end to this tyranny, we would gladly give the bishops what they have to give, so that the wisely ordered scales in the Church would be preserved.

(45) And let the bishops see how they will give account to God, that they are the cause of the destruction of the obedience of the church by their stubbornness. Such tyranny does not befit shepherds, to whom, as Paul says, power has been given for edification and not for destruction.

46 In the fifteenth we find this exposed, that we have said that the doctrines of men (statutes) are not the services of God necessary to salvation. But such an article has been confirmed in our confession with many testimonies. And because we shall say more of it below, we will now only set forth one testimony, which Christ holds up to us: "In vain do they serve me with the commandments of men" [Matt. 15].

047 Since the Scriptures at such a stroke everywhere condemn the opinion that we deserve grace by services which are devised by ourselves without the word of God, what impudence is it to require these services as necessary?

(48) Of the invocation of the saints we admit that the angels and saints in heaven pray to God for the church, as the Scripture also says: that there is joy in the angels over one sinner who repents. But this serves nothing for the invocation. The invocation is uncertain and dangerous. For it has no testimony from the Scriptures; therefore we do not accept it, nor do we want to put the glory of Christ beside the glory of the saints. Christ alone is such an intercessor and mediator that he also is a reconciler. Other saints are not reconcilers. We have the command and the

Promise of Christ: "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, that shall he give you." Therefore we must call upon Him in Christ's name, and hold up this High Priest and Reconciler to deck Father. This honor cannot be transferred to other saints.

The other part.

49. This doctrine, which we have confessed, not only brings about the correction of some abuses in outward things, but also has many other and higher goods, wherefore we have embraced it, and will abide in it to the glory of God. The whole church was before pressed with the works doctrine, and the glory of the merit of Christ and the righteousness of faith lay buried in darkness. In the sermons some taught of nothing but certain statutes of men, certain fasts, feasts, ceremonies, indulgences, certain orders, certain devotions to the saints, and the like. Of faith in Christ, of the righteousness of faith, nothing was heard. But this is the main part of Christian doctrine, the righteousness of faith.

050 And one of the most precious things is the doctrine of repentance. How much it has been defiled, not only by those who have sold indulgences, but also by other hypocrites who have forgotten the faith and taught that our sins are forgiven for our own merits, who have made our consciences despair through the reckoning of sins (in confession) and through ungodly pardons.

011 Therefore, since these things of repentance and the righteousness of faith have been purified in this doctrine which our people are practicing, and the glory of Christ has been promoted, we perceive that God is offering us great gifts. We see that the consciences have received a certain and firm consolation. We see in what the right service of God consists. We see what works and ways of life are pleasing to God.

022 The knowledge of these things hath first made this doctrine of ours dear unto us. From this the adversaries make much use of themselves, though they thank those who have taught them ill.

(53) Subsequently, some changes were made in the external customs of the church, which came primarily from the above-mentioned most important article, so that we did not want to act contrary to the word of God. And yet we have moderated such changes in such a way that we have mostly remained with the Catholic customs. In addition, we have also offered, out of love, to keep the general

mine 1) To hold ceremonies with, which may be accepted without sin.

(54) But all such moderation, which we hope will help us with God, does not help us with the adversaries, who want us to accept by force all the old abuses against our conscience. But since we cannot be at their beck and call in this matter, we want to respond with a little to what, as far as we remember, has been read to us in the refutation of our confession. Maj. with due deference that she may deign to hear the reasons that require us to adhere to our opinion. For we have never lacked the will to obey Your Imperial Majesty in everything. Maj. in everything that can be done and accomplished without offence to conscience.

55 But now we cannot, without dishonoring Christ, approve of the old abuses. But if it should seem that one is speaking harshly, it is not in the least due to your Imperial Majesty, whose virtue and piety are known to the whole world. Maj. whose virtue and piety are known to the whole world, and whom we most humbly venerate as our most gracious Lord, but this whole quarrel concerns those who falsely accuse us before your Imperial Majesty of being contrary to Christian doctrine.

Of both shapes.

056 First of all, they reprove us for including among the abuses the fact that the laity are not given both forms of the sacrament, and they wish to enforce that it would be more of an abuse if the laity were given both forms.

(57) We have been asked to agree with this writing. And if it were nowhere but in this some piece objectionable, we should have high cause not to accept it. For with what mouth or insolence can we call the institution of Christ an abuse? It is known that this Sacrament was instituted by Christ for the whole Church. But how may any man dislocate the ordinance of Christ? Paul says, "No man may change a man's testament," but why do these not only change the testament of Christ, but also call it abuse? "I received it of the Lord," saith Paul, "which I gave unto you." But he had given to the whole church the use of both forms. Therefore both kinds of form are infallibly ordained for the whole church.

058 But as to the adversaries of the breaking of bread, which are found in Lucas and the Acts of the Apostles, thus

1) *universales*. This is well given in Förstemann's translation: "der gemeinen christlichen Kirche Gebräuche. "

They do not prove that in such places the sacrament was spoken of. And if it were so, they do not prove that only one form of the Sacrament was administered.

(59) They also refer to the story of Eli's descendants, to whom God threatens that he will expel them from the priesthood if they beg bread from priests. But everyone can easily see how beautifully such a story rhymes with the matter. Formerly the holding about Christ's institution was called an abuse; but now they conclude as if to indicate that the people should have been so punished as to receive from the priests only one form of the Sacrament, as the sons of Eli had to beg bread, since they were punished by God. In our opinion, those who call the preservation of the institution of Christ an abuse, and who consider the sacrament instituted for the consolation of consciences a punishment, taking away the other part, do not speak reverently of the sacrament.

060 But it is not necessary to answer this story of the descendants of Eli, since every one sees that it is drawn quite wrongly to this matter.

011 They also bring forward other proofs why it is good to give only one figure to the people, namely, that the blood may not be spilled; likewise, because it cannot be kept in vessels.

(62) But for these reasons or causes it is not necessary to abrogate Christ's institution. Therefore we maintain that it is not an abuse to use both forms of the Sacrament. For we dare not call Christ's institution an abuse.

(63) But when the testimonies of the Conciliar of Costnitz and the Conciliar of Basel are cited, neither of them calls it an abuse to use both forms. And in the decision of the Concilii of Basel it is clearly written: those who used both forms used the Sacrament rightly. Since this is so, it is rather an abuse to weigh down the consciences of men by prohibiting one form of the Sacrament.

From the priest marriage.

(64) It is to be wondered at that the canons should be insisted upon so strongly in this particular matter, when the obvious necessity of it calls for mitigation, and when they are otherwise so easily mitigated or relaxed in the smallest matters. And it is not to be denied that this prohibition of marriage is of human right only. It is also

The old canons allow priests to marry, but they do not allow them to remain in office. The old canons allow priests to marry, but they do not allow them to remain in office, yet they do not banish them. The newer canons, which should be more lenient in view of the great number of priests, are less lenient. 1)

For a time the deacons were allowed to marry in office, so that they were not forced to give up their office if they had not vowed "chastity"; but they were not forced to vow. This has subsequently been changed.

(66) For a long time it was customary for priests to keep the wives they had married before the priesthood. This was changed, but with the opposition of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Councils.

(67) If at that time one did not resent the novelty, since a change was made against the authority of the conciliation and against divine law, why does one resent the novelty now, since it is evident that nothing is done against God's commandment when the married state is granted to this class, especially in these last times, since with nature the powers of men also decrease and vices increase? therefore do not disdain the means of recovery ordained by God.

68. Yea, the divine right compels them that have not the gift of chastity to marry. For thus Paul commands, "For the sake of fornication, let every man have his own wife." This commandment absolves from the canons those who are not fit for single status, for "one must obey GOD more than men."

069 But that the adversaries suppose that the priests must be pure, because it is right that the sacraments should be administered by the pure, is well concluded. For neither is marriage unfaithfulness. For the Scripture says that marriage is honest, and the holy martyr Paphnutius, with the assent of the whole Nicene Council, said that marriage is honest, and that intercourse with one's lawful wife is chastity. This is not to be called purity, when consciences are defiled either by fornication or other rutting of lust. And Paul would rather that husbands and wives should come together again, than that they should be tempted of Satan. So he thinks it a better purity for husbands and wives to attend one another, than the pretended continence is, where the gift is not present. But there is not much of this

1) This sentence is missing in the old edition.

is to be disputed. All Scripture praises marriage, and teaches that it is God's order and appointment. Therefore, it is sanctified by God's word. There is, then, a marital purity, namely, faith, since husbands and wives are assured that this way of life is pleasing to God, and see to it that they walk according to God's commandment in this state, and neither fornicate nor commit adultery.

(Seventy) And the celibate state is not to be exalted with fancied praise, so that the consciences of married persons are burdened thereby, as if they lived in an impure state. Our opponents accuse us of following the heresy of Jovinianus, who deprives virginity of its due praise. But we do not reproach it. She retains the praise which Christ attaches to him who intertwines himself for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. We do not speak of virginity, but of the weakness of men.

(71) Virginity is praiseworthy in those who have this gift. But if some do not have the gift, it is not necessary to press them with the hard canon that commanded the celibate state. This is also the opinion of Ambrose, who says: "Virginity alone can only be advised, but not commanded; it is a matter that is based more on vows than on commandments.

Seventy-two: but they say that one should seek to obtain it by prayer and other exercises. Why then do not those do this who fight for the celibate state? For their shameful deeds are all too well known, but they are not to be told here before the chaste and honorable emperor. Rather, we answer thus: This is not praying, but tempting God, when one has experienced his weakness in battle, and yet does not want to need God's order. There are books by great men who lament the rut of these people who have resisted temptations with all earnestness, and show sufficiently how much these temptations have wounded their consciences. For Christ Himself says, "Not all grasp this word." Therefore God wants some to need His order. Therefore we must pray that the ordinance of God may not be despised, which he wants to be used by those to whom he has not given the gift, just as he wants us to need food and other creatures, since he does not preserve our life without the use of them.

Seventy-three But it is ridiculous for them to say that this word of God, "Be fruitful and multiply," applies only to the same time when there were few people, and not to ours.

Seventy-four We hold, then, that the same words create and order nature as it will be afterwards.

And it cannot be otherwise than other words of this kind, than, Let the earth bring forth green herbs. " This word clothes the fields, produces fruit yearly, brings forth food and fare for all animals. Thus this saying, "Be fruitful and" 2c. contains not only a commandment, but also the nature of nature in itself, which to change is not our, but God's work.

75. And the virgins, if they have truly kept virginity, have not done contrary to God's commandment, because they have been free from the aforementioned nature, and therefore the aforementioned commandment has not affected them, as far as the nature of nature is concerned. For a special gift and work of God made them free.

Seventy-six: But let us suppose that it is easy for every man to keep continual chastity. Who then gave the popes authority to interpret this law to the churches? especially since Paul reminded us beforehand that such laws are the doctrines of devils.

This and much more might be said in this matter if one knew nothing about it. Now, however, there is such an obvious need to mitigate this Canon that there is no need for much discussion. Those are guilty of all the lewdness and fornication of this state who defend this canon against God's commandment. Therefore we cannot agree with those who condemn the marriage of priests.

From the fair.

78. The adversaries confess that there are many abuses of the Mass. Therefore they will forgive ours, who have punished these defects, which would not have crept into the Church if the bishops had been vigilant.

(79) But it is easy to judge whether this is an abuse, if they hold a certain number of masses against their will at certain times for a reward and out of a certain compulsion of the laws of the foundations, when they are not at all skilled to do so.

80. These infirmities are so common and so well known that they cannot be disguised. But there are some others not so well known to the inexperienced, which the adversaries have touched upon above. They maintain that the mass is a sacrifice, because it was so kept a thousand years ago, and because the Greeks call it liturgy (or the sacred office, service). Likewise because Misbeach is called an altar in Hebrew, and Thysiasterion (or place of sacrifice) in Greek. Finally, because Christ says, "This doeth," but to do means as much as to sacrifice. They add that it is an Arian heresy if anyone believes that the mass is not a sacrifice.

81 And these reasons they deem sufficient that they put before them the title of their Imperial Majesty. Maj. What the people will judge of these, if they should be printed, clever people can soon see.

82. They think that the most important and highest matter of all, which is now being argued about, is sufficiently protected if a few words are brought forward which have been taken from some schoolmaster. But what do they add to the matter? Let alone that these same scribes, if they tore themselves apart, would not be able to give any derivation of their words.

83. May not such words be countered with as many others, which are much better to be heard? The Church calls it a synaxis, a communion; and the Canon itself says that many take (or enjoy) from the altar. But since this is not appropriate for silent Masses, we see from this that the use of silent Masses is quite new.

But such a great thing is not to be judged by mere opinions. And the quarrel is not about the name. We know that the mass was called a sacrifice by the ancients, because it was a memorial of the sacrifice of Christ, as Irenaeus says. And we readily admit that the holy fathers so call it. For we do not dispute with them, but with the moderns, who wrongly understand the name sacrifice, and have introduced into the Church opinions and services which are not at all in harmony with the Gospel.

85. We dispute about merit and dedication, whether the Lord's supper is a work that merits grace by the mere performance of it? Likewise, which, being performed for others, and appropriated to them, merits grace by the mere act?

86 Although the books of the adversaries are full of such things, yet no testimony can be brought forth from any ancient church scribes, that the mass, by the mere doing (or keeping) of it, obtains grace for others. For these strange and outrageous opinions or words are new, and devised by the monks, who have abused the Mass for a shameful gain. The doctrine of the *opus operatum*, and of the bestowal (or application) of the same, evidently conflicts with the Gospel and with the righteousness of faith. For Scripture teaches that we are justified by faith, and not by works. But if the mass merits grace for the sake of mere deeds, it must follow that righteousness is of works without faith. And the adversaries do not deny that they hold this opinion.

They have publicly written, not only of the holy supper, but also of sacraments in general, that no good disposition is required for the reception of grace through the sacrament. And they do not only think that he who holds or performs it is justified, but also those to whom it is administered (or for whose benefit it is administered). These, they say, necessarily attain to grace, if they do not advance a bar. Is not all this contrary to the doctrine of faith? And with this single reason we will leave it in this piece, because the matter is quite evident and well known.

(87) We receive the merit of Christ by faith. But they confer the merit of the mass on others, even without faith. So they make more of the merit of the mass than of the merit of Christ.

(88) These opinions have crept into the Church since the doctrine of the righteousness of faith was extinct, and the right use of the sacraments and ceremonies cannot be kept unless the righteousness of faith is known.

89 We therefore reject the merit of the *opus operatum*, and the consecration of the same. And since the Masses of silence have been done in the opinion, we cannot restore them, or accomodate those who defend them, but let it be a common Mass, where the Sacrament is administered to those who need it, for the consolation of the wicked consciences. For for this purpose, as we are taught in the Confession, the Sacrament was instituted. And of this use of the Sacrament the Fathers of the Church have written. And we must not be thought Arians, because we do not approve of such a devotion, which is contrary to the Gospel.

90 This also is a false pretence, that we have done away with the continual sacrifice. For if the mass were represented by the daily sacrifice, we would certainly not abolish the mass, but only improve its abuse.

91. We hold to the usage of the ancient church. Those who require the body and blood of Christ take it from some one. The people are urged to the communion and custom of the Sacrament. With the adversaries the people very seldom need the Sacrament, only some few who are urged need it. So we hold more above the use of the Sacrament and daily sacrifice, as they call it, than the adversaries.

022 But because the adversaries are so set upon this change of the still mass, and accuse us that we, like one Antiochus, are abolishing the continual sacrifice, it is necessary to say something more of it.

93. Numbers 28 describes the daily sacrifice. A lamb was burned, and bread sprinkled with oil was offered. Then came the drink offering, a certain measure of wine. This was a constant ceremony. Now if any man will that this signifieth the mass, let it be so, but that it may comprehend the whole mass, that is, the supper with the preaching of the word added to this ceremony, as Paul saith, "As often as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall proclaim the death of the Lord, until he come. "

(94) Now as there was a perpetual ceremony, which also signified that Christ would come, and that this people would remain until Christ was born: so we have the Lord's supper, which is justly called an everlasting testament, because it testifies that Christ has appeared, and that no other new word is to be expected from God, which he will send to the world. And this new testament also means that the Church will always remain. But to the ceremony must also come the word and the preaching of the Gospel, through which Christ is made known and the sacrifices are slain, and they give thanks and praise to God. These are the sacrifices of the New Testament.

95. These sacrifices were presented in the Old Testament; namely, that after Christ had appeared, the gospel would remain and be taught in the world forever, so that continually some would be converted and become a sacrifice to God, and receive eternal life, and give thanks and praise to God, and testify that the teaching of the gospel is true, that God is truly angry with sinners, that He truly forgives believers, truly hears them, truly makes them blessed, and thus also entices others to believe. Thus Paul interprets the sacrifice of preaching, faith, and thanksgiving, Rom. 15: "That I might be a minister of JESUS CHRIST among the Gentiles, offering the gospel of GOD, that it might be a sacrifice of the Gentiles, acceptable and sanctified by the Holy Ghost"; and Phil. 2: "But I also am offered for the sacrifice and gift of your faith." For the burning of the lamb signifies the putting to death of Christ and all his members; the bread roll, the giving of life by faith in the preaching of the gospel, which comforts consciences terrified by the preaching of repentance; the drink offering, thanksgiving and preaching. This sacrifice of preaching faith and thanksgiving must always remain in the church. But the ceremony itself, without doctrine, is dumb.

96. the ancients called the supper "thanksgiving," to imply that this ceremony was

that therein the benefits of Christ might be extolled, and the sore consciences raised up, and the confidence or assurance, knowing of the forgiveness of sins, strengthened, and grace dispensed.

97. Now let us see who shall destroy and abolish the continual sacrifice? The gospel is taught in very few places by the adversaries. In many great countries there are often no sermons preached, and when they are preached, some monk tells his dream, or, if it goes well, some worldly saying from the worldly wisdom. Of Christ, of faith in Christ, that through him we have a reconciled God, that through him we obtain all good things from God, not because of our merits; of the exercise of faith in all tribulations, of every man's calling, of love, etc., of such things one hears nothing at all or little, where nothing is so much in vogue as fine masses. But the ceremony, which is instituted for the preaching of Christ, is used for a quite different custom, that it may purchase grace for others by the mere doing of the work. There the continual sacrifice has been quite abolished, where the right use of the sacrament has been entirely perverted, and all is silent from the preaching of the gospel. For thus it is written of the ungodly sacrifice, Proverbs 15: "The sacrifice of the ungodly is detestable to God, but the prayer of the sincere is pleasing to Him." Here the Holy Spirit requires faith and prayer; does not accept the mere work without word and faith, as the fine Mass is. And in Jeremiah GOD says, "I commanded you not of burnt-offerings in the day that I brought you out of the land of Egypt, but this have I said unto them, Hear my voice, and I will be your GOD" [Jer. 7]. Here the prophet evidently condemns mere works, and wants to have word and faith, that we may take hold of grace in faith, and believe GOD. In the realm of the popes, however, who want either to set aside the teaching of the Gospel or to persecute and destroy it, the ceremony remains, but they do not hear the voice of God; they do not ask that the Gospel be taught by the doctrine of faith, but defend the merit of mere works and other ungodly services. Therefore it may be better for them to abolish the continual sacrifice.

98. There are also many other signs that this rule of the popes was foreshadowed by the kingdom of Antioch. Do not the popes worship their god with gold, silver, and precious stones, and contend with us that we do not approve of these ungodly services? They accuse us that we do not approve of the cere
monies that we desecrate the altars and monasteries. They exhort the most gracious emperor to inflict severe punishment on us. These are Antiochi examples that do not concern us. For with us, thank God. the custom of the Church and the lawful administration of the Sacrament still remain, and the preaching of the Gospel resounds from the true service of God, from faith, from hope, from the Cross, not from human statutes or school dreams.

99. They also pervert the words of Malachi to the fair: "From the going forth of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the heathen; and in every place incense shall be burned unto my name, and a pure offering shall be offered: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the LORD of hosts. The same kind of fanciful expressions are found in other prophets, who, when they speak of the gospel, are wont to use words of the law, and thereby, of course, indicate a spiritual, but not another, outward service of God. For the epistle to the Hebrews also teaches that after Christ's death no sacrifice for sin is necessary. Therefore Peter teaches that we are the holy 'priesthood,' to offer spiritual sacrifices. We must therefore take the passage from Malachi in such a way that incense and sacrifice are understood there not from mere ceremony, but from preaching, faith, and thanksgiving. For without this the ceremony itself is not a sacrifice, for the sake of the mere work, as they speak, as it is written in the epistle to the Hebrews, "Through him we offer the sacrifice of praise to GOD always, that is, the fruit of the lips that confess his name."

001 And the words of Malachi themselves sufficiently indicate that the mere ceremony is not to be understood, because the incense is not a model, which actually signifies the supper, but prayer. Likewise it is added: "My name will be great among the Gentiles. This goes to the preaching, because the name of God is widely spread and proclaimed through the preaching of the Gospel. And people learn to recognize, fear and believe in God.

(101) In this way also the ancients explain this passage of Malachi. For thus saith Tertullian, "In every place a pure offering," that is, a pure prayer out of a pure and clean heart. And Jerome: This is a rule of Scripture, where a manifest prophecy of things to come is involved, let not that which is written be weakened by uncertain similitudes. They that offer the blind and the lame ought to know that spiritual sacrifices follow carnal sacrifices, and not the blood of goats or of oxen, but incense, that is to say, spirits.

The Holy One will be sacrificed to God, and not only in the Jewish land, nor in the one city of the Jewish land, Jerusalem, but in all places.

102 Finally, though the adversaries boast as they will of the meaning of the continual sacrifice, and put on the words of Malachi, yet they will not bring out that the Lord's Supper is a continual sacrifice by mere act (*ex opere operato*), without preaching and faith, and that when it is administered to others it procures them grace and righteousness.

103. Neither the words of Malachi, nor the image of the continual sacrifice, help them to strengthen or establish these ungodly opinions. And as it goes, one error always spreads another. Since one has once been entrusted with the dedication of the mass, one has begun to ask whether the merit of the mass is finite or infinite? whether it is divisible? whether one mass is worth as much to many as one is to each person? Good profit was to be made from this. In all danger, people took refuge in this work, as in an idol. But Christ wants to be called upon in faith; he wants all goods to be expected in faith, not because of our merits or works.

104 But since the opponents have not given any reasons for the merit and dedication of the Mass, but only refer to the name of sacrifice, and that from the Fathers, but not from the canonical Scriptures, no further answer seems necessary.

055 Neither can they, either from the scriptures, or from the fathers, bring forward anything so certain, or so certain, as to overthrow the reason we have given. For this is a certain proposition: that if righteousness be of faith, it cannot be of a mere work done. Therefore the mass does not justify. 1)

(106) We have also heard that the opponents make much ado that something of the Canon of the Mass is omitted with us. This is a great disadvantage to us, because the Canon is universally held in high esteem.

(107) We most earnestly beg that Your Imperial Majesty will not think that we have changed anything in the Canon out of contempt for religion or the sacraments. Our brethren present great and important reasons why they have omitted something from the Canon, and say that they were compelled to omit some things out of reverence for the Sacrament,

1) This sentence is missing in the old edition.

obvious abuses have arisen from it. And that one does not think that hereunder something happens against the Catholic Church, so is

(108) To begin with, it should be noted that the same canon of the Mass is not used everywhere. For the Greek Canon is different from the Latin, and in some places even the Latin ones do not agree with each other. And even honest scribes confess that Christ taught only the words of the blessing, after which the bishops added the rest, always one more than the other, for adornment and more celebration; for so speaks the gloss in the Decrees. Just as before such diversity did nothing to the Catholic faith, so now we must be of the opinion that the Catholic faith is not challenged, even if we omit something from the canon of the Mass, if we retain only the words that contain the blessing. And in this we holily persevere. We also retain the prayer and the thanksgiving. And the Canon itself sufficiently shows that at times something has been added to or taken away from it. For it is well to be seen that some pieces do not quite hang together; and some words of Scripture are quite wrongly twisted on the sacrifice. And since the nature of the sacrifice has not been rightly understood, the scribes have afterwards corrupted the Canon still more. For we have not yet seen any of the Adversary's writings (of which we have seen great volumes) that could have rightly described the sacrifice. They are so foolish and clumsy that, when they argue about the sacrifice, when they defend the canon of the Mass, they cannot describe or define what the sacrifice actually is, what difference there is between the sacrifices of the Old and New Testaments, and what difference there is between the sacrament and the sacrifice. The adversaries do not take offense at this, since wise men especially inquire about it in this controversy.

(109) Some in the Canon omit that he calls the still unblessed bread the sacrifice of salvation; that the priest prays and supplicates for Christ, that God may graciously accept this sacrifice, which comes out just as if the priest were the mediator between Christ and the Father. Likewise, he asks that this sacrifice please God, as did the sacrifice of Abel, as if other sacrifices had been more than Christ. Now this is inconsistent, but there are other things of which ours are more disapproving; for example, that the same part of the canon assigns the mass to the living and the dead, that they may be saved by such a work. This dedication is obviously contrary to the Gospel and the righteousness of faith.

If this were not clear, one could doubt whether this part of the canon would be justly censured. But it is so obvious that one can not only see it with one's eyes, but also grasp it with one's hands, that men do not become righteous through the appropriation of another's work or merit, without faith. Wherefore it is also evident that the part of the canon in which it sets forth such an assignation of the masses for the living and the dead, departs not only from one or another saying of the gospel, which is not of much consequence, but from a principal part of the gospel, namely, the whole doctrine of the righteousness of faith. And since this is so, ours will be justly forgiven for holding the word of the Gospel higher than the word of the canon, especially since all confess that the same part of the canon has been added by human power or decree, and that unequal canons of the Mass have always been in the church. But a clear and certain testimony of Scripture must always be accepted more than a human decree.

(110) What can the adversaries say, though they are quite insolent, against such manifest truth? The matter is so clear that it is impossible even to make a pretence of objecting to it. Since faith makes righteous, it is an ungodly and heretical opinion that the mass, which is imputed or appropriated to another in mere deed, makes him righteous. And therefore, since such an appropriation cannot be proved, there is a high and important reason why that part of the canon in which such an appropriation is contained is omitted. 1)

Of vows.

111) If we are not mistaken, these words were included in the refutation, that the vows had their foundation in the Old and New Testaments. Of the Old we shall answer soon after; but where they are in the New Testament we know not, except in these passages, "In vain do they serve me with the commandments of men," 2c. and, "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up," 2c. These passages are quite appropriate to vows. And we shall find many such sayings also from the monks. For example, Matt. 23: "Woe to you, Christian scholars and Pharisees, you hypocrites, you are like the tombs that are whitened, which from without

1) Here follows in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, Vol. II, p. 618 f. in the Latin copy, and p. 577 f. iin German, the first part of No. 1007 in this volume, "über das Wort Liturgia".

shining beautifully, but inwardly full of dead men's bones and uncleanness; just as you outwardly appear righteous before men, but inwardly are full of hypocrisy and unchastity." If there are other passages in the New Testament which are more suitable for vows, let the monks bring them forward, and we will gladly answer them.

(112) But now we only answer in general: The vows, which are made in the opinion of earning righteousness and grace by such work, are an ungodly service, and are not approved either in the Old or New Testament. For St. Paul's saying is, "Ye are empty of Christ (have lost him), who are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace." Therefore they rather are fallen from grace who seek righteousness by vows, who are wholly without command and word of GOD. The holy men, as Bernard, Franciscus, Bonaventure, and the like, so lived in such (religious) rules that they believed they did not merit grace by such exercises, but knew that they were justified by faith. But they lived in such rules as in schools, because these bodily exercises seemed convenient to them. But this was a common error, that the monastic vow was another baptism, and that the monastic life merited grace and was sufficient for sin. So ours teach that these opinions are ungodly, and that vows of this opinion are useless and futile. Against this doctrine of ours the adversaries raise nothing. This is the question in dispute, and we do not know whether the opponents have touched it.

113. If they admit to us that the vows do not merit grace; that the monastic service is a vain service, as Christ says, "In vain do they serve me with the commandments of men," they will also readily admit that the vows themselves, which are made in an ungodly mind, are useless and vain.

(114) But they cite a passage from the Gospel: "Whosoever shall leave house, or brethren, or sister, or father, or mother, or wife, for my name's sake, the same shall receive it a hundredfold. This is truly to deceive the simple-minded, when one forcibly drags a quite unseemly place into the monastic life. It is a twofold leaving: one is without profession; the other with profession. Of the latter Christ speaks. For nothing must be done without a profession, contrary to the commandments of God. The opinion therefore is this, that in persecution we should rather lay down our lives and all, than deny and forsake the gospel.

Therefore he adds, "For the sake of the gospel (my name)." For it is not necessary to interpret the saying in such a way that it conflicts with other commandments of God. Now other commandments forbid to leave wife and child. But if we are forced by force to leave wife and child, if we are driven from house and home, if we are killed and strangled, we are excused. Of such persecutions Christ speaks, that we patiently suffer the wrong. But the adversaries do not interpret it of persecution or violence, but of a fleeing or leaving without profession, even contrary to God's commandments. For they give way that he who is betrothed may leave the bride and go into a monastery.

115. Then this leaving is not because of the gospel, or the ministry, or the confession of the word, but because of the holding of certain services which are rejected in the Scriptures. So they do not leave house, or father, or mother, for the name of Christ, but because of the wrong opinion they have formed of such useless worship.

016 And perhaps many leave, not for the glory of the gospel, but for the service of their bellies, a small fortune, that they might receive an hundredfold, that is, that they might have idleness and good cooking.

(117) The monks also refer to this saying because of perfection: "If you want to be perfect, go, sell everything you have and give it to the poor, and follow me. This saying contains a special calling, which concerned only the same person, but not everyone. For he commanded that he should follow and go about with them, as the other apostles did. And just as he was to follow the calling, so we also must first wait for a calling. And we must not run away from our goods without a profession, or leave our family. Then we shall be perfect, if we follow our profession. From this it will be known that we believe in God. Perfection must be understood in such a way, not that leaving makes one perfect, but that obedience proves that faith is perfect, that is, honest and uncolored. The monastic life, however, is first accepted without profession, and then it also has such services as are not commanded by God.
This is why almost the entire work is in conflict with the profession. But it is a most dangerous life to live without profession and the word of God. But where there are some who serve the gospel in it, we do not reject them, if they only teach and understand faithfully and truthfully,
That they have upon them a way of life and service pleasing to God, not because of the monastic life and services, but because of the ministry of the Word.

(119) But if the adversaries will not confess that the monastic life has ever been called a state of perfection, Gerson may answer for it. For he has written a special book to refute such an ungodly opinion, and he assures us that some call him so. But it is not needful to seek witnesses. We have mostly all heard monks preach such things in churches. Some intelligent people have wanted to correct the common error, but still keep the common and common words, which is why they wrote: the monastic life is a state of attaining perfection. This is wisely said, if only the people understand it rightly. But what state or way of life is not a state of attaining perfection? In marriage, in all occupations, we must strive for perfection, and believe that God has called each one to a certain office, in which He will exercise him, that he may learn to believe. This faith is the perfection of each one.

(120) Perhaps it would be better to say that the monastic life was a school, a discipline, and a teaching for children, the ultimate end of which was not the same spiritual perfection as in other orders, but scholarship and science, by which young men were sent to govern and teach churches. Such were the collegia of Basil and Augustine in the beginning, where the students were together and practiced the holy Scriptures and were taught honest morals, so that they could later preside over churches. And there the consciences remained free from vows. If there were still such monasteries, no one would blame them. Now in monasteries mostly lazy bellies are fed, who, under the pretext of religion, splurge on the common alms.

121 And when the adversaries exhort us that we should reform the monasteries according to the example of our ancestors, they admit that the morals of the monks have become worse. But we consider this the best reformation, that we imprison no one in it against his conscience. However, we want to establish schools of the Holy Scriptures in our countries according to our ability, and when they are established, we want to decorate them.

(122) Finally, the adversaries conclude that constant chastity is not impossible for man. And since it is difficult, it must be asked for with prayer. Of this conclusion we have said above: one must pray in such a way that we may, however, obtain the chastity given by God.

We must not spurn the means when our weakness requires it: "For he that loveth danger shall perish within. " But who knows not what danger is in this weakness of human nature, under the most vexatious persecutions of the devil? And it has been rightly said by holy men, that it is a constant strife and a rare victory. Therefore, we do not want to prevent those who cannot bear the burden of monastic life from marrying according to God's word and order.

Of church power.

(123) In this article the opponents have not made much mention of what church authority actually is, according to the Gospel. They have almost only spoken of the liberty of the spiritual estate, which they have by human right. We, however, have often said that we would gladly do all honor and duty both to others and to this estate.

124. The bishops have their goods and dominions by human right. We take nothing from any of them. But they should not only take care of their property and power, but also of their office and duty, that the churches have pastors, that priests are appointed, that the pure doctrine of the Gospel is preached in schools and churches, so that faith and love arise in the minds of the people; That the sacraments be administered sacredly, and public vices be punished and corrected by ecclesiastical excommunication; that the church ordinances be established for edification and not for destruction, and church discipline be so maintained that the consciences of the pious not be burdened with unjust burdens; that the schools of good arts, which are useful to the church, be preserved.

(125) The bishops have long since abandoned this care, and if there have been some more pious ones, they have been more troubled by insisting on the statutes of men than by teaching the gospel. But even this discipline is no longer kept in Rome, but is mocked.

(126) The popes war with the kings over the dominion. As the winds stir up the sea, which is in itself calm, so the popes stir up all the kingdoms as often as they please.

(127) This is not only contrary to the Gospel, but also to the canons. Meanwhile they demand of others the canons as strictly as they can, since no one holds less to the canons than the bishops themselves, and yet they want their reputation and fortune to be defended, since they ask nothing of the churches, and of the

Canons forget that the beneficium (or church property) is given because of the direction of the office.

(128) To deplore this at this time is considered a deadly crime and heresy. And we would not have come to this if the adversaries had not caused it.

By the way, we have often testified that we not only highly honor and respect the ecclesiastical power instituted in the Gospel as the highest gift of God, through which we may know God and be delivered from sin and the power of the devil and attain eternal life, but also very much approve of the ecclesiastical government and scales in the Church, and, as much as is in us, want to have them preserved. We do not refuse the authority of the bishops, if only they do not force us to act contrary to the commandments of God. This sense will acquit us before God's judgment, and before all our posterity we will be found innocent, that we did not cause this division, which was first caused by the unjust condemnation of Luther's teaching, but is now increased by their defiance, who cannot be moved to soften one or the other church order, in which we would give way to their tyranny, if we could do so without offense to our conscience. But now we must obey God more than men.

130 But now let us come to the controversy of the statutes of the church, which the adversaries have here touched.

(131) In our confession we have indicated what we consider to be church authority according to the Gospel. It is a command to teach the gospel, to administer the sacraments, and to forgive and retain sins. This authority is called partly the authority of the priestly office (*ordinis*), 1) and partly jurisdiction.

(132) These great benefits of God are obscured when some add to them the power to establish laws and new services. For when the mind conceives that Christ has commanded the church to institute some new services and ceremonies apart from the gospel, the doctrine of the grace and righteousness of faith and the forgiveness of sins is immediately obscured, and men think they are justified by the righteousness of works, that is, of such services, but not by faith in Christ. And because such statutes are never kept right, consciences are in constant fear. This, then, remains a matter of dispute: whether the

1) That is, to preach the gospel, to reach Sacrammt 2c. Cf. J. T. Müller, 1. e. p. 288.

Bishops have power to establish new services and laws apart from the Gospel? The opponents conclude, then, that since the gospel gives the bishops power of jurisdiction, it follows that they have power to give laws. But this must not follow. For it is true that the Scriptures allow them to exercise jurisdiction, to loose and bind; but not according to new laws, but according to the Gospel itself. For they have not a tyrannical power without certain laws, or a kingly, above the law which they have received. For thus saith Paul, "We can do nothing contrary to the truth."

(133) In the confession, however, we have not entirely taken away the power of the bishops to make ordinances in the church. But we have made a distinction among the laws. There must be ordinances in the churches, that the people may know at what time they are to meet together, that there may also be order in the offices, as Paul saith, "Let all things be done orderly and honestly."

(134) Another kind of ordinances is when certain services, differences of food, days, celibacy, and such customs are instituted. Likewise, when these ordinances themselves, which were made, not that such works should propitiate God, but that there should be no confusion in the church, are held to be necessary services. And what we believe of both kinds we have shown in the confession.

(135) A man may use any exercise he pleases, if he does not otherwise seek to merit grace by it. But to ordain such a work, and yet to bind the conscience, and to make of it a work necessary to salvation, is, as Peter says, to tempt God, and is contrary to Christian liberty, which teaches that we are justified freely by faith in Christ, and not by our works, and forbids the ordaining of any such services as necessary to salvation.

(136) But the adversaries cannot deny that such practices have been given out for meritorious services. For St. Thomas also writes expressly, "Fasting is for the expiation and prevention of guilt. This blasphemous opinion is by no means to be tolerated in the church, that human ordinances are good for the expiation of guilt, since all Catholics confess that the forgiveness of sins is by grace. If, therefore, there are some ordinances which can be kept without sin, and serve for good discipline in the church, one may

Hold them thus, that no man be offended. But do not consider them necessary to righteousness or faith, as they commonly say; and do not think that consciences will be defiled if they are allowed to stand without offense. As, then, most have been made, not to trouble the consciences, or to introduce services, but only to prevent disorder in the churches, and vexation. For we are not speaking here of secular and judicial laws, but actually of church ceremonies and church customs.

137. The adversaries vehemently reproach this doctrine of Christian liberty; but let them know that they do not thereby blaspheme us, but the word of God. For if such works are regarded as necessary services to Christian righteousness, the righteousness of faith and grace is entirely obscured.

(138) But this doctrine must of necessity prevail in the church, that we are not justified by our works and services, but by faith in Christ, through grace. It is necessary to know and recognize that for the right unity of faith it is not at all necessary that everywhere there should be one and the same human order. But all this is thrown away, if the doctrine of Christian liberty is not practiced.

(139) And what should it not be to pious souls an unheard-of torment to have to deal with the innumerable heap of such statutes and ceremonies, if this consolation and cheap moderation were not used? As Gerson also says, "It is also known (these are his words) that there are so many such statutes that, if they had to be kept most strictly, the greatest part of the church would be condemned, and love, which is the end of the whole law, even of the divine law, would be violated.

140. And wise and godly men have always complained greatly of these troubles, seeing that first of all the doctrine of faith and grace, and likewise the commandments of God, were darkened and left undone, because the people were united and anxious only that they should not let men's faults stand; as Gershon saith: The simple and fearful subjects, when they are thus enjoined by their rulers to take heed of so many statutes, what wonder is it that afterwards they become the more unfit thereby to discern the divine commandments?

141 Although it is not only the common rabble, but also the scholars who feel this way. So-

Then they saw that the consciences were in many snares and dangers, since there was no one to keep so many statutes. Therefore it is necessary to teach such reasonable moderation in and because of the ordinances of men.

(142) And although savage men generally abuse such indulgence, yet the church and the pious must be regarded more than they. Thus Gerson also judged, when he says: "Although contempt arises in some from such indulgence and leniency, yet some others, who get a right understanding from it, will give thanks for it. There are already authorities who can punish wild and unruly people when it is necessary. And a prudent preacher will also remind both of liberty and of the avoidance of offences, as Paul is wont to do in this matter.

(143) Nor did ours speak of this trade first or only, but others have already written about it. Gerson has no hesitation in speaking of it: The prelates of the churches have as little power to bind their subjects to some things which the evangelical rule, which is accepted and recognized by all Christians, does not prescribe, as the elders have power to bind their monks to anything except their religious rule. For it is the unanimous opinion of St. Thomas and other teachers that the abbot cannot impose or command a monk to do anything more than he has understood and agreed to do in his rule.

144 We have therefore wished at this time to answer that which was still in our memory, and we do not refuse, on account of this confession of ours, to answer to him who requires reason of us.

145 If we had seen the rebuttal that was read to us in the name of the imperial majesty, our most gracious lord, we would have been able to answer most things more appropriately and better.

1030.

The other and more complete apologia.

Mid-April 1531.

Since the draft of the Apology (the previous writing) had not been accepted, the necessity arose to publish the Apology. For this purpose, Melanchthon completely revised the draft, and the more complete Apology appeared in quarto in mid-April 1531. The Latin text derives entirely from Melanchthon, but the German text by Justus Jonas is not a mere
It is not a mere translation, but since Melanchthon was involved and, in his own way, made additions, changes, which the Latin text did not contain, it has an independent meaning. We have placed the title that Melanchthon gave to this writing above it in the following. For the rest, we refer to J. T. Müller, "Die symbolischen Bücher," Introduction, p. UXXXIII ff. - The editions of this writing are innumerable. The first Latin edition is printed in Cölestin, üist. eoruit. XuZust. , torn. IV, toi. 1; in Melanchthon's Works, tom. I, x>. 58, and in the Jena edition of Luther's works (1570), tora. IV, col. 203d. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 319; in the Jena (1568), vol. VI, p. 378; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 46, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 28. We give the text according to J. T. Müller. The Wittenberg edition, of which Melanchthon was the editor, offers a text so much altered that one can hardly recognize the Apology. The Jena edition, whose text Walch has printed, agrees almost word for word with Müller.

Apologia of the Confession

translated from Latin by Justum Jonam.

Preface.

Philippus Melanchthon to the reader.

When the confession of our most gracious and gracious lords, the Elector of Saxony, and the princes of that part, was publicly read before the Imperial Majesty and the estates of the empire at Augsburg, some theologians and monks made a reply and a referral against this confession and confession, which Imperial Majesty then had read before Her Majesty, the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, and requested that our Princes henceforth believe in such opinion, and also agree to teach and hold it.

But because ours heard that in such an answer of the theologians many articles were rejected, which they could not let be rejected without burdening their consciences, and with God, they asked for a copy of the answer or confutation, so that they might actually see and consider what the opponents were about to condemn, and answer again all the more correctly to their cause and reasons put forward.

And in this great and most important matter, which concerns not temporal things, but a common religion, all salvation and welfare of consciences, and in turn also great danger and burden to them, ours have certainly considered that the adversaries would hand over such a copy quite willingly and gladly without any burden, or would also offer it to us.

But ours have not been able to obtain this in any other way than with almost arduous efforts.

attach obligations and condition, which they may in no way consent to.

After this a negotiation and several ways of goodness or atonement were made, since ours offered most gladly to bear, tolerate, and do everything that could be done without burdening our consciences. But the adversaries have stood firm on this alone, that we should consent to some public abuses and errors. And if we were neither able nor willing to do so, the Imperial Majesty again requested that we be allowed to do so. Majesty again requested that our lords and princes agree to believe and hold as the theologians' confutation reads, which our princes rejected outright.

For how should their chur- and princely graces, in so high a matter of the utmost importance, concerning many and their own souls and consciences, consent to a writing which they were not permitted to hand over, nor to read over, or to hand over, especially if they heard in the reading that such articles were rejected, which they neither wished nor could yield to, for they wanted to act publicly against God and respectability?

For this reason, Their Royal and Princely Graces have ordered me and others to make a protective speech or apologia of our first confession, in which the Imperial Majesty would be shown the reasons why we do not accept the Confutation and why it is not founded. For even though we were denied a copy and a copy of our plea, request, and highest request, our people still had the sum of the arguments in the reading of the confutation almost in a hurry, and as if caught in flight, and distinguished, on which we had to present the apologia this time, if a copy was finally denied to us. This same Apology was finally handed over to the Emperor's Majesty by us when we left Augsburg, so that Her Majesty would understand that there was a very important reason why we would not have agreed to the Confutation. But the Imperial Maj. Maj. has refused to accept the delivered Apology.

After this, however, a decree has gone forth, wherein the adversaries boast with unreason that they have removed our confession from the holy Scriptures.

But everyone has our apology and defense, from which he will see how and what the adversaries have judged. For we have actually told here how it happened, and not otherwise; God knows! Thus we have also clearly shown here how they have condemned some articles against the public, bright Scriptures and clear Word of the Holy Spirit, and may never again

Saying with truth, that they have answered a tittle out of the holy scriptures against us.

Although I had begun this Apology at Augsburg with the advice and concerns of several others, I have added something to it now that it is to go out in print. That is why I am writing my name here, so that no one may complain that the book has gone out without a name.

I have hitherto refrained, as much as I could, from speaking and acting of Christian doctrine in the ordinary way, that in time we might the more easily draw together and compare ourselves; though I might have conducted these things with fugues farther from their ordinary way.

But the adversaries deal so unkindly with this matter, that they make it sufficiently evident that they seek neither truth nor agreement, but only to drink our blood.

Now this time I have also written in the gentlest way possible; but where there is something swift in this book, I do not want to speak against Imperial Majesty or the princes, whom I like to show due honor, but against monks and theologians. Majesty or the princes, to whom I gladly show due honor, but against the monks and theologians. For I only recently got to read the Confutation, and I notice that much of it is written in such a dangerous, poisonous, and envious way that it could even deceive pious people in some places.

However, I have not dealt with all the quarrelsome, wanton intrigues of the adversaries, for there would be innumerable books to write about them. I have taken their best, highest reasons, so that among the high and low classes, among the present and our descendants, among all native Germans, also otherwise to all the world, to all foreign nations, a clear testimony may be before the eyes and remain forever, that we have taught purely, divinely, rightly of the Gospel of Christ. Truly we have no desire or pleasure in disunity, nor are we so stiff-necked or stony-hearted that we do not consider our fare.

For we see and perceive how the adversaries in this matter seek us so with great venom and bitterness, and have sought us hitherto in body, life, and all that we have.

But we know the public, divine truth, without which the church of Christ cannot be or remain, and the eternal holy word of the gospel not to be denied or rejected.

Therefore, if for the sake of the Lord Christ, and for the sake of this most high and important thing, in which the whole holy Christian faith, the whole Christian church, is concerned, we should give even greater weight to it, we should not be able to do it.

If we have to wait for or endure opposition, travel, or persecution, we will gladly suffer it in such an entirely divine, right cause, and we put ourselves off completely, certain also that this will please the holy, divine Majesty in heaven and our dear Savior JESUS CHRIST, and after this time there will be people and our descendants who will judge of these things much differently and with more confidence.

For the adversaries themselves cannot deny nor deny that many and the highest, most necessary articles of Christian doctrine, without which the Christian church together with the whole Christian doctrine and name would be forgotten and perish, have been brought to light again by ours. For with what quarrelsome, futile, useless, childish teachings many necessary articles were suppressed a few years ago among monks, theologians, canonists, and sophists, I will not relate here this time. It is yet to come.

We have (praise God!) testimony from many, high, honest, upright, God-fearing people, who thank God from the bottom of their hearts for the unspeakable gifts and graces, that in the most necessary parts of the whole Scripture they have from us much clearer, more certain, more real, more correct teaching and consolation of the consciences, than is always found in all the books of the adversaries.

Therefore, if the bright truth we have known is ever trampled underfoot, let us entrust this matter to Christ and God in heaven, who is the father of orphans and widows and the judge of all the forsaken, JsPs 68:6, and who will (we truly know) judge this matter and set it right. And thou, O Lord JESUS Christ, thy holy gospel, it is thy cause to look upon many an afflicted heart and conscience, and to preserve thy churches and multitudes that suffer anguish and distress of the devil, and to strengthen thy truth. Put to shame all hypocrisy and lies, and so give peace and unity, that your glory may prevail, and your kingdom grow strong and increase without ceasing against all the gates of hell.

Apologia of the Confession.

Article I. From GOD. 1)

001 The first article of our confession the adversaries leave to them, in which it is declared how we believe and teach that there is an eternal, one, undivided divine being,

1) Like J. T. Müller, we have numbered all the articles of the Apology according to those of the Confession and provided them with superscriptions. Only those articles which had been rejected by the opponents have been

and yet three distinct Persons in One Divine Being, equally powerful, equally eternal, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit. We have always taught and defended this article in a pure manner, and we hold and are certain that it has such a strong, good, and certain foundation in Holy Scripture that no one is able to reproach or overthrow it.

002 Therefore we freely conclude that all those are idolatrous, blasphemers, and outside the church of Christ, who hold or teach otherwise.

Article II. (I.) Of original sin.

003 The other article, of original sin, the adversaries also suffer them to accept; but they contend, as if we had not rightly understood it, when we said what original sin was, when by chance we only spake of it in that place.

(4) Then the imperial majesty will soon find at the entrance that our adversaries often neither notice nor understand anything at all in this highly important matter, and in turn also often misuse our words maliciously and with diligence, or ever interpret them to misunderstand. For if we have spoken in the most simple and clearest manner of what original sin is or is not, they have, out of vain venom and bitterness, interpreted the words which they themselves have spoken rightly and wrongly, with diligence evil and unjustly. For thus they say: You say that original sin is this, that such a mind and heart is innate in us, in which there is no fear of God, no trust in God, that is ever a real fault and even a work or aetnali8 eulpa, therefore it is not original sin. It is easy to notice and accept that such enviUntio comes from theologians, not from the emperor's council. Although we know well how to avoid such envious, dangerous, and wanton interpretations, yet that all honest and honorable people may understand that we teach nothing unskillful in this matter, we ask you to look at our previous German Confession, delivered to Augsburg, which will sufficiently indicate that we teach nothing new or unheard of. For in it it is thus written: "Further, it is taught that after the fall of Adae all men who are born naturally are conceived and born in sins, that is, that they are all from their mother's womb full of evil lusts and inclinations, having no true fear of God, no true knowledge of the law, and no true faith in God.

in the süitio xrinaexs a superscription, but no number. Now where the first number, which refers to the confession, is followed by a second number in brackets, the latter indicates the articles which have a superscription in the confession.

can have true faith in God by nature."

005 In this it appears enough that we say of all who are born of the flesh that they are unfit for all things of God, not heartily fearing God, not believing in him, nor trusting in him. There we speak of innate wickedness of heart, not merely of aetuali culpu, or of real guilt and sins. For we say that in all the children of Adam there is an evil inclination and desire, and that no one can or is able to make for himself a heart that knows God, or heartily trusts God, heartily fears God.

006 I would gladly hear what they will or would reproach. For pious, honest people, who love the truth, see without a doubt that this is right and true. For in our Latin confession we say that my natural man is not capable of potsutia, that is, of so much deceit, not even in innocent children, who even from Adam are incapable of always heartily fearing God and heartily loving God. But in the elderly and adults, beyond the innate evil nature of the heart, there is also aetus and real sin.

007 Wherefore, when we call inborn evil desire, we mean not only the *actus*, evil works, or fruits, but inwardly the evil inclination, which ceaseth not until we be born again by the Spirit and faith. But after this we will show in more words that we have spoken of original sin, namely, what it is or is not, also in the usual old way of the scholastics, and not so unusually. But I must first indicate the reasons for which I have primarily used such words in this place, and not others.

008 So the adversaries themselves speak of it in their schools, and confess that the matter or material of original sin, as they call it, is evil desire. Wherefore, if I have said what original sin is, it is not to be passed over, especially at this time, when some speak of this inherent evil desire more paganly from philosophy, than according to the divine word, or according to the holy scriptures. For some say that original sin in human nature is not an inherent evil, but only an infirmity and an imposed burden, which all the children of Adam must bear for the sin of others, because of Adam's sin, and therefore are all mortal, not that they themselves all inherit sin from their mother's womb.

009 Moreover they say to it, that no man is eternal.
Let them be condemned for original sin or original sin alone, but, just as bondwomen and bondmen are born of a bondwoman, not because of their own fault, but because they must pay for and bear their mother's misfortunes and miseries, But if they themselves, like other men, are born without change, let original sin also not be an inherent evil, but only an infirmity and a burden, which we bear from Adam, but for ourselves therefore are not in sins and inherited graces.

010 Now that I might shew that we are not pleased with such an unchristian opinion, I have used these words, "All men from the womb are all full of evil lusts and affections;" and for this cause also I call original sin a pestilence, to signify that not one part, but the whole man, with his whole nature, is born with an hereditary disease of a kind in sins. Therefore we call it not only an evil desire, but also say that all men are born in sins, without fear of God, without faith. We do not add these things without cause. The scholasticists speak of original sin as if it were only a wicked, little affliction, and do not understand what original sin is, or how the other holy fathers meant it.

011 When the sophists write what original sin is, or what sin or evil inclination is, they speak of it, among other things, as if it were an infirmity of the body, as they are wont to speak of things in a childish way, and put forward questions, whether the same infirmity came from the poisoning of the forbidden apple in paradise, or from Adam's blowing on the serpent? Item, whether it makes the medicine the longer the worse with the affliction? With such quarrelsome questions they have confused and suppressed this whole matter, and the most important question, what original sin is.

(12) Therefore, when they speak of original sin, they leave out the greatest and most necessary thing, and they do not even think of our true greatest misery, namely, that we humans are all born in such a way that we do not know God or God's work, do not see or notice God, despise God, do not sincerely fear or trust God, and are not subject to his judgment or sentence. Item, that we all by nature flee from God as a tyrant, are angry and grumble against His will. We do not leave nor dare to trust in God's goodness, but always rely more on money, goods, and friends. This swift hereditary disease, by which the whole of nature is corrupted, by which

we all inherit such a heart, mind, and thought from Adam, which is straight against God and the first, highest commandment of God, the Scholastici pass over.

(13) And they speak of it as if human nature were uncorrupted, able to respect God greatly, to love above all things, to keep God's commandments, 2c., and do not see that they are contrary to themselves. For to be able to do this by our own strength, namely, to esteem God great, to love Him dearly, to keep His commandments, what would that be but to be a new creature in paradise, even pure and holy? If we are able to do such great things with our own strength, to love God above all else, to keep His commandments, as the scholastics may bravely say, what then would original sin be? And if we were justified by our own efforts, the grace of Christ is in vain. What would we need of the Holy Spirit, if by human strength we could love God above all things and keep His commandments?

014 Here every man seeth how unskilfully the adversaries speak of this high commerce. They confess the small infirmities of the sinful nature, and they do not remember the greatest of all the earth's bombs and miseries; for the apostles all complain about them, as all the Scriptures everywhere report, and all the prophets cry out about them, as the fourteenth Psalm and many other Psalms say: "There is none that is righteous, neither is there any; there is none that seeketh after God, neither is there any that doeth good, neither is there any. Their mouth is an open sepulchre; viper's poison is under their lips; there is no fear of God before their eyes." [Rom. 3:10-13, 18] Yet the Scripture also clearly says that all these things are not fled to us, but are inborn.

015 But because the scholastics have mingled much philosophy with Christian doctrine, and speak much of the light of reason, and of the aotidus elieitis, they hold too much of free will and unrighteous works. Moreover, they have taught that men become pious before God by an outwardly honorable life, and have not seen the inherent impurity within the hearts, which no one becomes aware of except through the word of God, which the scholastici act almost sparingly and rarely in their books. We also say that to live outwardly honorably is to some extent within our ability, but to become pious and holy before God is not within our ability.

(16) These are the reasons why, when I said what original sin is, I thought of the innate evil desire, and said that by natural powers no man is able to fear God or to trust in Him. For I have wanted to show that original sin also contains this misery, namely that

No man knows or respects God, no one can heartily fear or love Him or trust Him. These are the greatest pieces of hereditary pestilence, by which all of us, out of Adam, have been turned against God, against the first table of Moses, and against the greatest, highest divine commandment.

017 And we have said nothing new there. The old scholastics, if they were rightly understood, said the same thing. For they say that original sin is a defect of the first purity and righteousness in paradise. But what is justitia oriAinalis, or the first righteousness in paradise? Righteousness and holiness in Scripture do not mean merely keeping the other table of Moses, doing good works, and serving one's neighbor; but Scripture calls him righteous, holy, and just who keeps the first table, who keeps the first commandment, that is, who fears God with all his heart, loves him, and relies on God.

(18) Therefore Adam's purity and unchanged nature was not only a fine perfect health and all over pure blood, untainted powers of the body, as they speak of it, but the greatest thing in such a noble first creature was a bright light in the heart to know God and fine work, a right fear of God, a right hearty trust in God, and all over a righteous certain mind, a fine good cheerful heart towards God and all divine things.

(19) And this is also attested by the Holy Scriptures, when they say that man is created in the image and likeness of God. For what is this but that divine wisdom and righteousness, which are of God, are formed in man? by which we know God, by which God's clarity is reflected in us, that is, that these gifts were first given to man when he was created, right clear knowledge of God, right fear, right trust, and the like.

020 For thus also Irenaeus, speaking of the image and likeness of God, and Ambrose, speaking of all things concerning the opinion, say among other things: The soul is not made in the image of God, in whom God is not always. And Paul to the Ephesians and Colossians sufficiently indicates that God's image in Scripture means nothing else than knowledge of God and righteousness and justice before God. ^Col. 3, 10. Eph. 4, 24.]

(21) And Longobardus says freely that the first-created righteousness in Adam is the image and likeness of God, which is formed in man by God. I am recounting the opinions and sayings of the ancients, who were interested in the

The same is the case with the teachings of Augustine, who speaks of the image of God. Therefore the ancients, when they say what original sin is and say that it is a lack of the first acquired righteousness, are of the opinion that man is not only corrupt in the body or in the lowest, basest powers, but that he has also thereby lost these gifts: right knowledge of God, right love and trust toward God, and the power, the light in the heart, which makes him love and delight in all these things. For the scholastici or theologians themselves teach in schools that this inherent righteousness would not have been possible for us without special gifts and without the help of grace.

022 And these gifts we call the fear of God, the knowledge of God, and confidence in God, that it may be understood. From all this it appears sufficiently that the ancients, when they say what original sin is, agree with us, and that their opinion is also that we come into misery through original sin, born of the fact that we do not have a good heart that loves God rightly toward God, and that we are not only unable to do or accomplish pure good works.

(23) Augustine also means the same thing, since he also wants to say what original sin is, and he uses to call original sin an evil desire, because he wants to indicate that after Adam's fall, instead of righteousness, evil desire is innate in us. For from the fall, since we, being born sinful, do not fear, love, or trust in God, we do nothing but rely on ourselves, despise God, or are terrified and flee from God.

024 And so in Augustine's words is also the opinion comprehended and understood of those who say that original sin is a defect of the first righteousness, that is, the evil desire which instead of that same righteousness clings to us. And the evil lust is not only a corruption or corruption of the first pure bodily health of Adam in Paradise, but also an evil lust and inclination, since according to the very best, highest powers and light of reason we are nevertheless carnally inclined and minded against God. And those do not know what they are saying who teach that man is able to love God above all things out of his own strength, and yet at the same time must confess that evil desire remains as long as this life lasts, insofar as it has not been completely killed by the Holy Spirit.

025 For which cause we have mentioned and expressed both these things, when we would have taught what original sin is, both the evil desire, and also the sin which is the original sin.

They say that the same defect is that we, the children of Adam, do not trust God with our hearts, nor fear Him, nor love Him. The evil desire is that all our mind, heart, and strength naturally go against God's word, since we not only seek all kinds of pleasures of the body, but also trust in our wisdom and righteousness, and forget God and pay little or no attention to Him. And not only the ancient fathers, as Augustine and the like, but also the most recent teachers and scholastics, who have had some understanding, teach that these two things are all original sin, namely, want and evil desire. For thus St. Thomas says that original sin is not only a defect of the first righteousness, but also a disordered desire or lust in the soul. Wherefore it is (he says) not alone vainly deficiency, but also uli^uiä positive. And St. Bonaventure also clearly says, If it be asked what original sin is, this is the right answer, that it is an unprovoked evil desire; also the right answer is, that it is a defect of righteousness: and one thing gives another.

026 The same is the meaning of Hugh, when he says, Original sin is blindness in the heart, and evil desire in the flesh. For he wants to indicate that we children of Adam are all born in such a way that we do not know God, despise God, do not trust Him, and even flee and hate Him. For this Hugo wished to briefly comprehend, since he says: I§iiornntin in insntö, blindness or ignorance in the heart. And the sayings also of the newest teachers agree with the holy Scriptures. For Paul calls original sin under times in plain words a lack of divine light 2c. 1 Cor. 2:14: "But the natural man heareth not of the Spirit of God;" and in other places he calls it evil lust, as in Romans 7:23, where he saith, "I see another law in my members," 2c. which lust bringeth forth all manner of evil fruits.

(27) I could probably bring up many more sayings of Scripture of both these things, but in this public truth it is not necessary. Every man of understanding will easily see and perceive, that therefore without the fear of God, without confidence in the heart, are not only aotus or real sins, but an inherent want of the divine light, and of all good, which remaineth, until we be born again of the Holy Ghost, and enlightened by him.

028 Therefore as we have hitherto written and taught concerning original sin, we teach nothing new, nothing but the holy scripture, the common

We do not believe in the holy Christian church, but in such necessary, brave, clear sayings of the holy Scriptures and the Fathers, which have been suppressed by the clumsy quarrels of the Sophists, and we would like to have the Christian doctrine pure again. For it is ever in evidence that the Sophists and the school-baiters have not understood what the Fathers meant by the word "lack of first righteousness.

029 But to teach this thing truly and correctly, and what original sin is or is not, is of great need, and no man can heartily desire or long for Christ, for the unspeakable treasure of divine mercy and grace, which the gospel sets forth, who knoweth not his miseries and pestilences, as Christ saith, "The sane have no need of a physician," Matt. 9:12. 9,12. Marc. 2,17. All holy, honorable life, all good works, as much as a man may do on earth, are vain hypocrisy and abomination in the sight of God, for we first recognize that we are wretched sinners of a kind, who are in disgrace to God, neither fearing nor loving God. Thus says the prophet: "Because you have shown it to me, I am terrified," Jer. 31:19, and the Psalm: "All men are liars," that is, they are not rightly minded by God, Ps. 116:11.

030 Now here the adversaries cry out vehemently against Doctor Luther, because he wrote that original sin remains even after baptism, and say in addition that the same article was justly condemned by Pope Leo the Tenth.

(31) But the imperial majesty will here publicly find that they do us quite wrong. For the adversaries understand almost well what opinion Doctor Luther meant when he said that original sin remains after baptism. He has always written clearly that holy baptism takes away and eradicates the whole guilt and hereditary obligation of original sin, although the material (as they call it) of sin, namely the evil inclination and lust, remains.

32 In all his writings he adds of the same material that the Holy Spirit, who is given through baptism, begins to kill and quench inwardly the other evil desires daily, and brings into the heart a new light, a new mind, and a new courage. Augustine also speaks of this opinion when he says: "Original sin is forgiven in baptism, not that it is no longer, but that it is not imputed.

033 Then Augustine openly confesses that sin abideth in us, though it be not imputed unto us.

is reckoned. And this saying of Augustine's was so well received by the teachers afterward, that it is also referred to in the decree. And against Julianum Augustine says: "The law which is in our members is done away by spiritual regeneration, and yet remains in the flesh, which is mortal. It is taken away, because the guilt is entirely removed, through the sacrament, by which believers are born again; and still remains, because it works evil lusts, against which believers struggle.

(34) That Doctor Luther thus holds and teaches, the adversaries know almost well, and if they cannot dispute it, but must confess it themselves, they maliciously pervert his words, and falsely interpret his opinion to suppress the truth and innocently condemn him.

035 But further, the adversaries contend that evil desire is a burden and punishment laid upon it, and is not such a sin as is guilty of death and damnation. Against this Doctor Luther says that it is such a damnable sin. I have said above that Augustine also reports this, that original sin is the inherent evil desire. If this be evil spoken, let them fight it out with Augustine.

036 Paul saith concerning this, "I knew not sin without the law. For I knew not of lust, where the law had not said, Be not lascivious." There ever Paul says arid out: I knew not that lust was sin 2c. Item: "I see another law in my members, which opposeth the law in my mind, and taketh me captive unto the law of sin, which is in my members" [Rom. 7:7, 23].

037 These are Paul's bright, certain words, and plain sayings; against them no gloss, no crafty little thing, can avail. These sayings all devils and all men cannot overthrow. He clearly calls evil desires a sin, but he says that such sin is not imputed to those who believe in Christ; nevertheless, in itself it is truly a sin, guilty of death and eternal damnation. And there is no doubt that this was also the opinion of the ancient fathers. For Augustine disputes and fights vehemently against those who held that the evil inclination and lust in man was not sin, and neither good nor evil, just as having a black or white body is neither good nor evil.

038 And if the adversaries shall pretend that fomes, or the evil inclination, is neither good nor evil; then shall not only many sayings of the scripture be against it, but also the whole church and all the fathers. For all experienced Christian hearts know, that these things, alas, do not make us in the skin.

We are not inferior to God, but we are inferior to God, and we are inferior to God, and we are inferior to God, and we are inferior to God, and we are inferior to God. Let us always think, then, after the manner of carnal security, that God's wrath and severity are not so great against sin as they surely are. Let us not esteem the noble and unspeakable treasure of the gospel and the atonement of Christ as precious and noble as it is. We murmur against God's work and will, because he does not soon help us in our afflictions and does as we please. For we know daily that it grieveth us, as David also and all the saints lamented, that it is well with the wicked in this world.

039 Whereof all men feel how easily their heart is kindled, now and then with ambition, than with wrath, and with anger, than with fornication.

040 If then the adversaries themselves must confess that such unbelief, such disobedience to God, is in the heart, if there is not whole consent (as they speak of it), but only inclination and desire: who will be so bold as to regard these gross pieces neither evil nor good? Now the plain psalms and plain words of the prophets are there, that they confess that they feel thus.

041 But the sophists in the schools have spoken against the plain public scripture in this matter, and have devised their own dreams and sayings out of philosophy; saying, that for the evil pleasures we are neither evil nor good, neither to be reproached nor praised. Item, that lusts and thoughts inwardly are not sin, unless I consent to them altogether. The same speech and words in the books of the philosophers are to be understood of outward respectability before the world, and also outward punishment before the world. For it is true, as the lawyers say, L. eo^itutionis: Thoughts are free from duty and punishment; but God searches the hearts, with God's judgment and sentence it is different.

042 So also to this matter they add other inconsistent sayings, namely, that God's creature and nature cannot be evil in itself. This I do not respect, if it be spoken at all, when it is done: but let not this saying be used to make original sin small. And these sayings of the sophists have done much unspeakable harm, by which they have mixed philosophy and doctrine, which concern the outward life before the world, with the gospel; and yet they have not only taught it in the schools, but have also preached it openly and insolently before the people. And the ungodly, erroneous, dangerous, harmful doctrines had prevailed throughout the world; there was nothing preached.
For our merit is in all the world, and thereby the knowledge of Christ and the gospel is wholly suppressed.

(43) For this reason Doctor Luther wanted to teach and explain from the Scriptures how a great mortal guilt original sin is before God, and how we are born in great misery, and that the remaining original sin, which remains after baptism, is not in itself inäikksrsns, but requires the mediator of Christ, so that it is not imputed to us by God, and without ceasing the light and effect of the Holy Spirit, by which it is swept out and put to death.

44 Although the sophists and scholastics teach otherwise, and both of them teach about original sin and the punishment of original sin contrary to Scripture, since they say that man is able to keep God's commandment by his own strength, the punishment that God inflicted on Adam's children for original sin is described much differently in the first book of Moses. For there human nature is condemned, not only to death and other bodily evils, but also subjected to the kingdom of the devil. For there is pronounced this terrible sentence: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between her seed and thy seed. [Gen. 3:15.]

(45) The lack of first righteousness and evil desire are sin and punishment; but death and other bodily evils, the tyranny and dominion of the devil, are really the punishment and punishment of original sin. For human nature, through original sin, is given over to the power of the devil, and so is imprisoned in the kingdom of the devil, who deceives and seduces many a great wise man in the world with terrible error, heresy, and other blindnesses, and otherwise drags men away to all manner of vices.

046 But as it is not possible to overcome the crafty and powerful spirit of Satan without the help of Christ, so neither can we help ourselves out of prison by our own strength.

(47) It is seen and found in all history from the beginning of the world that the kingdom of the devil is an unspeakably great power. It is seen that the world, from the highest to the lowest, is full of blasphemies, of great error, of ungodly doctrine against God and his word. In the strong fetters and chains the devil holds captive many wise people, many hypocrites, who seem holy before the world; the others he leads into other gross vices, avarice, pride, and so on.

048 If Christ therefore be given unto us, to take away the same sins, and the grievous punishments of sin; sin, and death, and death, and death, and death, and death, and sin, and death, and death, and death, and sin, and death, and death, and death, and death.

If the devil's kingdom overcomes us too well, no one can heartily rejoice in the great treasure; no one can recognize the abundant riches of grace, for he first feels the same burden of our innate great misery and sorrow. Wherefore our preachers have taught of this necessary article with all diligence, and have taught nothing new, but only plain words of the holy scriptures, and certain sayings of the fathers, Augustine, and others.

(49) This, we think, the imperial majesty should allow to be just enough against the loose, childish, unfounded arguments of the adversaries, by which they challenge our article without cause, quite unreasonably. For they sing, say, how much, what and how long they want, so we actually know that, and are truly certain that we teach Christianly and rightly, and agree with the common Christian church and hold. If they should continue to make a wanton quarrel about this, let them see, God willing, there shall not be lack of men here who will answer them, and still maintain the truth.

50 For the adversaries know not what they speak. For how often do they speak and write things repugnant to themselves? nor do they understand their own dialectics from the formality of original sin, that is, what actually is or is not original sin in its essence, what also is the defect of first righteousness. In this place, however, we have not wished to speak more subtly or further of their quarrelsome disputation, but only to relate the sayings and opinions of the holy fathers, whom we also teach in the same way, in clear, common, intelligible words.

Article III From Christo.

051 The third article the adversaries leave to them, because we confess that in Christ there are two natures, namely, that the Son of God took on human nature, and therefore God and man are One Person, One Christ, and that He suffered and died for us to make atonement for us to the Father, and that He rose from the dead to possess an everlasting kingdom, sanctifying and justifying all believers, as the first apostles teach, and 8^m1)o1urli Mcasrium.

Article IV. (II.) How to become pious and righteous before GOD.

052 In the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, and afterwards in the twentieth, the adversaries condemn our confession, that we teach that believers receive forgiveness of sins through Christ without any merit by faith alone.
And we reject them both in spite of ourselves. First, that we say no to men's sins being forgiven by their merit. Second, that we hold, teach, and confess that no one is reconciled to God, no one obtains forgiveness of sins, except through faith in Christ alone.

(53) But because such a dispute is over the highest, most noble article of the whole Christian doctrine, so that a great deal depends on this article, which also serves primarily for a clear, correct understanding of the whole of Holy Scripture, and points the way to the ineffable treasure and the right knowledge of Christ alone, and also opens the door to the whole Bible alone, without which article also no poor conscience can have a right, constant, certain consolation or recognize the riches of Christ's graces, we ask, Imperial Majesty, to hear us about this great, brave, highly important matter according to necessity and grace. Maj. will hear of this great, brave, highly important matter according to necessity and graciously. For since the adversaries neither understand nor know at all what is to be understood by these words in Scripture, what is forgiveness of sin, what is faith, what is grace, what is righteousness, they have miserably defiled this noble, highly necessary, most distinguished article, without which no one will know Christ, miserably defiled, and even suppressed the high, precious treasure of the knowledge of Christ, or of what Christ and his kingdom and grace are, and miserably robbed the poor consciences of such a noble, great treasure and eternal consolation, in which they had great need.

054 But that we may confirm our confession, and lay aside what the adversaries have brought forward, let us first shew the reason and cause of both doctrines, that each part may be heard more clearly.

055 All scripture, both old and new testaments, is divided into two parts, and teacheth these two parts, the law and the divine promises. For in some places it keeps us from the law; in others it gives grace through the glorious promises of Christ. For in the Old Testament the Scripture promises the Christ who is to come, and imparts eternal blessing, grace, eternal salvation, righteousness, and eternal life through him; or in the New Testament, when Christ, who has come to earth, promises in the Gospel forgiveness of sins, eternal righteousness, and eternal life.

056 But here, in this place, we call the law the ten commandments of God, where they are read in the scriptures. We will not speak here of the ceremonies and laws of the courts.

057 Now of these two things the adversaries take the law before them. For since the natural law, which agrees with the law of Moses, or ten commandments, is innate and written in the hearts of all men, and therefore reason is able to grasp and understand the ten commandments to some extent, it wants to think that it has had enough of the law, and that through the law one can obtain forgiveness of sin.

(58) Now the ten commandments require not only an outwardly honorable life or good works, which reason is able to do to some extent, but they require something much higher, which is above all human powers, above all the faculties of reason, namely, the law wants us to fear and love God with all earnestness, from the bottom of our hearts, to call upon him alone in all our troubles, and to put our trust in nothing else.

(59) The Law commands us not to waver or waver, but to conclude in our hearts with the utmost certainty that God is with us, that He hears our prayer, and that our sighing and supplications are yes. Item, that we should still expect life and all kinds of comfort from God in the midst of death, that we should completely surrender to His will in all temptations, that we should not flee from Him in death and tribulation, but rather be obedient to Him, gladly bearing and suffering everything as we are able.

(60) Here the scholastics have followed the philosophers, and when they want to say how one becomes pious before God, they teach only a righteousness and piety in which a man outwardly leads an honorable life before the world and does good works, and invent this dream to the effect that human reason, without the Holy Spirit, is able to love God above all things. For it is true that when a man's heart is idle and not in temptation, and because he does not feel God's wrath and judgment, he may invent such a dream as if he loved God above all things and did much good and much work for God's sake, but it is all hypocrisy. And in this way the adversaries have taught that men deserve forgiveness of sins when they do as much as is in them, that is, when reason makes it sorry for sin, and devises a will to love God.

011 And this opinion and erroneous doctrine, because people are naturally inclined to think that their merit and work are worthy of respect and merit in the sight of God, has caused innumerable abuses of worship in the church, such as the monastic vows, abuses of the masses, as such things are innumerable, always a

God's service over the other is conceived from this error. And that only such confidence in our merit and work should be ever extended, 1) they have been allowed to say impudently, and to conclude: God the Lord must of necessity give grace to those who thus do good works; not that he is compelled, but that this is the order, which God neither overrules nor changes.

(62) And in these pieces, in this very teaching, many other great, quite harmful errors and terrible blasphemies of God are concealed and hidden, all of which it would be too long to mention by name now. But let every Christian reader consider this for God's sake. Can we become pious and Christians before God through such works, I would like to hear (and try your best to answer here), what difference there would be between the philosophers' and Christ's teachings, if we could obtain forgiveness of sins through such our works, or "uetu" "slieito"? What good is Christ to us? Can we become holy and pious before God by natural reason and our own good works, what may we do with the blood and death of Christ, or that we may be born again through him? as Peter says [1 Ep. 1,18.ff.]. And from the annual error (because such was publicly taught in schools, and practised in the preaching-chairs) it has, alas, come to pass, that even great theologians at Louvain, Paris 2c. have known of no other Christian piety or righteousness (though all the letters and syllables in Paul teach otherwise), but of the piety which philosophy teaches; and if it should be strange to us, and we should laugh at them, they laugh at us, and even mock Paul himself.

(63) Thus the shameful and abominable error has come to pass. I myself have heard a great preacher who did not think of Christ and the gospel, and preached *Aristotle's Ethicorum.* Is this not called childish, foolish preaching among Christians? But if the adversary's teaching is true, the Ethicorum is a delicious book of sermons, and a fine new Bible. For it is not easy for anyone to write better about an outwardly respectable life than Aristotle.

044 We see that certain learned men have written books, wherein they show that the words of Christ and the sayings of Socratis and Zenonis agree well together; as if Christ had come to give good laws and commandments, by which he would not have been able to give them.

1) J. T. Müller: "worden"; Latin: auZsrsnt.

which we ought to merit forgiveness of sins, and not rather to proclaim the grace and peace of God, and to pour out the Holy Spirit by His merit and blood.

065 Therefore, if we accept the doctrine of the adversaries, that we may merit forgiveness of sins by the power of natural reason and our works, we are already Aristotelian, and not Christian; and there is no difference between respectable heathen life, between Pharisaic and Christian life, between philosophy and the Gospel.

66. Although the adversaries, lest they should be silent about the name of Christ as ungodly and crude heathen, speak of faith in such a way that they say it is a knowledge of the history of Christ, and although they also say something about Christ, namely, that he has earned for us a liudituiri, or, as they call it, priirmiri zratiam, the first grace, which they regard as an inclination by which we can nevertheless love God more easily than otherwise, it is nevertheless a weak, small, little, bad effect which Christ would thus have, or which would occur through such dudituiri.

67 For they say, nevertheless, that the works of our reason and will, before the same uditus is, and also after, when the same uditus is, are ssu8äsiri 8pssisi, that is, before and after one and the same thing.

68 For they say that our reason and human will are able in themselves to love God, but that the ulitus brings an inclination that reason, which it is well able to do before, may do the more gladly and easily.

069 Wherefore they also teach that the same *hadith* must be merited by our previous works, and that by the works of the law we merit increase of such good affections, and eternal life.

070 So men hide Christ from us, and bury him anew, that we cannot know him to be a mediator. For they say not at all, that it is by grace alone, without merit, that we obtain forgiveness of sins through him; but they make up their dreams, as if by good works and the works of the law we might obtain forgiveness of sins, when the whole Scripture saith, that we are not able to fulfil or keep the law. And if reason does nothing by the law, but only outward works, and fears not God in its heart, it does not believe that God is aware of it. And although they speak of the haditu in this way, it is certain that without faith in Christ there can be no true love of God in anyone's heart.

also no one understand what God's love is, without faith.

(71) But that they invent a difference between the mrito LoriZrui and irisrito sonäiKni, between the due merit and the right whole merit, they play and quarrel only with words, lest they be publicly known as Pelagians. For if God of necessity must give grace for due merit, it is not due merit, but a right duty and whole merit, though they themselves know not what they say. For they invent and dream that if the Uaditu8 of God's love (said above) is there, then man duly or äs sonZruo deserves the grace of God, and yet they say that no one can be so sure whether the same Uaditii8 is there.

How do they know, or when do they know, whether they deserve our Lord God's grace in full or in part, or whether they deserve it entirely through merit? But oh, dear Lord God, these are just cold thoughts and dreams of idle, hopeless, inexperienced people, who do not practice the Bible much, who neither know nor experience what a sinner's heart is like, what the temptations of death or the devil are, who do not know how pure we forget all merit, all works, when our heart feels God's wrath, or our conscience is in anguish. The secure, inexperienced people always go along in the delusion that they earn grace with their works;

73. For it is natural to us, without this, that we should like to think much of ourselves and our works. But when a conscience really feels its sin and sorrow, all jesting and playful thoughts are over, and there is great, true earnestness; then neither heart nor conscience can be satisfied, seeking all kinds of works and misdeeds, and would gladly feel certainty, would gladly feel grounded, and would surely rest and rest on something. But these frightened consciences feel well that nothing can be earned either by this or by that; they soon sink into despair and despair, if another word is not preached to them than the doctrine of the law, namely, the gospel of Christ, who was given for us.

Seventy-four: Hence it is known in some histories that the monks of the Barefoot, when they had pledged their order and good works to some good consciences at the hour of death, were at last obliged to keep silent of their order and of St. Francis, and to say this word: "Dear man, Christ is for you.

died for thee. That hath refreshed and comforted in anguish, giving peace and comfort alone.

075 So the adversaries teach nothing but an outward godliness of outward good works, which Paul calls the godliness of the law; and so, like the Jews, they see the hidden face of Moses, and do nothing but strengthen assurance and hardness in certain sure hypocrites, and lead men to a sandy bottom, to their own works, whereby Christ and the gospel are despised, and give many a miserable conscience cause of despair. For they do good works under uncertain delusions, never knowing how great and powerful faith is, and finally falling into despair.

76. We hold and speak of outward godliness in this way, that God requires and wants such an outwardly honorable life, and for the sake of God's commandment one must do the same good works that are commanded in the Ten Commandments. For the law is our disciplinarian [Gal. 3, 24], and the law is given to the unrighteous [1 Tim. 1, 9]. For God the Lord wills that gross sins be increased by an outward discipline; and to maintain the same, he gives laws, ordains authorities, gives learned, wise men to serve for the regiment. And so reason is able to lead an outwardly respectable life and conduct by its own powers, though it is often hindered by inherent weakness and the wiles of the devil.

(77) Although I gladly give such an outward life and good works as much praise as they deserve, for in this life and in the worldly being there is nothing better 1) than honesty and virtue. As Aristotle says that neither the morning star nor the evening star is more lovely and beautiful than honesty and righteousness, and as God also rewards such virtue with bodily gifts, so good works and such conduct should not be so highly exalted that it brings dishonor to Christ.

078 For thus I conclude, and am sure, that it is imaginary, and not true, that by our works we should merit forgiveness of sins.

79. It is also a lie and not true that a man can become righteous and godly before God by his works and outward piety.

80 Neither is it groundless, nor true, that human reason, out of its own powers, should be able to-

1) Müller: "nichtsbesser". But the Latin says: nutluni was us donum, and the Jena offers: "nothing better," therefore we have assumed the latter.

to love God above all things, to keep His commandments, to fear Him, to be certain that God will hear prayer, to give thanks to God, and to be obedient in tribulations and other things commanded by God's law, as not to covet other people's goods 2c. For reason is not able to do all this, even though it is outwardly able to live honorably and to do good works to some extent.

011 Neither is it fancied, and not true, and a blasphemy against Christ, that they should be without sin who keep the commandments of God outwardly only, without spirit and grace in their hearts.

82. I have testimony to this decision of mine, not only from the holy Scriptures, but also from the ancient Fathers. Augustine speaks and acts most abundantly against the Pelagians, that grace is not given because of our merit. And in the book de natura st Arutiu, that is, Of Nature and Grace, he says thus: If the faculty of nature, through free will, is sufficient both to know how to live, and thus to live rightly, Christ died in vain.

(83) Why should I not cry out and shout with Paul here? I may justly cry out, "Ye have lost Christ, who would be justified by the work of the law, and are fallen from grace" [Gal. 5:4]. "For ye know not the righteousness that is before God, and seek to establish your own righteousness, and are not subject unto the righteousness that is before God" [Rom. 10:3.]. For as the end of the law is Christ, so also the Saviour of the corrupt nature is Christ. Item, Joh. 8, 36. "If the Son shall make you free, ye are justly free."

(84) Therefore we cannot be freed from sins or earn forgiveness of sins by reason or by our good works. It is written in John 3:5, "Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

(85) Therefore, if this means that we must be born again through the Holy Spirit, then our good works or our own merit will not justify us before God, so we cannot keep or fulfill the Law. Item, Rom. 3, 23: "They are all sinners, and lack the glory which they ought to have in God," that is, they lack the wisdom and righteousness that is valid in the sight of God, by which they should rightly know, esteem, and praise God. Item, Rom. 8, 7.8: "To be carnally minded is an enmity against God, since it is not subject to the law of God, nor is it able to be. The

but are carnally minded may not please God."

(86) These are such clear and bright sayings of Scripture that they do not require such a sharp understanding, but only that one read them and take a good look at the clear words, as Augustine also says in this matter. Now if reason and being carnally minded is an enmity against God, no man can warmly love God without the Holy Spirit. If the carnal mind is against God, then truly the best good works are unclean and sinful, which an Adam's child may always do. If the flesh cannot be subject to God's law, then a man also truly sins, even if he does noble, beautiful, and delicious good works, which the world esteems great.

(87) The adversaries see only the commandments of the other tablet of Moses, which also speaks of outward honesty, which reason understands better, and want to think that with such outward good works they are keeping God's law. But they do not look at the first tablet, which commands us to love God with all our heart, not to waver or doubt, not to be angry with God because of sin, not to fear God with all our heart, not to doubt in our hearts that God is not far away and that He hears our prayer.

(88) Now, before we are born again by the Holy Spirit, we are all of the Adamic kind, in that our hearts are sure to despise God's wrath, judgment, and forbearance, and to be hateful to His judgment and punishments. Now if all the children of Adam are born in great sins, that we all of a kind despise God, put his word, promise, and forbearance in doubt, then truly our best good works, which we do before we are born again by the Holy Spirit, must be sinful and condemned works before God, though they are beautiful in the sight of the world. 1) For they proceed out of an evil, ungodly, unclean heart, as Paul saith Rom. 14:23, "Whatsoever proceedeth not from faith is sin." For all such works saints do works without faith, despise God in their hearts, and believe as little that God will take care of them as Epicurus believed. The contempt of God inwardly must ever make the works obscene and sinful, even if they are beautiful before men; for God searches the hearts.

019 Last of all, this is ever most foolishly and unskilfully spoken by the adversaries, that men, who are also guilty of everlasting wrath, should be forgiven.

1) Müller has replaced "his" with: "be". In Latin: et-iuru Huuni üouestu Opera iaoiunt,.

The Lord is the one who has the power to give forgiveness of sins through love, or aetum elioitunr äileotionis, since it is impossible to love God if the heart has not first grasped forgiveness of sins through faith.

(90) For a heart that is in anguish and rightly feels God's wrath cannot love God, unless he gives breath to the heart, comforts it, and shows himself merciful again. For since he terrifies us and thus attacks us, as if he wanted to push us away from him in eternal disgrace to eternal death, the poor weak nature must lose heart and courage, and must tremble before such great wrath, which terrifies and punishes so horribly, and can then, before God himself comforts us, not feel a speck of love.

(91) Idle and inexperienced people may well invent for themselves a dream of love, which is why they speak so childishly that one who is guilty of a mortal sin may nevertheless love God above all things. For they do not yet know what a burden sin is, what a great torment it is to feel God's wrath.

(92) But pious hearts, which have experienced it in the right fight with Satan and right anxieties of conscience, know well that such words and thoughts are vain thoughts, vain dreams. Paul says: "The law only causes wrath", Rom. 4, 15. He does not say that through the law people deserve forgiveness of sins. For the law always accuses and terrifies the conscience.

Therefore the law makes no one righteous and just before God, for a frightened conscience fears God and His judgment. Therefore, those who want to earn forgiveness of sins by their works or by the law are mistaken.

(94) Let this be said enough of the righteousness of the saints of works, or of the reason which the adversaries teach. For soon after, when we shall speak of the piety and righteousness that is valid before God, which comes from faith, the thing itself will bring about the introduction of more sayings from Scripture, all of which will serve equally well to overthrow the above-mentioned errors of the adversaries.

95 For since no man is able to keep the law of God by his own strength, and all are under sin, guilty of eternal wrath and death, we cannot be freed from sin by the law, nor become righteous in the sight of God, but are promised forgiveness of sin and righteousness through Christ, who was given for us to pay for the sin of the world, 2) and is the

2) Müller: "bezahlet"; Latin: sat-istueorot.

Some mediator and redeemer. And this promise is not thus: Through Christ you have grace, salvation, where you deserve it, but purely by grace he offers forgiveness of sin, as Paul says: "If forgiveness of sin is of works, it is not grace"; and in another place: "This righteousness, which is before God, is revealed without law", that is, forgiveness of sin is offered in vain.

006 And therefore it is not of our own merit that we are reconciled to God. For if it were of our own merit that we should be forgiven of sin and reconciled to God out of the law, it would be lost, and if we were truly wickedly united and reconciled to God, because we do not and cannot keep the law, it would follow that we would never obtain the grace and reconciliation promised.

97 For thus Paul saith unto the Romans, in the fourth chapter, v. 14, If the inheritance be of the law, faith is nothing, and the promise is made void. Now if the promise was based on our merit and on the law, it followed, because we could not keep the law, that the promise was in vain.

98 But if we become righteous and just before God by grace and mercy alone, which are promised in Christ, we shall not become righteous by our works. For what need would there be of the glorious, divine promise, and why should Paul exalt and praise grace so highly?

99. Therefore the gospel teacheth, exalteth, preacheth, and exalteth the righteousness that cometh by faith in Christ, which is not the righteousness of the law. So also the law teacheth nothing of this, and is much more righteousness than the righteousness of the law. For the law requires of us our works, and would have us to be inwardly godly in heart, and wholly righteous. 1)

(100) But the divine promise offers us, as those who are overcome by sin and death, help, grace, and reconciliation for Christ's sake; which grace no man can obtain by works, but only by faith in Christ. This same faith neither brings nor gives to the Lord any work or merit of its own, but builds only on grace alone, and knows neither how to comfort itself nor how to rely on anything, but only on mercy, which is promised in Christ. Now this same faith, when every man believeth for himself that Christ is given for him, obtaineth alone.

1) Müller: "are"; Jenaer: "be".

Forgiveness of sin for Christ's sake, and makes us righteous and just before God.

101) And because this same faith, being in righteous repentance, restores our hearts even in the terror of sin and death, we are born again through it, and through faith the Holy Spirit comes into our hearts, who renews our hearts so that we may keep God's law, love God rightly, fear Him with certainty, not waver nor doubt, that Christ is given to us, that He hears our cries and supplications, and that we may rejoice in God's will even in the midst of death. So this faith, which by grace freely receives and obtains forgiveness of sin, is righteous, which sets not its own merit or work against the wrath of God, which would be a feather against a whirlwind, but which represents Christ the Mediator, and this faith is a right knowledge of Christ.

022 He therefore that believeth knoweth the great benefits of Christ, and is made a new creature: and until such faith be in the heart, no man can fulfil the law. Of the same faith and knowledge of Christ there is not a syllable, not a tittle, in all the books of the adversaries.

013 Wherefore we also reproach the adversaries, because they teach the law only of our works, and not the gospel, which teacheth that a man is justified if he believe in Christ.

What is the faith that makes pious and righteous in the sight of God?

014 The adversaries suppose that faith is this, that I know or have heard the things concerning Christ: therefore they teach that I may believe, though I be in mortal sin.

055 Wherefore of the true Christian faith, which Paul speaketh of so often in all places, that by faith we become righteous in the sight of God, they know or speak nothing at all. For those who are considered holy and righteous in the sight of God are not in mortal sin. Therefore, the faith that makes one righteous and just before God is not only this, that I know the history of how Christ was born, suffered, and died. (the devils know this also), but is the certainty, or the certain, strong confidence in my heart, since I believe with all my heart the promise of God to be certain and true, by which is offered to me, without my merit, forgiveness of sin, grace, and all salvation, through the Mediator Christ. And lest any one think that it is a mere knowledge of history, I add this: Faith is that my whole heart may take hold of the same treasure...

And it is not my doing, nor my giving, nor my work, nor my preparation; but that a heart may be comforted, and wholly confident, that God giveth us, and giveth us, and we not unto him, that he will lavish upon us all the treasures of grace in Christ.

016 From this it is easy to perceive the difference between faith and godliness, which is by the law. For faith is such a service and righteousness, that I give and receive. But the righteousness of the law is such a service of God, which commends our works to God. So then God will be honored through faith, that we may receive from him what he promises and commends.

107) Now that faith is not the only knowledge of history, but that it holds fast the divine promise, is sufficiently signified by Paul, who saith unto the Romans in the fourth chapter, v. 16: "Therefore must righteousness come by faith, that the promise may stand fast."

(108) There Paul attaches and connects the two so that where there is promise, there must also be faith 2c. And again oorrslutivs: where there is promise, God also requires faith.

(109) Although it is still more clear and difficult to show what the faith that makes one righteous is, if we look at our own sins and faith. For in the K^iridolo there is this article: "Forgiveness of sin." Therefore it is not enough that I know or believe that Christ was born, suffered, and rose again, if we do not also believe this article, wherefore all these things are finally done, namely, I believe that my sins are forgiven me. The other thing must be drawn from this article, namely, that for Christ's sake, not for my own merit, our sins are forgiven. For what need is there that God should give Christ for our sin, if our merit could suffice for our sin?

010 Therefore, as often as we speak of the faith that justifieth, or of the faith that maketh righteous, these three things, or okjseta, are always with one another. First, the divine promise; secondly, that the same is free, without merit, grace; thirdly, that Christ's blood and merit is the treasure by which sin is paid for. The promise is received by faith: but that it should receive grace without merit, then all our worthiness and merit is brought to nought, and great grace and mercy are praised. But the merit of Christ is the treasure. For there must be a treasure and a precious pledge, by which the sins of the whole world are paid for.

(111) All the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, when they speak of God and faith, use much of this word: goodness, mercy, *miserieorckia*. And the holy Fathers in all their books all say that we are saved by grace, by goodness, by forgiveness. Now as often as we find the word "mercy" in Scripture, or in the Fathers, we are to know that there is taught of faith, which grasps the promise of such mercy. Again, whenever the Scriptures speak of faith, they mean the faith that is built on pure grace. For faith does not make us righteous and just before God because it is our work and ours in Himself, but only because it receives the promised grace offered, without merit, from a rich treasure.

(112) And such faith and trust in God's mercy is praised as the greatest and most holy service of God, especially in the prophets and psalms. For although the Law does not preach grace and forgiveness of sins as the Gospel does, yet the promises of the future Christ are grounded from one patriarch to another, and they knew and believed that God would give blessing, grace, salvation, and comfort through the blessed Seed, through Christ.

013 Therefore, when they understood that Christ should be the treasure by which our sins should be paid, they knew that our works could not pay such a great debt. Therefore they have received forgiveness of sins, grace, and salvation without any merit, and have been saved through faith in the divine promise, in the gospel of Christ, as well as we or the saints in the New Testament. Hence these words, mercy, goodness, faith, are so often repeated in psalms and prophets, as in the 130th Psalm, v. 3: "If thou wilt, O Lord, take heed to iniquity, O Lord, who shall stand?" Then David confesses his sin, and boasts not of much merit, saying also further, "For with thee there is forgiveness, that they may fear thee." Then he feels comfort again and relies on grace and mercy, relies on the divine promise and says: "My soul waits for the Lord, and I wait for his word." And yet, "My soul waiteth on the Lord," that is, because thou hast promised forgiveness of sin, I keep the promise, I rely and venture on the gracious promise. For this reason 1) the holy

1) Müller: "to become"; Latin: justiüeukantur.

Patriarchs pious and holy before GOD, not even by law, but by GOD's promise and faith.

(114) And if indeed every man should be greatly astonished why the adversaries teach so little, or nothing at all, of faith, when they see very plainly in all the syllables of the Bible, that faith is commended and praised for the highest, noblest, holiest, greatest, most acceptable, best service of God. So he says in the 50th Psalm, v. 15. "Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will save thee." So then, and by this means, God wants to be known to us, so he wants to be honored, that we may receive and receive from him grace, salvation, and all good things, and that by grace, not because of our merit.

(115) This knowledge is indeed a noble knowledge, and a mighty comfort in all temptations, bodily and spiritual, whether to die or to live, as pious hearts know. And this same noble, precious, certain consolation the adversaries rob and take from poor consciences when they speak and teach of faith so coldly, so contemptuously, and in contrast deal with God, the high Majesty, through our miserable beggarly works and merit.

That faith in Christ makes righteous.

(116) For the first, that no one may think that we speak of a bad knowledge or knowledge of the history of Christ, we must first say how it happens, how a heart begins to believe, how it comes to believe. Then we will show that this same faith makes one pious in the sight of God, and how this is to be understood, and we will reject the adversary's reasons actually, clearly, and certainly. Christ commands Luke in the last place to preach repentance and forgiveness of sin. The gospel also reproves all men, that they are born in sins, and that they are all guilty of eternal wrath and death, and offers them forgiveness of sins and righteousness through Christ. And the same forgiveness, reconciliation, and righteousness, is received by faith.

117) For the preaching of repentance, or this voice of the gospel, "Repent ye, do penance," when it entereth rightly into the hearts, terrifieth the consciences, and is not a jest, but a great terror, because the conscience feeleth its sorrow, and sin, and the wrath of God. In this fright the hearts are to seek comfort again. This happens when they believe in the promise of Christ, that through him we have forgiveness of sins. The faith that is found in such
The same strong consolation is a new birth, and a new life; for the same strong consolation straightens and comforts the heart, receives and feels forgiveness of sin, makes righteous, brings life.

118. This is ever plainly and clearly spoken. Thus devout hearts know that it is altogether; thus the examples that it has been so with all the saints from the beginning are present in the church, as may be seen in the conversion of Paul and Augustine. The adversaries have nothing certain, can nowhere rightly say or intelligibly speak of how the Holy Spirit is given. They invent their own dreams, that by badly receiving and using the sacraments ex opere operato men obtain grace and receive the Holy Spirit, when the heart is not there at all, as if the light of the Holy Spirit were such a bad, weak, null thing.

019 But if we speak of such faith, which is not an idle thought, but such a new light, life, and power in the heart, as turns the heart, mind, and spirit, and makes of us a new man and a new creature, that is, a new light and work of the Holy Ghost; understand of men that we speak not of such faith, which is deadly sin, as the adversaries speak of faith. For how can light and darkness be together? For faith, where it is, and while it is there, bringeth forth good fruit, as we shall say afterward.

(120) This is ever spoken in clear, plain, simple words, how it is when a sinner is rightly converted, what the new birth is or is not. Now, in spite of all the 8ontontiariis, whether they can produce one among the innumerable commentaries, glosses, and scribes on Kontoritiarum, who puts a word, a tittle, rightly, about how it happens when a sinner is converted. When they speak of love, or when they speak of their UaVitu äilootionis, they certainly bring forward their dreams, that the same UaUitum the people earn by their works, but speak nothing at all of God's promise or word, as also at this time the Anabaptists teach.

(121) Now one cannot deal with God; God cannot be known, sought, or grasped, for only in the word and through the word, as Paul says [Rom. 1:16]: "The gospel is the power of God to all who believe in it"; item, Rom. 10, v. 17: "Faith is of the hearing. And from this alone it should ever be clear enough that by faith alone we become godly before GOD. For if we come to God by the word of God alone, and if we are saved by the word of God alone, we are saved by the word of God alone.

And no man can understand the word, but by faith: therefore it follows, that faith justifieth. But there are other causes that rhyme with this.

052 This I have said hitherto, that I may shew how it is, how we are born again, and that it may be understood what the faith is, or is not, of which we speak.

(123) Now let us show that this same faith, and nothing else, justifies us before God. And first of all I will warn the reader of this, just as this saying must and shall stand, and no one can overthrow it: "Christ is our only Mediator" [1 Tim. 2:5]: so also no one can overthrow this saying: "By faith we are justified without works." For how will Christ be and remain the Mediator, if we do not by faith hold to Him as to the Mediator, and thus be reconciled to God, if we do not certainly hold in our hearts that for His sake we are esteemed righteous before God? This is what it means to believe, to trust, and thus to be comforted in the merit of Christ, that for his sake God will surely be gracious to us. Item, as this is clear in Scripture, that the promise of Christ is necessary above the law for salvation, so it is also clear that faith makes righteous. For the law preacheth not forgiveness of sins by grace. For we cannot fulfil the law, nor keep it, until we have received the Holy Spirit.

014 Therefore it must be that the promise of Christ is necessary to salvation. This no one can grasp or receive, except by faith alone. Therefore, those who teach that we are not justified and righteous before God by faith, what do they do but suppress Christ and the gospel and teach the law?

(125) But some, when it is said that faith justifies before God, may understand this from the beginning, namely, that faith is only the beginning, or a preparation for justification, that is, that faith itself is not to be considered as pleasing and acceptable to God, but that we are acceptable to God because of the love and works that follow, not because of faith. And such think that faith is commended in the Scriptures only because it is the beginning of good works, as there is always much in the beginning. This, however, is not our opinion, but we teach this about faith, that through faith itself we are pleasing in the sight of God.

126. and after the word *justificari is* used on

If the word "righteous" is used in two ways, namely, for being converted or born again, item, for being esteemed righteous, we first want to indicate that we are converted, born again, and become righteous from an ungodly nature through faith alone.

(127) Some dispute greatly about the word *SOLA,* but Paul clearly says to the Romans, 3:28: "Therefore we hold that a man is justified without the work of the law"; item, Eph. 2:8: "It is the gift of God, not of yourselves, nor of works, lest any man should boast"; item, Romans, 3:24, the like.

(128) Now if this word, and this *exclusiva SOLA,* is so hard against some, and so ill pleasing, let them in many places in the epistles of Paul scratch out also these words, "by grace;" item, "not of works;" item, "God's gift;" 2c.; item, "that no man may boast;" 2c. , and the like; for they are quite strong *exclusivae*. The word "by grace" excludes merit and all works, as the names have.

019 And by the word *SOLA,* when we say that faith alone maketh good, we do not exclude the gospel and the sacraments, that therefore the word and sacraments should be vain, if faith alone do all things, as the adversaries make all things dangerous to us; but we exclude our merit in them. For we have said above enough that faith comes by the word; so we praise the preaching ministry and word higher and more than the adversaries. So also we say that love and works should follow faith.

(130) Therefore we do not exclude works by the word *SOLA,* so that they should not follow; but the reliance on merit, on works, we exclude, and say that they do not merit forgiveness of sins. And this we will show still more correctly, Heller, and clearly.

That we obtain forgiveness of sin only 1) through faith in Christ.

131 We hold that the adversaries must confess that forgiveness of sin is necessary above all things for justification. For we are all born under sin; wherefore therefore we conclude:

132) To obtain and have forgiveness of sins is to become righteous and pious before God, as the 32nd Psalm, v. 1, says: "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven. But it is by faith alone in Christ, and not by the

1) This word is in brackets in Müller. But the ancients used the brackets to emphasize.

Love, not for love's sake or works, only obtains remission of sin, though love follows where faith is. Therefore it must follow that we are justified by faith alone. For to be justified is to become righteous from a sinner and to be born again through the Holy Spirit. But that we obtain forgiveness of sin by faith alone, as the *rninor says, and* not by love, we will now make clear.

(133) The adversaries speak childishly of these high things. They ask whether they are one change, the forgiveness of sins and the infusion of grace, or whether they are two. The idle and inexperienced cannot speak of these things at all. For to feel sin rightly, and the wrath of God, is not such a bad, sleepy thing. Again, to take hold of forgiveness of sin is not such a weak consolation.

134. For so Paul says 1 Cor. 15:56, 57: "The sting of death is sin. But the power of sin is the law. But praise be to God, which giveth us conquest through Jesus Christ our Lord. "That is, sin terrifies the conscience; this happens through the law, which shows us God's earnestness and wrath against sin, but we are overcomers through Christ. How does this happen? When we believe, when our hearts are restored, and our minds are turned to the promise of grace through Christ. So now we prove this, that it is by faith in Christ, and not by works, that we obtain forgiveness of sin. For God's wrath cannot be atoned for or satisfied by our works, but Christ alone is the mediator and reconciler, and for his sake alone the Father will be gracious to us.

135 Now no man can receive Christ as a mediator by works, but only by believing the word which preacheth him as a mediator.

(136) Therefore we obtain forgiveness of sin by faith alone, when our hearts are comforted and established by the divine promise which is offered to us for Christ's sake. Item, Paul to Romans 5, n. 2: "Through him we have access to the Father," and says plainly to this, "through faith."

017 So then, and not otherwise, we are reconciled to the Father, and so we obtain forgiveness of sins, when we are instructed to hold fast the promise of grace and mercy made to us through Christ.

018 The adversaries, understanding this of Christ the mediator and reconciler, that Christ is

us deserve love or the iaulfftrnn äilsetionis, and do not say that we must use him as a single mediator, but put Christ back into the grave, inventing otherwise, as if we have an entrance by our works; item, as if we deserve the inrditum by works, and after that can come to God by love.

139) That is, to put Christ back into the grave, and to take away the whole doctrine of faith. But Paul clearly teaches that we have access, that is, the reconciliation of God through Christ. And to show how this happens, he adds, "through faith we have access. By faith we receive forgiveness of sin from the merit of Christ, and cannot satisfy God's wrath except through Christ. Thus it is easy to understand that we do not earn forgiveness by our works or love.

(140) Secondly, it is certain that sins will be forgiven for the sake of Christ's propitiation, Romans 3:25: "Whom God hath set forth a mercy seat," or a propitiation, and he adds clearly, "through faith. Thus the reconciler will be of use to us, if we by faith grasp the word by which mercy is promised, and keep it against God's wrath and judgment. And the like is written in Heb. 4:14, 16: "We have one high priest, Christ," 2c. "Let us approach him with joy." He calls us to come to God, not in the confidence of our works, but in the confidence of Christ the High Priest. For this reason he clearly demands faith.

141. For the third, Peter in Histories of the Apostles on the 10th, v. 43. says, "To JEsu give all the prophets witness, that we should obtain forgiveness of sins through his name, all that believe in him." How could Peter have spoken more clearly? He says, I receive forgiveness of sin through his name, that is, through him we receive it, not by our own merit, not by our newness or attrition, not by our love, not by our own worship, not by our own ordinances or works, and adds, "If we believe in him."

142 For this cause he desireth that there should be one faith in the heart: therefore saith he, All the prophets bear witness of Christ with one mouth. This, I think, is properly called the Christian Church, or the Catholic Church allegorized. For if all the holy prophets bear witness, this is a glorious, great, excellent, strong decree and testimony. But of this saying we will speak further below.

143. fourth, forgiveness of sin is

Promised for Christ's sake; therefore no man can obtain it, but by faith alone. For the promise cannot be grasped, nor can it be made a part of, but by faith alone, Rom. 4:16: [1]) "Therefore must righteousness come by faith, that it may stand fast by grace, and the promise stand fast." As if to say, If our salvation and righteousness depended on our merit, the promise of God would still be uncertain, and useless to us, for we could 2) never be sure of it, if we had merited enough. And this pious hearts and Christian consciences understand almost well, if they did not assume a thousand things, that our salvation would rest on us. With this Paul agrees with the Galatians: "God has decreed all things under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might come to those who believe." Then Paul puts down all our merit, for he says, "We are all guilty of death, and have sinned;" and remembers the divine promise, by which alone we obtain forgiveness of sin. And further adds, how we are made partakers of the promise, namely, by faith. And this reason of this argument, since Paul deduces it from the nature and character of the divine promise, namely, that if God's promise is to be sure and firm, as it cannot fail to be, then the forgiveness of sin must not be of our own merit, otherwise it would be uncertain, and we would not know if we had merited enough. Yes, this argument, I say, and the reason, is a right rock, and almost the strongest in all Paul, and is very often raised and attracted in all the epistles.

(144) Neither shall any man on earth strive, invent, or devise any thing to overthrow this one cause, if there be nothing else. Nor will pious hearts and Christian consciences allow themselves to be led astray from this, namely, that we have forgiveness of sin through faith alone for the sake of Christ's merit. For there they have a certain, strong, eternal consolation against sin, the devil, death, hell; all the rest is a foundation of sand, and consists not in temptations.

145. If then we obtain forgiveness of sin and the Holy Spirit through faith alone, faith alone makes us righteous before God. For those who are reconciled to God are righteous before God and are God's children, not because of their purity, but because of God's mercy.

1) Müller: Rom. 4, 13.

2) Müller: "can".

For the sake of the world, if they grasp and take hold of it by faith.

016 Therefore the scripture testifieth that by faith we become righteous in the sight of God. Let us therefore relate these sayings, which clearly state that faith makes us righteous and just, not because our faith is such a precious and pure work, but only because by faith, and by no other means, we receive the mercy offered.

(147) Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, deals primarily with this matter, how a man may become righteous before God, and he instructs that all who believe that they have a gracious God through Christ may become righteous before God without merit through faith. And this mighty resolution, this proposition, in which the main point of the entire epistle, indeed of the entire Scripture, is summarized, he sets forth in the third chapter, v. 28, in dry, clear words: "So then we hold that a man may be justified without the work of the law, but only through faith.

(148) Then the adversaries would say that Paul excluded only the Jewish ceremonies, and not other virtuous works. But Paul does not speak of ceremonies alone; he certainly speaks also of all other works, and of the whole law, or ten commandments. For in the 7th chapter after this, he refers to the saying of the ten commandments, "Be not lascivious." And if by other works, which are not Jewish ceremonies, we could obtain forgiveness of sins, and thereby merit righteousness, what need would there be of Christ and his promise? Then all that Paul speaks of the promise in so many places would already be in vain. So Paul also wrote wrongly to the Ephesians, when he says Eph. 2:8: "Without merit, freely were ye saved; for it is the gift of God, not of works." Item, Paul calls in the epistle to the Romans [Cap. 4, 3. 6.] Abraham and David: the same had a command and God's commandment of circumcision. If any work made them righteous in the sight of God, then the works that had God's command at that time must also have made them righteous and righteous.

149 But Augustine clearly teaches that Paul is speaking of the whole law, as he then disputes according to the length of it, according to the spirit and the letter, since he finally says: "Therefore, if we have considered and acted on this piece according to the ability that God has bestowed, we conclude that no man becomes righteous through the commandment of a good life, but through the faith of Jesus Christ.

150 And that no man should think that this word, "Man is justified by faith alone," should escape Paul, he expounds it at length in the fourth chapter to the Romans, and repeats it in all his epistles. For thus he says in the fourth chapter, v. 4, 5: "To him that worketh, the reward is not reckoned by grace, but by duty. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness."

001 It is therefore clear from these words, that faith is the thing and the essence which he calls the righteousness of God. And he adds that it is imputed by grace, and says that it could not be imputed to us by grace if there were works or merit. Therefore he certainly excludes all merit and all works, not only of Jewish ceremonies, but also all other good works. For if by these works we should become righteous before God, faith would not be counted to us for righteousness without all works, as Paul clearly says. And afterwards he says, "And we say that Abraham's faith was counted for righteousness." Item, Cap. 5:1: "Therefore having been justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," that is, we have a happy and quiet conscience before God. Rom. U), 10: "If a man believe with all his heart, he is justified." There he calls faith the righteousness of the heart. To Galatians 2, v. 10: "So we also believe in Christ JEsum, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law." Eph. 2, 8: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast." Joh. 1, 12. 13.: "To those he gave power to become children of God, who believe in his name, who were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." John 3:14, 15: "As Moses lifted up a serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish." Item, v. 17: "God did not send his Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth on him shall not be judged." Apost. 13:38, 39: "Be it known unto you therefore, brethren, that there is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins, and of all things whereby ye are not saved.

can be justified in the law of Moses. But he that believeth on him is justified." How could he have spoken more clearly of the kingdom of Christ and of justification? He says that the law could not justify anyone, and says that for this reason Christ was given to us so that we might believe and be justified through Him. In clear words he says: The law cannot justify anyone; therefore righteousness is imputed to us through Christ, if we believe that God is gracious to us through Him. Apost. 4, 11. 12.: "This is the stone, rejected of you builders, which became the cornerstone; and there is salvation in no other, neither is there any other name given unto men, wherein we must be saved."

022 But in the name of Christ I cannot believe otherwise, except I hear the merit of Christ preached, and understand it. Therefore it is by believing in the name of Christ, and not by trusting in our works, that we are saved. For the word "name" in the place signifies cause, whereby and therefore salvation cometh. Therefore to boast or confess the name of Christ is as much as to trust in him who alone is Christ, and is called the *causa of* my salvation and treasure, whereby I am saved. Apost. 15:9, "By faith he purified their hearts." Wherefore faith, as the apostles speak of, is not a bad knowledge of histories, but a strong, powerful work of the Holy Ghost, which changeth the hearts. Habak. 2, 4: "The righteous liveth by faith." First, he says that the righteous is justified by faith, if he believes that God is gracious through Christ. Secondly, he says that faith gives life. For faith alone brings peace and joy to the heart and conscience, and eternal life, which begins here in this life. Isa. 53:11: "His knowledge shall justify many." But what is the knowledge of Christ, but to know his good pleasure, and his promise, which he hath preached and sent to be preached into the world? And to know the benefits is to truly believe in Christ, that is, to believe what God has promised through Christ, that he will surely give. But the Scriptures are full of such sayings and testimonies. For Scripture deals with these two things: The law of God and the promise of God. Now the promises speak of the forgiveness of sin and God's propitiation through Christ.

153 And in the Fathers also are found many of the sayings. For Ambrose also writes to Irenaeo: But the whole world therefore becomes subject to GOD, subject by the law. For by the commandment of the law we are all accused.

But by the works of the law no man is justified. For sin is known by the law, but guilt is redeemed by faith. And it seems as if the law had done harm, because it made all sinners. But the Lord Christ is come, and hath given us sin, which no man could put away, and hath blotted out the handwriting by the shedding of his blood. And this is what Paul saith to the Romans in the 5th, v. 20. "Sin was made mighty by the law, but grace was made mightier still by JEsum." For because the whole world became guilty, he took away sin from the whole world, as John testifies [John 1:36.], "Behold, this is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." And therefore let no man glory in his own works, for by his own doing no man is justified. But to him that is justified it is given in baptism into Christ, being justified. For it is faith that maketh us free through the blood of Christ. And blessed is he, whose sins are forgiven, and whose salvation is granted.

These are Ambrosii's clear words, which are quite publicly in accord with our doctrine. He says that works do not justify, and says that faith redeems us through the blood of Christ. If all the 8sntsntiurio8 were melted together in one heap, which yet have great titles (for some call them angelic, unMÜsos, some sudtäss, some irrskraZudilss, that is, Doctores, who cannot err), and if they were all read, they would not be so useful with each other to understand Paulum, as the one saying of Ambrosii.

(155) Augustine also wrote much against the Pelagians on this point of view, and in De spiritu et litsru he says: "For this reason the law and its righteousness are held out to us, that whoever does them may live by them, and that each one, recognizing his weakness, may come to God, who alone makes righteous, not by his own strength nor by the letter of the law, which we cannot fulfill, but by faith. No man can do a good work except he himself be first righteous, godly, and good. But we attain righteousness by faith alone. There he clearly says that God, who alone saves and sanctifies, is reconciled through faith, and that faith makes us righteous and just before God. And soon after: By the law we fear GOD, by faith we hope and trust in GOD. But those who fear punishment, grace is hidden from them. Under what fear, when a man is in fear 2c.,

Let him flee by faith unto the mercy of God, that he may give, and add grace to that which he gave in the law. He teaches that hearts are troubled by the law and are comforted by faith.

016 It is a wonder that the adversaries can be so blind, and not consider so many clear sayings, which clearly declare that we are justified by faith, and not by works. Where do these poor people think? Do they think that the Scriptures, without any cause, so often give us clear words? Do they think that the Holy Spirit does not make his word sure and certain, or that he does not know what he is saying?

157 The ungodly men have devised a sophistical gloss upon this, saying, The sayings of the scriptures, when they speak of faith, are to be understood of 6äs koririala; that is, they say, faith doth not make any man pious or righteous, but for love or works. And in sum, according to their opinion, so faith makes no one righteous, but love alone. For they say that faith can be next to mortal sin. What is this but overthrowing all the promise of God and the promise of grace, and preaching the law and works?

(158) If faith obtains forgiveness of sins and grace because of love, the forgiveness of sins will always be uncertain. For we never love God as fully as we should; indeed, we cannot love God, for the heart is only certain that sins are forgiven. Thus, when the adversaries teach that we can trust in the love of God and in our own works, they push the gospel, which preaches the forgiveness of sins, to the ground; for no one can rightly have or understand love, unless he believes that we obtain forgiveness of sins by grace through Christ for nothing.

159 We also say that love should follow faith, as Paul says: "In Christ Jesus there is neither circumcision nor foreskin, but faith working through love. But we are not therefore to trust in love, nor to build upon it, as if for love's sake, or through love, we obtained forgiveness of sin and reconciliation to God. Just as we do not obtain forgiveness of sins because of other works that follow, but through faith alone. For no one can grasp the promise of God by works, but only by faith. And faith, in fact, or propris äista, is when my heart and the Holy Spirit in my heart say to me, "The promise of God is not to be forgiven.

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God is true and yes. Scripture speaks of this same faith. And because faith, before we do anything or work anything, gives and receives only to him, faith is counted to us for righteousness, as it was to Abraham before we loved, before we did the law or any work.

(160) Although it is true that fruit and work are not left out, and faith is not a mere bad knowledge of history, but a new light in the heart and powerful work of the Holy Spirit, by which we are born anew, by which the troubled consciences are restored and gain life. And because faith alone obtains forgiveness of sin, and makes us acceptable to God, it brings with it the Holy Spirit, and should be called cheaper: Krutiu kueisns, that is, the grace that maketh pleasant, than the love that followeth.

161. hitherto we have abundantly shewed from the sayings of the fathers, and from the scriptures, that this thing might be made very clear, that by faith alone we obtain forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake; and that by faith alone we are justified, that is, born again of unrighteousness, holy. But pious hearts see and perceive here how exceedingly needful this doctrine of faith is. For through it alone one learns to know Christ and his good deeds, and through this doctrine alone do hearts and consciences find a certain rest and comfort. For if there is to be a Christian church, if there is to be Christian faith, there must always be preaching and teaching in it, so that the consciences are not built on a delusion or on a foundation of sand, but on which they can safely rely and trust.

012 Therefore verily the adversaries are unfaithful bishops, unfaithful preachers, and unfaithful doctors; they have hitherto counseled the consciences evil, and still counsel them evil, that they teach such doctrine, leaving men in doubt, uncertain, and hanging, 1) Whether they obtain forgiveness of sin, or not. For how is it possible that they who have not heard or do not know this necessary doctrine of Christ, who are still wavering and in doubt whether they have the forgiveness of sin or not, should stand in mortal peril and in the last straits and in anguish? Item, if there is to be a Christian church, the gospel of Christ must always remain in the church, namely, this divine promise that sins are forgiven us without merit for Christ's sake. The same holy gospel is expressed by those who

1) So the Jenaer. Müller: "bangen". In Latin only: (üGitnrk.

who teach nothing of the faith of which we speak.

163Now the scholastics teach, nor write, not one word, not one tittle, of faith, which is terrible to hear; whom our adversaries follow, and reject this supreme doctrine of faith, and are so obdurate and blind, that they see not that they tread under foot the whole gospel, the divine promise of the forgiveness of sin, and the whole of Christ.

(Article III.) Of the love, and fulfilment of the law.

164. Here the adversaries reproach us with this saying, "If thou wilt live for ever, keep the commandments of God"; item, Rom. 2:13, "Not they that hear the law shall be justified, but they that do the law"; and such like things of the law and of works. Now, before we answer these things, we must speak of love, and what we think of the fulfilling of the law.

165. it is written in the prophet [Jer. 31:33.], "I will put my law in their hearts." And Rom. 3:31. saith Paul, "We do not abolish the law by faith, but establish the law." Item, Christ says [Luc. 10:28.], "If thou wilt live for ever, keep the commandments." Item, to the Corinthians Paul says, "If I have not love, I am nothing" [1 Cor. 13:2.]. These and such like sayings indicate that we are to keep the law when we have been justified by faith, and so the longer the more we increase in the Spirit. But we are not speaking here of the ceremonies of Moses, but of the ten commandments, which require of us that we should rightly fear and love God from the bottom of our hearts. Since faith brings with it the Holy Spirit, and works a new light and life in the heart, it is certain and necessary that faith renews and changes the heart. And what this change of heart is, the prophet shows, when he says, "I will put my law in their hearts."

166. When we have been born again through faith and have recognized that God wants to be merciful to us, wants to be our Father and Helper, then we begin to fear God, to love Him, to thank Him, to praise Him, to ask and wait for all help from Him, and to be obedient to Him even in tribulations according to His will. Then we also begin to love our neighbor. Inwardly, through the Spirit of Christ, there is a new heart, mind, and spirit. All this cannot happen before we are justified by faith, before we are born again.

Being born of the Holy Ghost. For first of all, no man can keep the law without the knowledge of Christ; neither can he fulfil the law without the Holy Ghost. But we cannot receive the Holy Spirit except by faith, as Paul says to the Galatians in Galatians 3:14, that we receive the promise of the Spirit by faith.

Item 167: It is impossible for a man's heart to love God solely through the law or its work. For the law alone shows God's wrath and severity [Rom. 4, 15]. The law accuses us, and shows how he will punish sins so terribly, both with temporal and eternal punishments. Therefore, what the scholastics speak of the love of God is a dream, and it is impossible to love God before we know and grasp mercy through faith. For only then does God become objectum uirmbils, a lovely, blessed sight.

168) Although reason is able to lead an honorable life and to do outward works of the law to some extent without Christ, without the Holy Spirit of innate light, it is nevertheless certain, as indicated above, that the highest parts of the divine law, as turning the whole heart to God and esteeming him great with the whole heart, which is required in the first tablet and in the first, highest commandment, no one is able to do without the Holy Spirit.

(169) But our adversaries are good, crude, lazy, inexperienced theologians; they look only at the other table of Moses, and the works of the same. But the first table, where the highest theology is found, where all things are concerned, they pay no attention at all; indeed, the same highest, holiest, greatest, noblest commandment, which surpasses all human and angelic understanding, which concerns the highest service of God, the Godhead itself, and the honor of the eternal majesty, where God commands that we should warmly consider, fear, and love him as Lord and God, they consider so little, so small, as if it did not belong to theology.

170. but Christ is presented to us, that for his sake sins might be forgiven us, and the Holy Ghost given, which worketh in us a new light, and eternal life, and everlasting righteousness; that he might shew us Christ in our hearts; as John 16:15 is written, He shall take of mine own, and shall declare it unto you. Item, he worketh other gifts also, love, thanksgiving, chastity, patience 2c. Therefore no one is able to fulfill the law without the Holy Spirit. Wherefore Paul saith [Rom. 3:31], "We establish the law by faith," and do not do away with it; for so can
We cannot fulfill and keep the law until the Holy Spirit is given to us.

(171) And Paul, 2 Cor. 3:15 f., saith that the covering of the face of Moses cannot be taken away, but by faith in the Lord Christ, by whom the Holy Ghost is given. For thus he saith, Until that day, when Moses is read, the covering is over their hearts: but when they turn unto the Lord, the covering is taken away. For the Lord is a Spirit. But where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." Paul calls the covering the human thought and delusion of ten commandments and ceremonies, namely, that the hypocrites want to think that the law may be fulfilled and kept by outward works, and as if the sacrifices, item, all kinds of divine service *ex opere operato* make someone righteous before God. But when the covering is removed from the heart, that is, the error and delusion are taken away, when God shows us our sorrow in the heart and makes us feel God's wrath and our sin. Only then do we realize how far and distant we are from the law; only then do we realize how secure and blinded all people are, how they do not fear God, in sum, how they do not believe that God created heaven, earth and all creatures, sustains our breath and life and the whole creature every hour, and protects us against Satan. Only then do we learn that unbelief, certainty, and contempt for God are so deeply hidden in us. Only then do we learn that we are so weak, or do not believe at all, that God forgives sin, that He hears prayer 2c. When we hear the Word and the Gospel, and by faith know Christ, we receive the Holy Spirit, so that we may think rightly of God, fear Him, and believe Him 2c.

172 In this it is sufficiently shown that we cannot keep God's law without faith, without Christ, without the Holy Spirit. Therefore we also say that one must keep the law, and every believer begins to keep it, and increases the longer the more in love and fear of God, which is rightly fulfilling God's commandment. And when we speak of keeping the law or of good works, we understand both, the good heart inwardly and the works outwardly.

(173) Therefore the adversaries do us wrong, because they blame us for not teaching good works, when we not only say that one must do good works, but also actually say how the heart must be in them, so that they are not loose, deaf, cold hypocritical works. Experience teaches us that the hypocrites, though they are under the impression that they do not do good works, do not do them.

They are not able to keep the law with their strength, nor do they prove it by deed. For how fine they are without hatred, envy, strife, wrath, anger, avarice, adultery, etc., so that nowhere are the vices greater than in monasteries and convents. All human strength is far too weak for the devil to resist his cunning and strength of his own ability, which imprisons all those who are not redeemed by Christ. It must be divine strength and Christ's resurrection that overcomes the devil. And if we know that we are made partakers of Christ's strength and of his victory through faith, we can, on the promise that we have, ask God to protect and govern us by the strength of his Spirit, so that the devil will not overthrow us or overthrow us; otherwise we will fall into error and terrible vices every hour.

(174) Therefore Paul saith not of us, but of Christ, He hath led captivity captive, Eph. 4:8: for Christ hath overcome the devil, and hath promised through the gospel the Holy Ghost, that by the help of the same we should overcome all evil. And 1 John 3:8 is written, "For this purpose the Son of God appeared, that he might destroy the works of the devil."

(175) Moreover, (1) we teach not only how to keep the law, but also how to please God in all that we do. Namely, not that we may keep the law perfectly and purely in this life, but that we may be in Christ, as we shall hereafter say. So it is certain that ours also teach rightly of good works. And we add that it is impossible for true faith, which comforts the heart and receives forgiveness of sin, to be without the love of God. For through Christ one comes to the Father. And when we have been reconciled to God through Christ, we believe and conclude in our hearts that a true God lives and exists; that we have a Father in heaven who always looks upon us, who is to be feared, who is to be loved for his unspeakable good deeds, to whom we should always give heartfelt thanks and praise, who hears our prayers, our longings and our sighs; as John says in his first epistle, 1 John 4:19: "We love God, we love His people. 4:19: "We love him, because he loved us first." Namely, us, because he gave his Son for us, and forgave us sin. Here John sufficiently indicates that faith thus precedes, and love then follows.

016 Item, this faith is in those who are right

1) Müller: "Therefore". The Jena has our reading, which is confirmed by the Latin: uon üoe tuntum.

Repentance is when a frightened conscience feels God's wrath and sin and seeks forgiveness of sin and grace. And it is in such terror, in such anguish and distress, that faith first proves itself, and must therefore be proved and increase. Therefore faith cannot be in carnal, secure people, who live according to the lust and will of the flesh. For thus saith Paul Rom. 8:1, "There is therefore nothing damnable in them which are in Christ JEsu, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." Item, v. 12. 13. "We are debtors therefore, not to the flesh, that we walk after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall surely die: but if by the spirit of the flesh ye kill business, ye shall live." Therefore faith, which alone is in the hearts and consciences of those who are heartily sorry for their sins, cannot at the same time be next to mortal sin, as the adversaries teach. Neither can it be in those who live carnally according to the world, according to the will of Satan and the flesh.

177. Out of these fruits and works of faith, the adversaries believe only one thing, namely love, and teach that love makes one righteous before God. Thus they are nothing else than preachers of works and teachers of the law. They do not first teach that we attain forgiveness of sin through faith. They do not teach anything about the mediator Christ, that we may attain a gracious God through him, but they speak of our love and our works, and yet they do not say what kind of love it is, nor can they say.

(178) They boast that they can fulfill or keep the law, when the glory belongs to no one but Christ, and so hold their own works against God's judgment, saying that they deserve grace and eternal life. This is a vain and ungodly trust in their own works. For in this life even Christians and saints cannot fully keep God's law, for evil inclinations and lusts always remain in us, even though the Holy Spirit resists them.

019 But if any of them ask, If we ourselves confess that love is the fruit of the Spirit, and if love is yet called a holy work and the fulfilling of the law, why do we not teach that it justifies before God?

2) Müller: "bewahrt". Jenaer: "bewert". In Latin: eonürmari. Hence we have adopted the latter reading.

3) Müller: "the saints". In Latin only: non PO88UMU8.

180 Answer: First, it is certain that we do not receive forgiveness of sin through love or for love's sake, but only through faith for Christ's sake. For faith alone in the heart sees the promise of God, and faith alone is the assurance of the heart that God is gracious, that Christ did not die in vain 2c. And the same faith alone overcomes the terror of death and sin. For he that still wavereth, or doubteth whether his sins be forgiven him, trusteth not God, and forsaketh Christ: for he thinketh his sin greater and stronger than the death and blood of Christ: whereas Paul saith, Romans 5:20, that grace is mightier than sin, that is, more powerful, abundant, and strong.

0181 Therefore if any man think that he will obtain forgiveness of sin because he hath love, he dishonoureth and defileth Christ, and shall find in the latter end, when he shall stand before the judgment of God, that such confidence is vain: therefore it is certain that faith alone maketh righteous. And as we do not obtain forgiveness of sin by other good works and virtues, but for patience, for chastity, for obedience to authority, and yet virtues follow where there is faith; so also we do not receive forgiveness of sin for the love of God 1); though it does not remain outside where this faith is.

022 But when Christ saith, Luke 7:47, Her sins be forgiven much, because she hath loved much, Christ himself interpreteth his word, saying, Thy faith hath helped thee. And Christ would not have the woman merit forgiveness of sin by the work of love; wherefore he saith plainly, "Thy faith hath helped thee." Now this is the faith which relies on God's mercy and word, not on works of its own. And if anyone thinks that faith can rely on God and its own works at the same time, he certainly does not understand what faith is. For a frightened conscience is not satisfied by its own works, but must cry out for mercy, and can only be comforted and uplifted by God's word. And history itself shows in this place what Christ calls love. The woman comes to Christ with the confidence that she will obtain forgiveness of sin from him; that is, to truly recognize and honor Christ. For greater honor can be

1) That is, for the sake of the love we have for God. Because this expression was misunderstood, in the old edition the preceding "not" is omitted. Cf. § 395.

Christ. For this is called truly knowing the Messiah or Christ, and seeking forgiveness of sin from him. To hold these things of Christ, that is, to recognize and accept Christ, is to believe in Christ.

013 But Christ, when he saith, She loved much, used not this word when he spake unto women, but when he spake unto the Pharisee. For the Lord Christ holds up against one another all the honor which the Pharisee did him, with the offering and works which the woman shewed him. He punisheth the Pharisee, because he knew him not for Christ, though he honoured him outwardly as a sojourner and a holy man. But Christ praises the service of women in recognizing their sin and seeking forgiveness from Christ. And it is a great example that moved Christ to punish the Pharisee as a wise and honest man who did not believe in him. He reproaches him for unbelief and admonishes him by the example. As if to say, "You ought to be ashamed of yourself, you Pharisee, because you are so blind that you do not recognize me as Christ and the Messiah, if you are a teacher of the law, and the woman, who is an unlearned poor woman, recognizes me.

184 Wherefore he commendeth not charity only, but the whole *cultum*, or service of God, faith with fruits; and yet he calleth the fruit before the Pharisee. For faith in the heart cannot be shown and signified to others, but by fruits, which prove faith in the heart before men. Therefore Christ would not have charity and works to be the treasure by which sins are paid for, which is Christ's blood. Therefore this controversy is about a high and important matter, since pious hearts and consciences have their highest, most certain, eternal comfort in Christ, whether we should trust in the merit of Christ, or in our works. For if we trust in our works, Christ is deprived of his glory, Christ is not the reconciler nor the mediator, and we shall finally learn that such trust is in vain, and that consciences thereby only fall into despair. For if we do not obtain forgiveness of sin and reconciliation with God through Christ without merit, no one will have forgiveness of sin unless he has kept the whole law. For the law makes no one righteous before God as long as it accuses us. Now no one can boast that he has done enough for the law. Therefore we must seek comfort in other ways, namely, in Christ.

Now let us answer the question we posed above: why love or dilsetio does not make anyone righteous before God. The adversaries think that love is the fulfillment of the law, so it would be true that love makes us righteous if we keep the law. But who may truthfully say or boast that he keeps the law and loves God as the law commands? We have shown above that this is why God has made the promise of grace, so that we cannot keep the law. Therefore Paul also says everywhere that we cannot be justified before God by the law.

(186) The adversaries must be far off the mark here, and must be mistaken as to the main question, for they regard the law alone in this matter. For all human reason and wisdom cannot judge otherwise than that by laws one must become godly, and he who outwardly keeps the law is holy and godly. But the gospel turns us round, and directs us from the law to the divine promises, and teaches that we are not justified by the law, for no man can keep it; but by the reconciliation made to us for Christ's sake, which we receive by faith alone. For before we can fulfill any part of the law, there must first be faith in Christ, through which we are reconciled to God, and only then can we obtain forgiveness of sin. Dear Lord God, how can people call themselves Christians, or say that they have ever looked at or read the books of the Gospels, who dispute the fact that we attain forgiveness of sin through faith in Christ? It is a terrible thing for a Christian man to hear alone.

187 Secondly, it is certain that even those who are born again through faith and the Holy Spirit are still not entirely pure as long as this life lasts, nor do they fully keep the law. For though they have received the firstfruits of the Spirit, and though the new life, even eternal life, has begun in them, yet something of sin and evil desire remains, and the law still finds much to accuse us of. Therefore, although the love of God and good works should and must be in Christians, they are not righteous before God for the sake of their works, but for the sake of Christ through faith. And to trust in one's own fulfillment of the law is idolatry and blasphemy against Christ, and yet falls away in the end, and causes consciences to despair.

0188 Therefore let this foundation stand fast, that we may please God for Christ's sake.

And are justified by faith, not of our love and works. Let us therefore make this clear and certain, that it may be grasped.

(189) As long as the heart is not at peace with God, it cannot be righteous. For it fears the wrath of God and despairs, and would that God would not judge; therefore the heart cannot be righteous and pleasing to God unless it has peace with God. Now faith alone makes the heart satisfied, and obtains rest and life, Rom. 5:1, when it confidently and freely relies on God's promise for Christ's sake. But our works do not bring the heart to peace. For we always find that they are not pure. Therefore it must follow that we are acceptable and righteous to God through faith alone, if we conclude in our hearts that God will be gracious to us, not because of our works and the fulfillment of the law, but out of pure grace for Christ's sake.

190. What can the adversaries raise against this cause? What can they invent or devise against the public truth? For this is ever certain, and experience teaches it strongly enough, that when we feel God's judgment and wrath rightly, or come under challenge, our works or services cannot quiet the conscience. And the Scriptures indicate this often enough, as in the 143rd Psalm, v. 2: "Thou wilt not enter into judgment with thy servant, for before thee none that liveth shall be righteous." There he clearly indicates that all saints, all godly children of God, who have the Holy Spirit, if God does not want to forgive their sin by grace, still have remaining sin in the flesh. For when David says in another place [Ps. 7:9], "Lord, judge me according to my righteousness," he is speaking of his own cause, not of his own righteousness, but asks that God will protect his cause and his word, as he says, "Judge my cause. Again in the 130th Psalm, v. 3, he clearly says that no one, not even the highest saints, can bear God's judgment, if he will take heed to iniquity, as he says: "If thou wilt take heed to iniquity, O Lord, who shall stand?" And so Job saith on the 9th, v. 28. [Vulg.], "I am astonished at all my works." Item, v. 30. f., "Though I were washed white as snow, and though my hands shone like unto purity, yet shalt thou find uncleanness in me." And in Proverbs of Solomon [Cap. 20, 9.], "Who can say my heart is clean?" And 1 John 1:8: "If we shall say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." Item, in the Lord's Prayer also the

Saints: "Forgive us our trespasses"; therefore also the saints have trespasses and sins. Item, in the 4th book of Moses [14, 18 .], "Even the innocent shall not be innocent." And Zechariah the prophet saith in 2 Cap. v. 13. "Let all flesh be still before the Lord." And Isaias says [Cap. 40, 6.], "All flesh is grass," that is, the flesh and all righteousness, if we are able, cannot bear God's judgment. And Jonah says in the other chapter, v. 9: "They that are vain in vanity forsake mercy." Therefore mercy sustains us; our own works, merit, and ability cannot help us.

011 These sayings and such like in the scriptures show that our works are unclean, and that we have need of grace and mercy. Therefore works do not satisfy the conscience, but only mercy, which we take by faith.

192. Thirdly, Christ nevertheless remaineth before and after the only Mediator and Reconciler, if we be thus born again in him. Therefore they are mistaken who say that Christ alone merits us xrimurri AraUum, or the first grace, and that afterwards we must merit eternal life by our own works and merit. For He remains the only Mediator, and we are to be certain that for His sake alone we have a gracious God, even though we are unworthy of it, as Paul says [Rom. 5:2]: "Through Him we have access to God." For our best works, even after receiving the grace of the Gospel (as I said), find still weak and not at all pure. For it is not such a bad thing about sin and Adam's fall as reason thinks or imagines, and it is beyond all human understanding and thought what terrible wrath God has bequeathed upon us through disobedience, and even a terrible corruption has happened to the whole of human nature, which no works of man but God Himself alone can restore. Therefore the Psalm [P2:1] says: "Blessed are they whose sins are forgiven." Therefore we may have grace, and God's gracious kindness, and forgiveness of sins, if we have done as many good works. But this same grace can be grasped by faith alone. So Christ alone remains the high priest and mediator, and what good we do or what we keep of the law is not pleasing to God for Himself, but that we hold to Christ and know that we have a gracious God, not for the sake of the law, but for the sake of Christ.

193 Fourthly. If we held that, when we have now come to the gospel and are born again, we should hereafter merit by our works that God would be gracious to us henceforth, not by faith, the conscience would never come to rest, but would have to despair. For the law accuses us without ceasing, because we cannot fully keep it, 2c. as the whole holy Christian church and all the saints have always confessed and still confess. For thus saith Paul to the Romans in the 7th, v. 19. "The good which I will, that do I not; but the evil which I will not, that do I." 2c. Item [v. 25.], "With the flesh I serve the law of sins" 2c. For there is no one who fears and loves God the Lord as wholeheartedly as he is guilty, no one who bears the cross and tribulation in complete obedience to God, no one who does not often doubt through weakness whether God will take care of us, whether he will respect us, whether he will hear our prayer. Because of this we often grumble against God out of impatience, that it is good for the wicked and bad for the pious. Who is he who does what he is called to do, who does not rage against God in temptations when God hides Himself? Who loves his neighbor as himself? Who is without all manner of evil lusts? Of the sins of all, Psalm 32:6 says: "For this shall all the saints pray in due time." There he says that all saints must ask for forgiveness of sin.

Therefore, those who do not consider the evil desires of the flesh to be sin are blind, of whom Paul says: "The flesh strives against the spirit, and the spirit strives against the flesh. For the flesh does not trust in God, relies on this world and temporal goods, seeks human comfort and help in tribulations, even against God's will, doubts God's grace and help, murmurs against God in the cross and temptations; all of which is against God's commandment. Against the sin of Adam the Holy Spirit contends and strives in the hearts of the saints, that he may cast out and kill the poison of the old Adam, the evil and desperate way, and bring into the heart a different mind and courage.

And Augustine also says: We keep all of God's commandments when we are forgiven for all that we do not keep. For this reason, Augustine wants the good works that the Holy Spirit works in us to be pleasing to God in no other way than that we believe that we are pleasing to God for Christ's sake, not that they should please God in themselves.

196. and Jerome says against Pelagium, Then we are righteous if we consider ourselves sinners.

and our righteousness is not in our merit, but in God's mercy. Therefore, even though we are rich in good works and have begun to keep God's law, as Paul did when he preached faithfully, 2c., there must still be faith by which we trust that God is merciful and reconciled to us for Christ's sake, and not for our works. For mercy cannot be grasped but by faith alone. Therefore those who teach that we are pleasing to God because of works, not because of Christ, lead consciences into despair.

(197) From all this it is clear enough that faith alone justifies us before God; that is, it obtains forgiveness of sins and grace for Christ's sake, and brings us to a new birth. Item, it is clear enough that we receive the Holy Spirit through faith alone. Item, that our works, and since we began to keep the law, are not pleasing to God in Himself. Therefore, even though I am full of good works, as Paul and Peter were, I must still seek my righteousness elsewhere, namely, in the promise of Christ's grace; item, if faith alone satisfies the conscience, it must always be certain that faith alone makes one righteous before God. For we must always remain true to this if we want to teach correctly that we are pleasing to God not because of the law, not because of works, but because of Christ. For the glory due to Christ is not to be given to the law or to our wretched works.

Answer to the arguments of the opponents.

198. Now that we have shown the right reasons of this matter, namely, the difference between the divine promise and the law, it is easy to disregard what the opponents say against it. For they introduce sayings concerning the law and good works, but leave out the sayings which speak of divine promise. But a brief answer may be given to all the sayings which they introduce concerning the law, namely, that without Christ no man can keep the law; and though outward good works may be done without Christ, yet God is not pleased with the person for that reason. Therefore, when one wants to teach or preach about good works, one should always add that there must first be faith, and that they alone are pleasing to God because of faith in Christ, and that they are fruits and testimonies of faith.

199 This doctrine of ours is ever clear, and may well be seen in the light, and against the holy scriptures.
and is also clearly and correctly presented here, whoever wants to let him be told and not knowingly deny the truth. For in order to rightly recognize Christ's benefits and the great treasure of the gospel (which Paul exalts so highly), we must separate God's promise and grace offered on one side and the law on the other as far apart as heaven and earth. In dilapidated matters, much gloss is needed, but in good matters there is always one or two solutios that go well, and resolve everything that one would think to oppose them. So here in this matter, this single solution resolves all the sayings that are brought against us, namely, that one cannot do the law rightly without Christ, and that even if outward works are done, God does not please the person apart from Christ. For we confess that the Scriptures contain these two doctrines, the law and the promise of grace.

200 But the adversaries, who trample under foot the whole gospel, and all the promises of grace in Christ, when they teach, 1) That we obtain forgiveness of sins by our love and works, and not by faith. For if God's grace and mercy toward us is based on our works, it is not at all certain. For we can never be sure if we do works enough, or if the works are holy or pure enough; so also the forgiveness of sins is uncertain, and God's promise is lost, as Paul says [Rom. 4:14]: The divine promise is then overthrown, and all is uncertain. Wherefore we teach the hearts and consciences to be comforted in the same promise of God, which standeth fast, and offereth grace, and remission of sins, for Christ's sake, and not for our works.

201. After this we also teach about good works and the law; not that we deserve forgiveness of sin through the law, or that we are pleasing to God because of the law, but that God wants good works. For one must (as Paul says 2 Tim. 2, 15.) rightly cut and divide God's word; the law in one place, the promise of God in another. One must see how the Scripture speaks of the promise, as it speaks of the law. For the Scriptures praise and commend good works in this way, yet they set God's promise and the true treasure, Christ, a thousand times higher.

0202 For good works ought to be done, and must be done, for God wills them; so they are fruits of the Lord.

1) Müller: "so they teach". In Latin: qnnm (loetznt. The Jena has our reading.

Faith, as Paul says in Eph. 2, 10: "For we were created in Christ Jesus to do good works. Therefore good works are to follow faith, as thanksgivings to God; item, that faith may thereby be exercised, grow, and increase, and that through our confession and good conduct others may also be reminded. Thus Paul says (Rom. 4:11) that Abraham received circumcision, not that he was justified by the work, but that he had a sign in his body by which he was reminded and always increased in faith; that he confessed his faith before others, and by his testimony provoked others also to believe. Thus Abel, through faith, offered a sacrifice acceptable to God [Genesis 4:4]. For the sacrifice did not please God ex opere operato, but Abel certainly believed that he had a gracious God. But the work he did was to exercise his faith and to provoke others to believe by his example and confession.

(203) Therefore, if good works should follow faith and not otherwise, those who do not believe that sins are forgiven them without merit for Christ's sake do their works much differently. For when they see good works in the saints, they judge humanly of the saints, and think that the saints have obtained forgiveness of sins by their works, or have been justified before God by works. Therefore they imitate them and think that they also want to obtain forgiveness of sins and appease God's wrath.

(204) We condemn such public error and false doctrine of works. First, that thereby the glory of Christ, the true Mediator, is taken away, and is given to wretched works, if we will present our works in Christ's stead for a treasure and propitiation of divine wrath and sin. For the glory belongs to Christ alone, not to our wretched works.

(205) Secondly, neither do consciences find peace in such works. For though they do many works and are diligent to do them, yet there is no work pure enough, important enough, delicious enough, to make a gracious God, to obtain eternal life with certainty, in sum, to make the conscience calm and peaceful.

206. For the third, those who build on works never come to know God rightly, nor His will. For a conscience that doubts God's grace cannot believe that it will be heard, and because it cannot call upon God,
it will also not be aware of divine help, and thus cannot come to know God. But if there is faith, namely, that we have a gracious God through Christ, he may joyfully call upon God and learn to know God and His will.

207 But the error of works clings hard to the world. The heathen also have sacrifices, which were first of the patriarchs. They followed the sacrifices and works of the fathers; they knew not of faith, but believed that these works made them a gracious God. The Israelites also invented works and sacrifices for them, thinking that they would thereby make a gracious God through their *opus operatum*, that is, through the mere work that was done without faith. There we see how vehemently the prophets cry out against this, as in the 50th Psalm, v. 8: "For thy sacrifice's sake I punish thee not. "2c. Item, Jeremiah says ^Cap. 7, 22.], "I have not spoken to your fathers of burnt-offering." There the prophets do not condemn the sacrifices in themselves, for God commanded them as an outward practice in the same people, but they strike primarily at their ungodly hearts, since they made the sacrifices in the opinion that they thought God would thereby be reconciled *ex opere operato*; thereby faith was suppressed.

(208) And since no work satisfies the conscience, the hypocrites, on a blind guess and venture, nevertheless invent one work over another, one sacrifice over another, and all without God's word and command, with an evil conscience, as we have seen in the papacy. And especially they are moved by the examples of the saints; for when they thus follow them, they think they want to obtain forgiveness of sin, as the saints obtained 2c. But the saints believed.

020 The people of Israel saw that the prophets sacrificed in the high places and in the groves; and they imitated the work, that they might atone for the wrath of God by the work. Now the prophets had offered sacrifices there, not that they wished to merit forgiveness of sin by the works, but that they preached and taught in the places; therefore they offered the sacrifices for a testimony of their faith.

021 Now the people had heard that Abraham had sacrificed his son: that they also might do works which were grievous and sore to them, so they sacrificed their sons also. But Abraham was not of opinion to sacrifice his son, that such should be a propitiation, that he might be justified before God 2c.

211 Thus, in the church Christ instituted the Lord's Supper, wherein forgiveness of sin is offered by divine promise, that we may be reminded that by the outward sign our faith is started, that by it we may also confess our faith before men, and praise and preach the benefits of Christ, as Paul says [1 Cor. 11:26]: "As often as ye do this, ye shall proclaim the death of the Lord" 2c. But the adversaries pretend that the Mass is such a work, which *ex opere operato* makes us righteous before God, and redeems from chastisement and guilt those for whom it is done.

St. Anthony, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, and other saints did themselves by a life of their own, that they might the more easily read the holy Scriptures, or for the sake of other exercises. Nevertheless, they maintained that they were righteous before God through faith in Christ, that through Christ alone they had obtained a gracious God. But the great multitude subsequently came, abandoned faith in Christ, looked only to the examples without faith, and undertook to obtain forgiveness of sin through the works of the monastery. Thus reason always sets good works too high and in a wrong place. The Gospel challenges this error and teaches that we are justified before God, not because of the law or our works, but because of Christ alone. But Christ cannot be grasped but by faith alone, therefore we are justified before God by faith alone.

213) Against this the adversaries draw on the saying of Paul to the Corinthians on the 13th, v. 2: "If I had all faith, 2c. but had not love, I should be nothing." Then the adversaries cry out with a great triumph, and boast that they are assured by this saying, that not faith alone makes us righteous before God, but love also. But it is quite easy to answer this, since we have stated above what we think of love and works. In this saying Paul wants Christians to have love for their neighbor. This we also say. For we have said above that when we were born again we were to keep the law and to be obedient to God's laws. Therefore, if any man neglect Christian love, though he had great and strong faith, yet he became cold, and is now carnal again, without spirit and faith; for there is not the Holy Ghost where there is not Christian love, and other good fruits.

214. But it does not follow that love makes us righteous before God, that is, that through love we obtain forgiveness of sin, that love overcomes the terror of sin and death, that love should be held in Christ's stead against God's wrath and judgment, that love fulfills the law, that through love we become reconciled to God and pleasing to Him, and not for the sake of Christ. Paul says nothing of all this, and yet the adversaries invent it from their brains.

(215) For if we overcome the wrath of God by our love, if we are pleasing to God by our law-keeping, the adversaries may also say that the divine promise, the whole gospel, is nothing. For this teaches that we have access to God through Christ alone, that we are pleasing to God not through our law-keeping, but for the sake of Christ, as the only Mediator and Reconciler.

216. The adversaries put many sayings to their opinion, which are not so; but they make additions to them, as here. For this saying is clear enough, if only the adversaries did not add to it their own dreams outside the Scriptures, so that they do not understand what faith is, what Christ is, or how it happens when a man is justified before God.

027 The Corinthians, and some of them, had heard the gospel, and had received many excellent gifts; 1) and, as it is in such matters, in the beginning they were fierce, and stouthearted in all things; but afterward there grew up among them divisions and sects, as Paul saith, and they began to despise the true apostles. Therefore Paul punishes them, admonishes them again to unity and Christian love. And Paul does not speak in this place of the forgiveness of sin or how one becomes righteous before God or how it happens when a sinner is converted to Christ, but speaks of the fruits of faith; he also does not speak of love toward God, but of love toward the neighbor.

218 Now it is almost foolish that love toward our neighbor, by which we deal with people here on earth, should make us righteous before God, when the righteousness that is valid before God includes this, that we obtain something by which God's wrath is quenched and our conscience comes to peace against God in heaven. He who has no

1) So all editions read, but it seems to us that the text is corrupt, and according to the Latin should be so read: The Corinthians hear the gospel, and some of them, being justified before, had received many excellent gifts 2c.

happens through love, but only through faith, through which one grasps Christ and God's promise.

219 But it is true, that he that hath not love hath not the spirit and the faith. And so Paul says: "If I do not have love, I am nothing" [Cor. 13:2]. But he does not add the alternative that love makes one righteous before God.

(220) But here they also say that love is preferred to faith and hope, for Paul says in 1 Cor. 13:13, "Love is the greatest of the three." Now it is to be observed that virtue, which Paul calls the greatest, makes us righteous and holy before God. Although Paul is actually speaking of love toward one's neighbor, and when he says, "Love is the greatest," he says it because love goes far and bears much fruit on earth. For faith and hope alone deal with God. But love goes about on earth among men, and does much good, with comforting, teaching, instructing, helping, counseling, secretly and publicly. But let us admit that loving God and our neighbor is the highest virtue. For this is the highest commandment: "You shall love God with all your heart." It does not follow that love makes us righteous.

(221) Yea, they say, the highest virtue shall cheaply make righteous. Answer: It would be true if, for the sake of our! It would be true if we had a gracious God for the sake of our virtue. Now it is proved above that we are pleasing and righteous for Christ's sake, not for our virtue's sake. For our virtues are unclean. Yes, as this law is the highest, "Thou shalt love GOD," so this virtue, loving GOD, can least of all make one righteous. For if the law and virtue be higher, so that we are less able to do them, therefore we are not justified for love's sake: but faith justifies, not for our works, but only because it seeketh and receiveth mercy, and will not depend on any works of its own. This is that we teach: The law does not justify, but the gospel does; which is to believe that we have a gracious God for Christ's sake, not our own.

222. But the adversaries teach about love in this way, that it reconciles us to God, for they know nothing of the Gospel, but only look at the Law, wanting to have a merciful God for the sake of their own holiness, not out of mercy for the sake of Christ. Therefore, they alone are teachers of the law, and not teachers of the gospel.

223. Also, the adversaries against us draw on the saying to the Colossians [Cap. 3, 14.]: "Love is a bond of perfection." Hence they conclude that love makes us righteous before God, for it makes us perfect. Although we could here answer all kinds of questions about perfection, we will here deal with Paul's saying in a simple way.

224 It is certain that Paul speaks of the love of one's neighbor. Neither must it be thought that Paul is of opinion that we should be justified before God by the works of the other table, rather than by the works of the first table. If love is perfection or the complete fulfillment of the law, there is no need of Christ as mediator. But Paul, who teaches in all places that we are pleasing to God because of Christ, not because of our love or our works or the law, for no saint (as stated above) fulfills the law completely. Therefore, when he writes and teaches in all other places that in this life there is no perfection in our works, it is not to be thought that he speaks to the Colossians of perfection of person, but he speaks of unity of the church, and the word by which they interpret perfection means nothing else than to be undivided, that is, to be united. Now that he says, "Love is a bond of perfection," that is, it binds, joins, and holds together the many members of the church under itself. For as in a city, or in a house, unity is preserved by the one giving to the other, and peace nor quiet can remain unless one gives much to the other, unless we bear with one another: So Paul wants to admonish Christian love, that one should tolerate and bear the other's faults and infirmities, that they should forgive one another, so that unity may be preserved in the church, lest the cluster of Christians be torn apart and divided into all kinds of factions and sects, from which great discord, hatred and envy, all kinds of bitterness and evil poison, and finally public heresy may result. For unity cannot remain if the bishops, without any reason, impose too heavy a burden on the people. It is also easy for mobs to develop, when the people quickly want to master everything and make a mess of the bishops' or preachers' lives, or when they soon tire of the preachers, for example because of a small ailment, much great evil follows. Then they soon seek other teachers and other preachers out of the same bitterness.

225. again, perfection is obtained

And unity, that is, the church remains undivided and whole when the strong tolerate and support the weak, when the people also have patience with their preachers, when the bishops and preachers in turn know how to take advantage of all kinds of weaknesses and infirmities of the people. Of the way and manner of keeping unity also much is written everywhere in the books of philosophers and worldly wise men. For we must forgive one another many things and count them good, for the sake of unity. And of this Paul speaketh more than in one place. Therefore the adversaries do not rightly conclude that love should make righteous in the sight of God, for Paul does not speak there of the perfection or holiness of persons, as they suppose, but says that love makes a quiet being in the church. And so Ambrose also interprets the saying: As a building is whole, when all the pieces are joined together 2c.

226 But the adversaries ought also to be ashamed of themselves, that they write and preach so well of love, and write and cry love, love, in all their books, and show no love at all. For what a beautiful love of Christians is this, that by their unheard-of tyranny they cut and tear asunder the unity of the church, so that they, in order to let nothing but letters of blood and tyrannical commandments go forth, would like to imagine the most evil thing to the most noble emperor. They strangle the priests, and many other pious, honest people, for no other reason than that they alone contest public, shameful abuses. They would like to see all those dead who speak out against their ungodly doctrine. All this rhymes very badly with the great boast of love, of *caritas* 2c. For if there were a drop of love in the adversaries, peace and unity might well be made in the church, if they would not thus, out of pure revengeful bitterness and Pharisaic envy against the known truth, condemn their human statutes, which are of no use to Christian doctrine or life, especially if they do not themselves keep their statutes right.

0227 They also draw from the apostle Peter the saying, where he saith, Love covereth the multitude of sins. Now it is certain that Peter also speaks of love toward our neighbor, for he speaks there of the commandment of love, where it is commanded that we should love one another. Neither did it ever occur to any apostle that love should overcome death or sin, that love should be a reconciliation without Christ the Mediator, that love should be our righteousness without Christ the Reconciler. For love, if

If we have it already, it is nothing more than the righteousness of the law; it is not Christ, through whom alone we are justified, if we believe that for the sake of the Mediator the Father is gracious to us, that his merit may be given to us. For this reason Peter shortly before admonishes us to cleave to Christ, that we may be built upon him as the cornerstone. For he saith, "He that believeth on him shall not be put to shame." By our works and lives we shall indeed stand ashamed before God's judgment and face. But faith, through which Christ becomes ours, delivers us from such terrors of death. For through the promise we are quite sure that through Christ our sins are forgiven.

228. and the word 1 Pet. 4, 8: "Love covereth the multitude of sin," 2c., is taken from the Proverbs of Solomon, where he [Cap. 10, 12Z says, "Hatred maketh strife, but love covereth the multitude of sins." The text clearly shows that he is speaking of love toward his neighbor, and not of love toward God. And he wants the same thing that Paul's next saying to the Colossians says, namely, that we should be diligent to live in a brotherly, friendly way, so that one may do much to benefit the other, that unpleasure and discord may be avoided. As if he were saying, "Discord grows out of hatred," for we see that from a small spark there is often great fire.

229 There were not so great things about which Caesar and Pompey first disagreed, and if one had yielded to the other, the ensuing great war, so much bloodshed, so many great misfortunes and calamities would not have resulted. But since everyone wanted to go through with his head, the great unspeakable damage and disruption of the whole Roman regime of the time occurred. And many heresies have arisen from this, that preachers have been embittered against each other.

230 Peter's saying is to be understood thus: "Love covers the multitude of sins," that is, love covers the neighbor's sin. That is, though there be ill will among Christians, yet love bears all things, gladly overlooks, yields to the neighbor, tolerates and bears his infirmities brotherly, and does not seek all things most earnestly. Peter does not want love to merit forgiveness of sin before God, or to reconcile us to God without the mediator Christ, or to be pleasing to God through love without the mediator Christ.

easily holds his neighbor's infirmities and faults, fraternally forgives his neighbor, calms down, instructs himself, and softens for the sake of peace, as also teaches the saying: ^.rniei vitia rioris, iion oäsris, that is, I should learn my friend's way, but not hate him (whether it is not all the same) because of it.

231 And the apostles exhort not without cause to such love, which the philosophers have called iE-xs-a? For if men are to be or remain in unity with one another, whether in the church or also in worldly government, they must not reckon all afflictions against one another on the gold scale; they must let one another pass by with the water almost much, and always bear with one another, as much as also always possible have brotherly patience with one another.

(232) They also use the saying of the apostle Jacob [Cap. 2:24], and say, See ye then that we are not justified before God by faith alone, but by works? And they want to think that the saying is almost strong*) against our doctrine. But if the adversaries alone leave their dreams outside, and do not mend what they will, the answer is easy. For the apostle Jacob's saying has its simple meaning, but the adversaries invent that by our works we earn forgiveness of sins, item, that good works are a propitiation by which God is gracious to us, item, that by good works we can overcome the great power of the devil, death, and sin, item, that our good works in themselves are so pleasing and great in the sight of God that we do not need Christ's mediator. None of these things came into the heart of the apostle Jacob, which all the adversaries were obliged to keep by the saying of Jacob.

(233) We must now notice that this saying is more against the adversaries than for them. For the adversaries teach that man becomes righteous before God through love and works. They speak nothing of the faith by which we hold to the Mediator Christ. And what is more, they do not want to hear or see anything about faith, and they dare to destroy this doctrine of faith with sword and fire. But James does otherwise. He does not leave faith outside, but speaks of faith; thus he lets Christ remain the treasure and the mediator, by which we are justified before God, just as Paul, when he sets forth the summa of the Christian doctrine of faith, does.

1) In Müller: "firm, strong". But the Latin shows that the reading of the Jena edition which we have taken up is the correct one.

Faith, he puts faith and love together, 1 Tim. 1:5: "The summa of the law is love out of unfeigned faith."

234 Secondly, the thing itself shows that he speaks of works which follow faith, for he shows that faith must not be dead, but living, strong, busy, and active in the heart. Therefore Jacob's opinion was not that we earn grace or forgiveness of sin by works. For he speaks of the works of those who have already been justified by Christ, who have already been reconciled to God, and have obtained forgiveness of sins through Christ. For this reason the adversaries are far wrong if they want to conclude from this saying that we earn grace and forgiveness of sins through good works, or that Jacob wants this, that we have access to God through our works without the mediator and reconciler Christ.

235 Thirdly, St. James had said before of spiritual regeneration, that it is by the gospel. For thus he saith in the first chapter, v. 18: "He begat us according to his will, by the word of truth, that we should be the firstfruits of his creation." Now if he saith that we are born again through the gospel, he wills that we should be justified before God by faith. For the promise of Christ is grasped by faith alone, if by it we are comforted against the terror of death, of sin 2c. Therefore his opinion is not that we should be born again by our works.

236 From all this it is clear enough that the saying of Jacob is not against us. For he reproaches some lazy Christians, who were too sure, making them think that they had faith, when they were without faith. Therefore he makes a distinction between living faith and dead faith. Dead faith he calls, where not all kinds of good works and fruits of the Spirit follow, obedience, patience, chastity, love 2c. Living faith he calls, where good fruits follow. Now we have often said what we call faith. For we do not call it faith, that we know the evil history of Christ, which is also in devils; but the new light and power, which the Holy Ghost worketh in the heart, by which we overcome the terror of death, of sins 2c. This we call faith.

237 Such a right Christian faith is not so easily a bad thing as the adversaries would have it, as they say, Believe, believe; how soon can I believe 2c. Neither is it a

It is not a human thought that I can make for myself, but a divine power in the heart, by which I am born again, by which we overcome the great power of the devil and of death, as Paul says to the Colossians [Cap. 2, 12]: "In whom also ye are risen again through the faith which God worketh" 2c. This same faith, because it is a new divine light and life in the heart, by which we get a different mind and courage, is alive, busy and rich in good works.

0238 Therefore this is rightly said, that faith is not right which is without works. And though he said that we are justified by faith and works, yet he saith not that we are born again by works; neither saith he that Christ is half the reconciler, half our works: but he speaketh of Christians as they ought to be, being now born again through the gospel.

239 For he speaketh of works which must follow faith, and it is well said, He that hath faith and good works is righteous: yea, not for works, but for Christ's sake through faith. And as a good tree should bear good fruit, and yet the fruit does not make the tree good, so good works must follow after the new birth, though they do not make a man acceptable to God, but as the tree must be good beforehand, so man must be acceptable to God beforehand through faith, for Christ's sake. Works are far too small for God to be gracious to us for their sake, when he is not gracious to us for Christ's sake.

(240) So Jacob is not contrary to St. Paul, nor does he say that by works we merit forgiveness of sin, nor does he say that our works overcome the power of the devil, death, sin, the terror of shells, and are equal to the death of Christ, nor does he say that by works we become pleasing to God, nor does he say that our works bring hearts to rest and overcome God's wrath, nor that we may not have mercy if we have works; which Jacob says none. What an addition the adversaries add to the words of Jacob.

241 They also have more sayings against us than this: Danielis on the 4th, v. 24. the text says, "Loose thy sin with righteousness, and thy transgression with almsgiving against the poor." And Isa. 58, 7. "Break thy bread to the hungry." Item, Luc. 6, 37. "Forgive, and you shall be forgiven"; and Matt. 5, 7. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

242. To these sayings and the like of works we first answer this: namely, that (as we said above) no one can keep the law without faith, so no one can please God without faith in Christ, as He says [John 15:5], "Without Me you can do nothing." Item [Heb. 11, 6.], "Without faith it is impossible to please GOD." Item, as Paul says [Rom. 5, 2. Eph. 3, 12.], "Through Christ we have access to GOD by faith." Therefore, as often as Scripture remembers works, it wants to have the gospel of Christ and faith communed with it everywhere.

243 Secondly, the sayings of Daniel, and the rest that are now told, are almost all sermons of repentance. First, they preach the law, point out sin, and exhort to repentance and good works. Secondly, there is a promise that God will be merciful. Now it is certain that for a right repentance it is not enough to preach the law alone, for it alone terrifies the conscience, but the gospel must also be added, namely, that sins are forgiven without merit, for Christ's sake, that we may obtain forgiveness of sins through faith. This is so certain and so clear, that if the adversaries dispute it, and separate Christ and faith from repentance, they shall be accounted blasphemers of the gospel and of Christ.

244 Therefore the words of the great and high prophet Daniel are not to be interpreted and drawn to mere works, to alms, but also to faith. The words of the prophets, which were full of faith and spirit, should not be considered as pagan as Aristotle's 1) or those of any other pagan. Aristotle also admonished Alexandrum that he should not use his power for his own good will, but for the betterment of countries and people. This is right and well written, and nothing better can be preached or written about the king's office. But Daniel tells his king not only of his royal office, but also of repentance, forgiveness of sins, reconciliation to God, and of the high, great, spiritual things, which are very high and far above all human thoughts and works. Therefore, his words are not only to be understood in terms of works and almsgiving, which even a hypocrite can do, but primarily in terms of faith.

0245. but that one must understand faith here, as we speak of, that is, believing that God will sin

1) Müller: Aristotle.

by mercy, not because of our merit, this is proved by the text itself. First of all, because there are two parts in Daniel's sermon. One is the preaching of the law and punishment; the other is the promise or absolution. Now where there is promise, there must be faith. For the promise cannot be received in any other way than that the heart trusts in the word of God and does not consider its own worthiness or unworthiness. For thus the promise reads: Your sins will be healed. This word is a true prophetic and evangelical message, for Daniel knew 1) that through the future Seed, Christ, forgiveness of sins, grace, and eternal life had been promised not only to the Jews but also to the Gentiles, or he would not have been able to comfort the king in this way. For it is not man's work to promise forgiveness of sins to a frightened conscience and to comfort that God will no longer be angry. Then one must have the testimony of God's will from God's word, as Daniel knew and understood the great promises of the future seed. Because he now makes a proclamation, it is clear and evident that he demands faith, as we speak of.

0246 But that he saith, Repent of thy sin with righteousness, and of thy transgression with lovingkindness toward the poor, is the sum of a whole sermon, and is so much, Correct thyself. And it is true, if we amend, we are freed from sin. Therefore he saith aright, "Loose thy sin." But it does not follow from this that we are freed from sin because of our works, or that our works are the payment for sin. Neither doth Daniel put works alone, but saith, "Loose thy sin with righteousness." Now men only know that righteousness in Scripture does not mean outward works alone, but embraces faith, as Paul says [Rom. 1:17], *Justus ex fide vivet*, "the righteous *liveth* by faith." Therefore Daniel first demands faith, when he calls it righteousness, and says, "Loose your sin with righteousness," that is, with faith toward God, by which you become righteous. In addition, do good works, namely, wait for your office, do not be a tyrant, but see to it that your government is useful to the land and the people, keep peace, and protect the poor against unjust violence. These are princely oloooaos^nao.

247 So it is clear that this saying is not contrary to the doctrine of faith. But our opposition

1) Müller: "knows"; Jenaer: "wisset"; in Latin: nornt.

The rude asses sew their additions to these sayings, that our sins are forgiven us for our works, and teach us to trust in works, when the sayings speak not so, but require good works, as it is true, that there must be another and better life in us; but yet these works shall not take away the glory of Christ.

248 So also to the saying of the Gospel [Luc. 6:37.] is to be answered, "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven." For it is alike such a doctrine of repentance. The first part of this saying demands correction and good works. The other piece adds to this the promise, and it is not to be inferred from this that our forgiving merits us *ex opere operato* forgiveness of sins. For Christ does not say this, but, as in other sacraments Christ attaches the promise to the outward sign, so here also he attaches the promise of forgiveness of sins to outward good works. And just as in the Lord's Supper we do not obtain forgiveness of sins without faith ex opere operato, so also not in this work and in our forgiveness, for our forgiveness is not a good work either, unless it be of those whose sins have already been forgiven beforehand by God in Christ.

249 Therefore our forgiveness, if it be pleasing to God, must follow after the forgiveness which God forgives us. For Christ is wont to put the two together, the law and the gospel, both faith and good works, to show that there is no faith unless good works follow. That we may have outward signs to remind us of the gospel, and of the forgiveness of sins; by which we may be comforted, that our faith may be exercised in many things.

250 So these sayings ought to be understood, because otherwise they would be contrary to the whole gospel, and our beggarly works would be put in the place of Christ, who alone is to be the propitiation, which is not to be despised. If they were to be understood of works, the forgiveness of sins would be quite uncertain, for it would rest on a loose foundation, on our wretched works.

251. They also draw on a saying from Tobiä j^Cap. 4, 11.], "Alms deliver from sin and death." We do not mean to say that there is a li^perdole; though we would say it, that Christ's honor might be preserved; for this is Christ's office alone, to redeem from sin, from death 2c. But we will keep to our old rule, namely, that the l law or works are not given to any but Christ.

to make myself right before God. Thus, the alms that "follow faith" are pleasing to God only after I have been reconciled through Christ, not before. Therefore they do not redeem from death sx opere operato, but, as I said shortly before about repentance, that one must combine faith with the fruits at the same time. So also of the alms it is to be said that they are pleasing to God, because they are done in the faithful. For Tobias does not speak of alms alone, but also of faith, for he says, v. 20: "Praise God, and ask Him to guide you in your ways" 2c. There he actually speaks of faith, as we speak of the one who believes that he has a gracious God, whom he owes to praise for His great goodness and grace, from whom he also waits daily for help, and asks Him to guide and govern him in life and death.

(252) In this way we may concede that alms are not unmeritorious against God, but not that they can overcome death, hell, the devil, sin, and put consciences at rest (for this must be done through faith in Christ alone), but that they merit God's protection against future evil and against the body and soul. This is the simple mind, which also agrees with other sayings of Scripture. For where good works are commended in the Scriptures, it is always to be understood according to the rule of Paul, that the law and works are not to be exalted above Christ, that Christ and faith are as high above all works as heaven is above the earth.

(253) They also draw upon the saying of Christ, [Luke 11:41], Pray alms, and all things shall be clean unto you. The adversaries are deaf, and have thick ears; therefore we must often teach them the precepts, that the law without Christ makes no man righteous before God, and that all works are acceptable for Christ's sake alone. But the adversaries everywhere exclude Christ, act as if Christ were nothing, and impudently teach that we obtain forgiveness of sin by good works. 2c.

254 But if we look at the saying in its entirety, we will see that it also speaks of faith. Christ chides the Pharisees for thinking that they would become holy and pure before God through all kinds of *baptisimata carnis*, that is, through all kinds of bodily bathing, washing, and cleansing of the body, vessels, and garments, just as a pope has put into his canons a necessary papal part of the water of consecration, that when it is sprinkled with consecrated salt, it sanctifies, and
cleanse the people from sins. And the gloss says, it cleanseth from daily sins. So the Pharisees also had error among themselves, which Christ punishes, and sets two kinds of purity against the purification that is made, one inward, the other outward, and exhorts them to be inwardly pure. This is done (as Peter says in the Acts of the Apostles, 15, v. 9) by faith. And adds of outward purity, "Give alms of that ye have left, and all things shall be clean unto you."

(255) The adversaries do not properly use the word "all," for Christ makes the decision for both inward and outward purity, and says: "All things shall be pure unto you," that is, if you do not only bathe yourselves bodily, but believe in God, and are therefore pure inwardly, and do alms outwardly, all things shall be pure unto you. And show that also the right outward purity is in the works which God has commanded, and not in human statutes, as there were the same traäitionos Uliarisaeorunr 2c., and as in our time is the sprinkling and sprinkling of holy water, the snow-white monastic garments, the differences of food, and the like.

(256) But the adversaries sophistically apply the *signum universale*, that is, the word "all," to one part alone, and say, All shall be pure unto you, if ye give alms 2c. As if one said, Andrew is there, therefore all the apostles are there. Therefore in the auteeec people, or preceding part of this saying, both are to remain with each other: Believe and give alms. For the whole mission, the whole ministry of Christ, depends on this; therefore he is there, that they should believe. Now when both these things are put together, faith and almsgiving, it follows that they are all pure; the heart by faith, the outward walk by good works. So the sermon is to be taken in its entirety, and not the one part turned around and interpreted, that the heart is cleansed from sins by our eleemosyna.

0257 There are also some that think that it is *irony* or mockery spoken against the Pharisees of Christ. As if to say, Yea, ye nobles, rob and steal, and afterward go and give alms, and ye shall soon be clean: so that Christ may somewhat bitterly and mockingly offend their Pharisaical hypocrisy. For though they were full of unbelief, covetousness, and all manner of wickedness, yet they kept their purification, and gave alms, and thought that they were pure and tender saints. The interpretation is not contrary to the text there.

(258) Now what is to be answered to other such sayings is easily deduced from this, which we have transfigured. For the rule lays down all sayings concerning good works, that apart from Christ they are of no account before God, but the heart must first have Christ, and believe that it pleases God for Christ's sake, not on account of its own works.

(259) The adversaries also make a number of scholastic arguments, which are easy to answer, if one knows what faith is. Experienced Christians speak much differently of faith than do the Sophists, as we have just said, that to believe is to trust in God's mercy, that he will be merciful for Christ's sake, without our merit; and that is to believe the article, "forgiveness of sin. This faith is not alone the historia know, which also devils know, therefore the school argument is easily dissolved, that they speak: The devils also believe, therefore faith does not make righteous. Yes, the devils know the history, but they do not believe in the forgiveness of sin.

260 For they say that to be righteous is obedience. Now to do works is obedience, and therefore works must make one righteous. To this, then, one should answer: To be righteous is such obedience as God accepts for it. Now God will not accept our obedience in works for righteousness, for it is not a heartfelt obedience, since no one keeps the law rightly. Therefore He has ordained another obedience, which He will accept for righteousness, namely, that we may know our disobedience, and trust that we please God for Christ's sake, not because of our obedience. Therefore, to be righteous here is to be pleasing to God, not because of our own obedience, but out of mercy for Christ's sake. Item, sin is hating God, therefore righteousness must love God. It is true that loving God is the righteousness of the law. But no one fulfills this law. Therefore the gospel teaches a new righteousness, that we please God for Christ's sake, though we do not fulfill the law, yet we ought to begin to do the law. Item, what is the difference between faith and hope? Answer: Hoping awaits future good and salvation from tribulation; believing receives present reconciliation, and cherishes in the heart that God has forgiven sin, and that he is now gracious to me. And this is a high service, which serves God by giving Him glory, and by keeping the mercy and promise so sure that he can receive and wait for all kinds of goods from Him without merit. And in this service the
Heart to be exercised and to increase; of this the mad sophists know nothing.

261 And to all this it is easy to understand what is to be thought of the rusrito eonälZni, when the adversaries invent that we are justified before God by love and our works. There they do not even remember faith, and instead of the mediator of Christ they put our works, our fulfillment of the law; this is not to be suffered in any way. For though we said above, Where the new birth is by the Spirit and grace, love also certainly follows: nevertheless the glory of Christ is not to be given to our works, but this is certain, that before and after, when we come to the gospel, we are justly esteemed for Christ's sake, and Christ remains the Mediator and Reconciler before than after, after than before, and through Christ we have access to God, not because we have kept the law and done much good, but that we so cheerfully, confidently build on grace, and so assuredly rely, that by grace we are justly esteemed before God for Christ's sake.

262 And this teacheth, preacheth, and confesseth the holy eternal Christian church, that we are saved through mercy, as we have said above from Jerome. Our righteousness is not based on our own merit, but on the mercy of God; and this mercy is obtained through faith.

263 But here let all men of understanding see what would follow from the doctrine of the adversaries. For if we hold that Christ alone has earned for us prirnum arutiuw, that is, the first grace (as they call it), and that afterwards we must first earn eternal life by our works, then the hearts or consciences will never be satisfied either at the hour of death or otherwise, will never be able to build on certain foundations, will never be certain whether God would be gracious to us. Thus their teaching leads the consciences without ceasing to vain heartache and finally to despair. For God's law is not a joke, which accuses consciences apart from Christ without ceasing, as Paul says [Rom. 4:15.], "The law provokes wrath." So then, when consciences feel God's judgment and have no certain comfort, they fall into despair.

264. Paul says [Rom. 14,23.]: "Everything that is not of faith is sin." But those can do nothing by faith, who then shall not receive a gracious God until they have fulfilled the law with their works. For they will always waver and doubt whether they have done enough works, whether they have fulfilled the law enough.

Yes, they will strongly feel and sense that they still owe the law; therefore, they will never think that they have a merciful God or that their prayer will be heard. For this reason, they can never love God rightly, nor do anything good for God, nor serve God rightly. For what are such hearts and consciences but hell itself, if there is nothing else in such hearts but doubting, despairing, grumbling, resentment, and hatred of God? And yet in their hatred they hypocritically call upon God, as the wicked king Saul did.

Here we may appeal to all Christian consciences, and to all those who have tried temptations. They must confess and say that such great uncertainty, such restlessness, such anxiety and fear, such terrible trembling and despair, result from such teaching of the adversaries, since they teach or think that we are justified before God by our works or the fulfillment of the law, which we do, and show us the wrong way to trust, not in the rich, blessed promises of grace, which are offered to us through the Mediator Christ, but in our miserable works.

266 Therefore this decree stands firm as a wall, even as a rock, that even though we have begun to do the law, we are not acceptable to God because of these works, but because of Christ through faith, and have peace with God. And God does not owe us eternal life for these works, but just as forgiveness of sins and righteousness are imputed to us for the sake of Christ, not for the sake of our works or the law, so also eternal life is offered to us, not for the sake of our works, nor for the sake of the law, but for the sake of Christ, together with righteousness, as Christ says [Jn. 6, 40.], "This is the will of the Father which hath sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, should have everlasting life." Item I^V. 47.], "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life."

267 Now the adversaries are to be asked what counsel they give to the poor consciences at the hour of death? whether they put off the consciences, that they should go well, be saved, have a gracious God for their own merit, or out of God's grace and mercy for Christ's sake? For St. Peter, Sl. Paul and the like saints cannot boast that God owes them eternal life for their suffering, nor do they have anything to do with their works.

but in the mercy promised in Christ.

268. Nor would it be possible for a saint, however great and high he may be, to remain or stand against the accusation of divine law, against the great power of the devil, against the terror of death, and finally against the despair and fear of hell, if he did not grasp the divine promise, the gospel, like a tree or branch in the great flood, in the strong, mighty river, under the waves and bulges of the fear of death, if he did not by faith hold to the word that proclaims grace, and thus without all works, without law, purely by grace, attain eternal life. For this doctrine alone sustains the Christian conscience in temptations and fears of death; of which the adversaries know nothing, and speak of it as the blind speak of paint.

0269 But here they will say, If by pure mercy we shall be saved, what difference is there between them that are saved, and them that are not saved? If there is no merit, there is no difference between the evil and the good, and it follows that they will be saved at the same time. This argument moved the scholastics to invent the rrisritum eonäiAni. For there must be a difference between them that are saved and them that are damned.

270 But as to the first, we say that eternal life belongs to those whom God esteems righteous, and if they are esteemed righteous, they have thereby become God's children and Christ's fellow heirs, as Paul says to the Romans, v. 30, 8: "Whom he hath justified, them he hath also glorified. Therefore no one is saved, except those who believe the gospel. But as our reconciliation with God is uncertain, if it should stand on our works, and not on God's gracious promise, which cannot fail, so also all that we wait for by hope would be uncertain, if it should be built on our merit and works. For God's law accuses the conscience without ceasing, and feel nothing else in the heart, but this voice out of the cloud and flames of fire, Deut. 5, v. 6 ff: "I am the Lord thy God, this shalt thou do", this thou owest, this I will have 2c. And no conscience can have rest for a moment, if the law and Moses press in the heart, before it takes hold of Christ by faith. Neither can it rightly hope for eternal life, unless it first come to rest 1). For a conscience,

1) Müller and the old editions: "to rest".

that doubts, that flees from God, that despairs, that cannot hope. But now the hope of eternal life must be sure. So that it may not waver, but be sure, we must believe that we have eternal life, not by our works or merit, but by pure grace through faith in Christ.

(271) In the courts of the world, and in the seats of judgment, there are two things: grace and judgment. Law is certain by law and judgment; mercy is uncertain. Here before God it is a different matter, for grace and mercy are promised by a certain word, and the gospel is the word that gives us to believe that God is gracious to us and wants to make us blessed for Christ's sake, as the text reads: "God did not send his Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world might be saved through him. He that believeth in him shall not be judged" [John 3:17].

272 For as often as mercy is spoken of, it is to be understood that faith is required, and that faith which makes the difference between them that are saved and them that are damned, between them that are worthy and them that are unworthy. For eternal life is promised to none but those who are reconciled in Christ. But faith reconciles and makes us righteous before God, if and when we take hold of the promise through faith. And all through life we are to pray to God, and make every effort to obtain faith and to increase in faith. For, as was said above, faith is where repentance is, and is not in those who walk according to the flesh. This same faith must grow and increase throughout life, even through all kinds of trials. And they that obtain faith are born again, that they may live again, and do good works.

273 As we say then, that true repentance shall continue throughout life; so we say also, that good works and fruits of faith shall continue throughout life; though our works shall never be so precious as to equal the treasure of Christ, or to merit eternal life. As Christ also saith [Luc. 17:10], "When ye have done all, say, We are unprofitable servants." And St. Bernard says rightly, "It is necessary and you must first believe that you cannot have forgiveness of sin except by the grace of God, and then that you cannot have or do any other good work hereafter unless God gives it to you. Finally, that you cannot earn eternal life by any works if God does not give it to you.

...that the same is not given without merit. And soon after: Let no man deceive himself, for if thou wouldst consider the matter aright, thou wouldst no doubt find that with ten thousand thou canst not meet him who meets thee with twenty thousand 2c. These are strong sayings of St. Bernhardt, they would like to believe the same, if they did not want to believe us.

274. Therefore, that the hearts may have a right certain comfort and hope, we point them, as Paul does, to the divine promise of grace in Christ, and teach that one must believe that God does not give us eternal life for our works, not for the fulfillment of the law, but for the sake of Christ, as John the Apostle says in his epistle: "He who has the Son has life; he who does not have the Son does not have life" [1 John 5:12]. 5, 12.].

(275) Here the adversaries have well shown their great art, and have perverted the saying of Christ, (Luc. 17:10), "When ye have done all things, then say, We are unprofitable servants." Dragging him from works to faith, saying, Rather, if we believe all things, we are unprofitable servants. These are the shameful sophists, who so pervert the comforting doctrine of faith. Say, ye asses, if a man lie at the point of death, and feel that he hath no work sufficient for the judgment of God, and can trust in no work, what will ye counsel him? Will ye also say unto him, Though thou believest, yet art thou a useless servant, and wilt not help thee? Then the poor conscience must fall into despair, if it does not know that the gospel requires faith for this very reason, because we are unprofitable servants, and have no merit.

276 Therefore beware of the sophists, who thus blaspheme the words of Christ. For it followeth not, that works profit not, neither doth faith profit. We must give the rough asses a rough example. It does not follow that the penny does not help, and therefore the florin does not help either. Therefore, as the florin is much higher and stronger than the penny, so it must be understood that faith is much higher and stronger than works. Not that faith helps because of its worthiness, but because it trusts in God's promise and mercy. Faith is strong, not because of its worthiness, but because of the divine promise. And therefore Christ here rejects trust in one's own works, for they cannot help. On the other hand, he does not reject trust in God's promise; indeed, he demands the same trust in God's promise.

Because we are unprofitable servants, and works cannot help us.

(277) Therefore the wicked unjustly draw the words of Christ from confidence in their own worthiness to confidence in divine promise...) Thus their sophistry is clearly laid and dissolved. May the Lord Christ soon put to shame the sophists who thus tear up his holy word. Amen.

278 But the adversaries would prove that we merit eternal life by works, and that eternal life is called a reward. We want to answer this briefly and correctly.

Paul calls eternal life a gift and a present [Eph 2:8], because if we are justified by faith we become sons of God and joint heirs with Christ. But in another place it is written: "Your reward is abundant in heaven" [Matth.5,12. Luc. 6,35.]. If therefore the adversaries think that this is contrary to one another, let them bring it to pass. They do as they do, they leave out the word cloniE, and leave out the main part, how we become righteous before God, item, that Christ always remains the mediator, and then they pick out the word msrsss or reward, and interpret it to their liking in the worst way, not only to speak against the Scriptures, but also against common custom, and conclude thus: There it is written: your reward 2c., therefore our works are so worthy that we thereby earn eternal life. This is even a new dialectic, since we find the single word "reward", therefore our works are sufficient for the law, therefore we are pleasing to God through our works, we do not need any grace nor any mediator of Christ. Our good works are the treasure by which eternal life is purchased and obtained, therefore by our good works we can keep the first highest commandment of God and the whole law. Further, we can also do opsru 8iix>srsroMtionis, that is, other works and more than the law requires. Therefore the monks, if they do more than they owe, have other, superfluous merit; which they may give to others, or share for money, and may, as the new gods, institute a new sacrament of the gift, that they may testify that they have sold and shared their merits with those, as the barefoot monks and other orders have done impudently, that they have put on the dead bodies of religious caps. These are fine strong reasons, which

1) That is, the words which Christ spake of his own worthiness, unrighteously on trust of divine promise.

they can all spin "wages" out of the one syllable, so that they obscure Christ and the faith.

280 But we do not quarrel about the word reward, but about these great, high, most important things, namely, where Christian hearts should seek right certain consolation. Whether our works can bring our consciences to rest or peace. Whether we ought to think that our works are worthy of eternal life, or whether it is given for Christ's sake. These are the proper questions in these matters; if consciences are not rightly informed, they can have no certain comfort.

281 But we have said clearly enough that good works do not fulfill the law, that we need God's mercy, and that we become pleasing to God through faith, and that good works, however delicious they may be, even if they were St. Paul's works themselves, cannot make a conscience at rest. From all this it follows that we should believe that we attain eternal life through Christ by grace, not because of works or the law.

0282 But what shall we say of the reward which the scripture commemorates? In the first place, if we said that eternal life is called a reward because it belongs to the believers in Christ by divine promise, we would be right. But the Scriptures call eternal life a reward, not that God is obligated to give eternal life for works, but that, since eternal life is otherwise given for other reasons, our works and tribulations are nevertheless rewarded with it, even though the treasure is so great that God would not owe it to us for works. Just as the inheritance or all the goods of a father are given to the son, and find a rich comparison and reward for his obedience; but still he does not receive the inheritance because of his merit, but that the father grants it to him as a father 2c.

0283 Therefore it is sufficient that eternal life should be called a reward, that the afflictions which we suffer, and the works of love which we do, should be recompensed thereby; though it be not merited thereby. For there are two kinds of recompense: one that is due, and the other that is not due. As when Caesar gives a servant a principality, the servant's labor is recompensed, and yet the labor is not worthy of the principality, but the servant confesses that it is a fief. So God does not owe us eternal life for works, but nevertheless, if He gives it for Christ's sake, He will give it to us.

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the faithful, our suffering and our work will be recompensed.

284 Further, we say that good works are truly meritorious and *meritorious,* not that they should merit forgiveness of sins or make us righteous before God, for they do not please God; they are done by those whose sins have already been forgiven. Neither are they worthy of eternal life, but they merit other gifts that are given in this life and after this life, for God consumes many gifts until that life, and after this life God will honor the saints. For here in this life he will crucify and kill the old Adam with all manner of trials and tribulations.

0285 And to this belongs the saying of Paul, Every man shall receive reward according to his work. For the blessed shall have reward, one higher than another. Such is the difference in merit, which is pleasing to God, and is merit, because those who do good works, whom God has adopted as children and heirs, have merit of their own and peculiar, as a child before another.

The adversaries also use other sayings to prove that works are worthy of eternal life than these: Paul says [Rom. 2, 6.], "He will give to every one according to his works." Item, John 5:29. "They that have done good shall rise again unto the resurrection of life." Item, Matt. 25:35: "I have hungered, and ye have fed me." Answer: All these sayings which praise works we are to understand according to the rule which I have set above, namely, that works apart from Christ are not pleasing to God, and that in no way are we to exclude the Mediator Christ. Therefore, when the text says that eternal life is given to those who have done good, it indicates that it is given to those who have been justified beforehand through faith in Christ. For God is not pleased with good works, except by faith, by which they believe that they are pleasing to God for Christ's sake; and those who have thus been justified by faith certainly bring forth good works and good fruits, as the text says, "I hungered, and ye fed me." 2c. Here we must confess that Christ does not understand works alone, but wants to have the heart that thinks rightly of God and believes that it pleases God through mercy. Thus Christ teaches that eternal life is given to the righteous, as Christ says [v. 46]: "The righteous shall enter into eternal life,

And yet name the fruits above, that we may learn that righteousness and faith are not hypocrisy, but a new life, whereupon good works must follow.

(287) We do not seek here an unnecessary subtlety, but there is great reason why one must have a certain report in these matters. For soon, if one allows the adversaries to say that works merit eternal life, they spin this clumsy doctrine from it, that we are able to keep God's law, that we do not need mercy, that we are righteous before God, that is, pleasing to God by our works, not for Christ's sake, that we can also do *opera supererogationis*, and more than the law requires. So then the whole doctrine of faith is altogether suppressed. But if a Christian church is to be and remain, the pure doctrine of Christ, of the righteousness of faith, must always be preserved. Therefore we must challenge such great Pharisaical errors, that we may save the name of Christ, and the glory of the gospel and of Christ, and preserve a right, constant, certain consolation to Christian hearts. For how is it possible for a heart or conscience to come to rest, or to hope for salvation, if in temptations and fears of death our works become so much dust before God's judgment and eyes, unless it becomes certain through faith that we are saved by grace for Christ's sake, not for our works, for our fulfillment of the law?

288 And of course St. Lawrence, when he lay on the grate and was martyred for Christ's sake, was not so minded that his work would fully and purely fulfill God's law, that he would be without sin, that he would not need the mediator of Christ or grace. Of course he left it at the word of the prophet David: "Thou wilt not go into judgment, O Lord, with thy servant" 2c. [Ps. 143:2.]

Neither did St. Bernard boast that his works were worthy of eternal life, when he said, Perdit6 vixi, I have lived sinfully 2c. But he confidently rises again, holds to the promise of grace, and believes that for Christ's sake he has forgiveness of sins and eternal life, as the Psalm says, "Blessed are they whose sins are forgiven" [Ps. 32:1], and Paul to the Romans on the 4th, v. 6: "This is man's blessedness, when righteousness is imputed to him without works." So Paul says that he is blessed to whom righteousness is imputed through faith in Christ, though he has done no good work.

This is the true and constant consolation, which consists in temptations, so that hearts and consciences may be strengthened and comforted, namely, that for Christ's sake, through faith, we are given forgiveness of sin, righteousness, and eternal life. If therefore the sayings which speak of works are so understood that they include faith, they are not at all contrary to this doctrine. And faith must always be understood, so that we do not exclude the mediator Christ. But faith is followed by the fulfillment of the law, for the Holy Spirit is there, who makes a new life. That is enough of this article.

Articles VII and VIII. (IV.) Of the Church.

290) The seventh article of our confession, where we say that the Christian church is the assembly of the saints, the adversaries condemn, and introduce a great deal of talk, that the wicked or ungodly should not be separated from the church, because John the Baptist compares the church to a threshing-floor, in which grain and chaff lie together [Matth. 3, 12.], item [Cap. 13, 47.], Christ compares the church to a net, in which evil and good fish are found.

291 Then we see that it is true, as they say, that one cannot speak so plainly, evil tongues can pervert it. For this very reason, and for this cause, we have added the eighth article, that no one may think as if we would separate the wicked and hypocrites from the outward society of Christians or the church, or as if our opinion were that the sacraments, when administered by the ungodly, are without power or effect.

292 Therefore this false, unjust interpretation must not be answered at length; the eighth article sufficiently excuses us. We also confess and say that the hypocrites and wicked may also be members of the church, in outward communion of name and offices, and that the sacraments may be rightly received from the wicked, especially if they are not banned. And the sacraments are not therefore without power or effect, that they are administered by ungodly men. For Paul also prophesied that Antichrist would sit in the temple of God, rule and reign in the church, and have rule and office therein [2 Thess. 2:4].

293 But the Christian church does not stand alone in the company of outward signs, but stands especially in communion inwardly of the eternal goods in the heart, as, of the Holy Spirit, of faith, of the fear and love of God. And This church also has outward signs by which it is known, namely, where God's word is pure, where the sacraments are administered according to the same, there is certainly the church, there are Christians, and this church alone is called Christ's body in Scripture. For Christ is the head of it, and sanctifieth and strengtheneth it by his Spirit, as Paul saith unto the Ephesians in 1 Peter 22: "And hath made him the head of the church, which is his body, and the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Therefore in whom Christ by his Spirit worketh nothing, they find not members of Christ. And this also the adversaries confess, that the wicked alone are dead members of the church.

294 Therefore I am not sufficiently astonished, why they dispute our resolution concerning the church, when we speak of the living members of the church; and we have said nothing new. For Paul, speaking to the Ephesians in the 5th chapter, v. 23, says at once what the church is, and also sets forth the outward signs, namely, the gospel and the sacraments. For thus he saith, Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, and purify it with the bath of water in the word, that he might fashion it unto himself, a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, but that it should be holy and blameless. 2c.

295 This saying of the apostle we have put very nearly from word to word in our confession, and so we also confess in our holy symbol and faith, "I believe a holy Christian church." There we say that the church is holy; but the ungodly and the wicked cannot be the holy church. In our faith it is soon followed by, "The communion of saints," which still more clearly and distinctly defines what the church is called, namely, the multitude and the congregation which confess one gospel, have the same knowledge of Christ, and have one Spirit which rejuvenates, sanctifies, and governs their hearts.

(296) And the article of the catholic or common church, which is sent together from every nation under the sun, is quite comforting and highly necessary. For the multitude of the wicked is much greater, even innumerable, who despise the word, bitterly hate it, and persecute it to the utmost, as they find Turks, Mahometists, other tyrants, heretics, and so on. In addition, the right doctrine and church are often suppressed and lost, as has happened under the papacy, as if there were no church, and can often be seen as if it had even perished.

On the other hand, that we may be sure, not doubt, but firmly and completely believe that a Christian church will actually be and remain on earth until the end of the world, that we also do not doubt at all that a Christian church lives and is on earth, which is Christ's bride, although the ungodly multitude is more and greater, that even the Lord Christ here on earth in the multitude which is called the church, works daily, forgiving sin, answering prayer daily, daily in temptations with rich, strong consolation refreshing his own, and always delivering, so the consoling article is set in faith: "I believe a catholic, common Christian church," so that no one may think that the church, like another outward police, is bound to this or that country, kingdom, or city, as the pope of Rome wants to say, but that certainly remains true, that the multitude and the people are the true church, who now and then in the world, from the going out of the sun to the going down, truly believe in Christ, who then have one gospel, one Christ, one baptism and sacrament, and are ruled by one Holy Spirit, although they have different ceremonies.

297 For even in the decree of Gratian the gloss clearly says that this word "church" is to be taken to mean the evil and the good. Item, that the wicked are in the church by name alone, not by works; but the good are both in it by name and works. And on this opinion many sayings were found among the fathers. For Jerome says, "If any man be a sinner, and lie in sins, and be defiled, he cannot be called a member of the church, nor be in the kingdom of Christ.

298 Although the wicked and ungodly hypocrites keep company with the true church in outward signs, names, and offices, yet if we would speak truly of what the church is, we must speak of this church, which is called the body of Christ, and has fellowship not only in outward signs, but has goods in the heart, the Holy Ghost and faith.

299 For it is necessary to know truly by what means we become members of Christ, and what makes us living members of the church. For if we should say that the church is only an outward police, like other regiments, wherein are the evil and the good, 2c. no man will learn from it, nor understand, that Christ's kingdom is spiritual, as it is, wherein Christ inwardly governs, strengthens, comforts, and distributes the Holy Ghost and divers spiritual gifts to the hearts; but it will be thought to be a

The outward manner, the certain order of certain ceremonies and services. What difference would there be between the people of the law and the church, if the church were only an outward police force? Now Paul thus distinguishes the church from the Jews, saying that the church is a spiritual people, that is, such a people as is not only distinguished from the Gentiles in police and civil character, but a true people of God, enlightened in heart, and born again by the Holy Spirit. Item, in the Jewish people, all those who were Jews by nature, and born of Abraham's seed, had, above the promise of spiritual goods in Christ, also much promise of bodily goods, as of the kingdom 2c. And because of the divine promise even the wicked among them were called God's people. For God had separated the physical seed of Abraha and all born Jews from other Gentiles by the same physical promises, and these wicked and evil ones were not the true people of God, nor did they please God. But the gospel preached in the church does not only bring with it the shadow of eternal goods, but every right Christian becomes partaker here on earth of the eternal goods themselves, also of eternal comfort, of eternal life and the Holy Spirit, and of the righteousness that is of God, 1) until he is fully saved there.

(300) Therefore they only, according to the gospel, are the people of God, who have received spiritual things, the Holy Ghost; and this church is the kingdom of Christ, distinct from the kingdom of the devil. For it is certain that all the ungodly are in the power of the devil and are members of his kingdom, as Paul says to the Ephesians [Cap. 2, 2.] that the devil reigns powerfully in the children of unbelief. And Christ says [John 8:44.] to the Pharisees (who were the holiest, and also had the name that they were God's people and the church, who also did their sacrifice): "Ye are of your father the devil."

031 Therefore the true church is the kingdom of Christ, that is, the assembly of all saints. For the ungodly are not ruled by the Spirit of Christ. But what need is there of many words in so clear a public matter? Only the adversaries contradict the bright truth. If the church, which is certainly the kingdom of Christ and of God, be distinguished from the kingdom of the devil, then can it be distinguished?

1) So the Jenaer; "theilhaftig" is missing in J. T. Müller.

he ungodly, who are in the devil's kingdom, are never the church, though in this life, because the kingdom of Christ is not yet revealed, they are among the true Christians and in the church, in which they also have a teaching office and other offices. And the ungodly are therefore in the meantime not a part of the kingdom of Christ, because it is not yet revealed. For the true kingdom of Christ, the true company of Christ, are and always will be those whom God's Spirit has enlightened, strengthened, and governed, even though it has not yet been revealed to the world, but is hidden under the cross. Just as it is and always remains One Christ, who was crucified for time, and now reigns and rules in heaven in eternal glory.

302 And there the parables of Christ rhyme, when he saith plainly, Matt. 13:38, 39, that the good seed are the children of the kingdom, the tares are the children of the devil; the field is the world, not the church. So also the word of John is to be understood, when he says Matth. 3, 12: "He will sweep his threshing floor, and gather the wheat into his sheds, but he will burn up the chaff." There he speaks of the whole Jewish people, and says that the right church should be separated from the people. The same saying is more contrary to the adversaries than for them, for it clearly indicates how the right, believing, spiritual people should be separated from the physical Israel. And since Christ says [Matt. 25:1, 13, 47], "The kingdom of heaven is like a net," item, "like the ten virgins," he does not want the wicked to be the church, but teaches how the church appears in this world. Therefore he saith, she is like unto these 2c., that is, as in the heap of fishes the good and the bad lie one with another, so the church is hid here among the great multitude and multitude of the wicked, and would that the pious should not be offended. That we may know that the word and the sacraments are not therefore without power, though the ungodly preach or administer the sacraments. And so Christ teaches us that the ungodly, though they may be in the church according to outward society, are not members of Christ, not the true church, for they find members of the devil.

0303 And we speak not of a fictitious church, which is nowhere to be found; but we say and know for a fact that this church, wherein saints dwell, is and abideth truly on the earth, that there be some children of God now and then in all the world, in all manner of kingdoms, and islands, and countries, and cities, from the going forth of the sun even unto the going down of the same, which have rightly known Christ and the gospel, and say that the same are the children of God.

Church has these outward signs, the preaching office or gospel and the sacraments.

304 And this same church is actually, as St. Paul says [1 Tim. 3:15], a pillar of the truth, because it keeps the pure gospel, the right foundation; and as St. Paul says [1 Cor. 3:11], "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ." Now Christians are built upon this foundation.

055 And though in the multitude which is built upon the right foundation, that is, Christ and the faith, there be many weak ones, which build upon such foundation straw and hay, [1 Cor. 3:12] that is, some human thoughts and opinions, with which they neither overthrow nor reject the foundation, which is Christ. For which cause they are yet Christians, and are forgiven such faults, and are also, if need be, enlightened and better instructed. So we see in the fathers that they also sometimes built straw and hay upon the foundation, but they did not overthrow the foundation with it.

030 But many articles of our adversaries cast down the right ground, the knowledge of Christ, and faith. For they reject and condemn the high and greatest article, where we say that by faith alone, without all works, we obtain forgiveness of sins through Christ. On the other hand, they teach to trust in our works to merit forgiveness of sins, and instead of Christ they substitute their works, orders, and masses, just as the Jews, Gentiles, and Turks intend to be saved by their own works. Item, they teach that the sacraments make pious *ex opere operato*, without faith. Whoever does not consider faith necessary has already lost Christ. Item, they establish the service of saints, call them instead of Christ, as mediators 2c.

307. But as there are clear promises of God in the Scriptures, that the church shall always have the Holy Spirit, so there are also serious warnings in the Scriptures, that false teachers and wolves will creep in beside the right preachers. But this is actually the Christian church that has the Holy Spirit. The wolves and false teachers, though they rage in the church and do harm, are not the church or the kingdom of Christ, as Lyra also testifies when he says, "The true church does not stand on prelates because of their authority, for many of high rank, princes, and bishops, even many of low rank, have fallen away from the faith. Therefore the church stands on those in whom is a right knowledge of Christ, a right confession and profession of faith and truth.

308 Now in our Confession we have said nothing else in substance, but just that which Lyra thus says in clear words, that he could not speak more clearly. But the adversaries would like to have a new Roman definition of the church, that we should say: The church is the supreme monarchy, the greatest, most powerful sovereignty in the whole world, in which the Roman Pontiff, as the head of the church, is quite powerful in all high and low things and affairs, temporal and spiritual, as he wills and may think; of which power (he uses, abuses as he wills) no one may dispute, speak, or murmur. Item: in which church the pope has power to make articles of faith, to establish all kinds of worship, to alter, pervert, and interpret the holy scriptures according to all his pleasure, against all divine laws, against his own decree, against all imperial rights, how often, how much, and when it pleases him, to sell liberty and dispensation for money. From whom the Roman emperor, all kings, princes, and potentates are obliged to receive their royal crown, their glory, and their titles, as from the governor of Christ. Therefore the pope is an earthly god, a supreme majesty, and alone the most powerful lord in all the world, over all kingdoms, over all lands and people, over all goods, spiritual and temporal, and thus has in his hand everything, both temporal and spiritual sword. This definition, which does not apply at all to the true church, but does apply to the Roman Pontiff's nature, is not only found in the books of the canonists, but Daniel the Prophet paints the Antichrist in this way.

030 If we should make such a definition, and say that the church is such a glory as the pope's nature is, we might not have so ungracious judges. For there are books of the adversaries in the day, wherein the authority of the pope is too much exalted; and no man punisheth them. But we must stand our ground, because we praise and exalt Christ's benefits, and write and preach the clear words and teachings of the apostles, namely, that we obtain forgiveness of sin through faith in Jesus Christ, and not through hypocrisy or fictitious worship, which the pope has done innumerably. But Christ and the prophets and apostles write and speak very differently about what the church of Christ is, and the kingdom of the pope does not rhyme at all with this church, but looks very unlike it.

310 Therefore the sayings which speak of the true church are not to be applied to the popes or bishops, namely, that they are pillars of truth.

that they cannot be mistaken. For how many can be found, or how many have been found, among bishops, popes, etc., who have accepted the gospel with earnestness and warmth, or who have thought it worth their while to read a leaf or a letter in it? It is well known, alas, that there are many examples of them in French-speaking countries and elsewhere, who ridicule the whole religion, Christ, and the gospel, and openly hold them up to ridicule. And if they let them like anything, they let them like that which is according to human reason; the rest they regard as fables.

311 Therefore we say and conclude, according to the holy scriptures, that the true Christian church is the multitude now and then in the world of them that truly believe the gospel of Christ, and have the Holy Ghost. And yet we also confess that, as long as this life lasts on earth, there are many hypocrites and wicked men in the church, among the true Christians, who are also members of the church, as far as outward signs are concerned. For they have offices in the church, preach, administer the sacraments, and bear the title and name of Christians. And the sacraments, baptism 2c., are not therefore without effect or power, that they are administered by unworthy and ungodly persons. For for the sake of the church's profession such are there, not for their own persons, but as Christ, as Christ testifieth [Luc. 10:16.], "He that heareth you heareth me." So also Judas is sent to preach. When therefore the ungodly preach and administer the sacraments, they administer them in Christ's stead. And this the word of Christ teacheth us, that in such a case we should not suffer the unworthiness of ministers to deceive us.

312 But of this we have spoken plainly enough in our Confession, namely, that we hold not with the Donatists and Viklefists, who held that those sin who receive the sacraments in the church from ungodly ministers. This, we observe, shall be sufficient to protect and preserve the definition we have given of what the church is; and since the true church is called Christ's body in the Scriptures, it is not possible to speak of it otherwise than as we have spoken of it.

313 For it is ever certain that the hypocrites and the ungodly cannot be the body of Christ, but belong to the kingdom of the devil, who has taken them captive, and drives them where he will. All this is quite public, and so plain that [it] none may deny. But if the adversaries continue in their calumnies, they shall be answered further.

314 The adversaries also condemn this part of the seventh article, because we have said that it is enough for the unity of the church that one gospel and one sacrament should be administered, and that it is not necessary that the statutes of men should be uniform everywhere. These things therefore admit that it is not necessary for the unity of the church, that trackitioriss partivulrMS be equal, but that trnckitioriss univsr8ul68 be equal, that is necessary for the true unity of the church.

(315) This is a good rough affirmation. We say that those who believe in one Christ are called one church. Have one gospel, one spirit, one faith, one sacrament. And so we speak of spiritual unity, without which faith and Christianity cannot exist. Now to this same unity we say, that it is not necessary that the statutes of men, whether they be univsr8uls8 or pnrtieu1ar68, should be the same everywhere. For the righteousness that is before God, which comes by faith, is not bound to outward ceremonies or to the statutes of men. For faith is a light in the heart that renews the heart and makes it alive. Outward statutes or ceremonies, whether universal or particular, are of little help.

(316) And it was no small cause that we have set this article. For many a great error and foolish opinion about the statutes has broken out in the church. Some have thought that Christian holiness and faith are not valid before God without such statutes of men, and that no one can be a Christian if he keeps such rules, when they are nothing more than external ordinances, which are often different in one place than in another by chance, and often for reasons, just as in secular government one city has different customs than another. In history, too, it has been known for one church to banish another for such reasons as the observance of Easter, the images, and the like.

317 Therefore the inexperienced have not held otherwise, except that by such ceremonies one should become godly before God, and that no man could be a Christian without such services and ceremonies. For there are still many clumsy books of the Summists and others before our eyes.

318 But as the unity of the church is not divided by whether in one country the days are naturally longer or shorter in one place than in another, so we hold also that the unity of the church is not divided by whether such statutes of men have this order in one place, and that order in another. Although it may well be
that the universal ceremonies be kept uniform for the sake of unity and good order, as we also keep the mass, the Sunday celebration, and the other high celebrations in our churches.

(319) And we accept all good and useful statutes of men, especially those which serve for a fine outward discipline of the youth and of the people. But here the question is not whether the statutes of men are to be kept for the sake of outward discipline, for the sake of peace. There is a much different question, namely, whether the keeping of such ordinances is a service of God by which one makes atonement for God, and that without such ordinances no one may be righteous before God. This is the main question, and when it is finally answered, it must be clearly judged whether it means to be of one mind or of one accord with the church, if we all keep such statutes at the same time.

320 For if such ordinances of men be not a necessary service, it followeth that some may be pious, holy, righteous, children of God, and Christians, who have not the ceremonies which are in use in other churches. As an equivalent, if it be said that the wearing of German and French garments is not a necessary service, it follows that some may be righteous, holy, and in the church of Christ, who do not wear German or French garments. Paul also teaches clearly, Col. 2:16, 17: "Let no man therefore make you conscience of meat, or drink, or certain feasts, or new moons, or sabbaths, which are the shadow of things to come; but the body itself is in Christ." Item, v. 20-23: "If ye then be dead with Christ unto the statutes of the world, why then be ye entangled with statutes, as though ye lived yet in the world? Which say, Thou shalt not touch this, thou shalt not taste that, thou shalt not touch that; which yet are all consumed under the hands, and are the commandments and doctrines of men, which have a semblance of wisdom through self-chosen spirituality and humility."

321 For this is Paul's opinion: Faith in the heart, by which we become godly, is a spiritual thing, and light in the heart, by which we are renewed, and gain other mind and courage. But the ordinances of men are not such a living light and power of the Holy Spirit in the heart; they are not eternal, therefore they do not make life eternal, but are outward, bodily exercises which do not change the heart. Therefore it is not to be held that they are necessary for the righteousness that is valid before God. Paul also speaks of this opinion in Romans 14:17, 18: "The kingdom of God is not food and drink.

but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." But it is not necessary to give many sayings here, since the whole Bible is full of them, and we have also given many in our Confession in the last articles, so we will also deal with this main question hereafter, namely, whether such ordinances of men are a service of God, which is necessary for salvation? since we want to speak more abundantly and more about this matter.

322 The adversaries say that therefore such statutes, especially the universal ceremonies, must be kept, because it is probable that they were grounded upon us by the apostles. O how great, holy, excellent, apostolic people, how pious and spiritual they have become! The statutes and ceremonies which they say were established by the apostles they are willing to keep, and the apostles' doctrine and plain words they are unwilling to keep. But we say, and know that it is right.

323 Thus, and not otherwise, ought all statutes to be taught, judged, and spoken of, as the apostles themselves have taught them in their writings. The apostles, however, fight in the strongest and most vehement manner everywhere, not only against those who would exalt the statutes of men, but also against those who would regard the divine law, the ceremonies of circumcision, 2c. as necessary to salvation.

324 The apostles in no way intended to lay such a burden on the consciences, that such ordinances of certain days, of fasting, of food, and the like, should be sinful, if they were not kept. And that is more, Paul clearly calls such doctrine "the doctrine of devils" [2 Tim. 4:1]. Therefore, what the apostles held to be good and right in this, must be sought from their clear writings, and not be shown by examples alone. They kept a number of certain days, not that they needed to be righteous and just before God, but that the people might know when they were to come together. They also kept certain customs and ceremonies, as a regular reading of the Bible, when they came together 2c. Also, in the beginning of the church, the Jews, when they became Christians, kept much of their Jewish feasts and ceremonies, which the apostles afterwards directed to the histories of the Gospel. So our Easter is derived from the Jews' Easter, and our Pentecost from the Jews' Pentecost; and the apostles not only with doctrines, but also by such feasts, wished to inherit from history the knowledge of Christ, and the great treasure to their posterity.

325 If then such ceremonies and the like are necessary to salvation, why have they after this
Have the bishops changed much in it? For, if they are appointed by God's command, no man has had power to change them.

326 Before the Council of Nicaea, Easter was kept at a different time in one place than in another, and the disparity did no harm to the faith or to Christian unity. After this, the Easter day was diligently changed, so that our Easter day should not coincide with the Jews' Easter day. But the apostles commanded that Easter should be kept in the churches at the same time as the brethren who were converted from Judaism kept it. Therefore some bishoprics and peoples, even after the Council of Nicaea, were adamant that Easter Day should be kept at the same time as the Jewish Easter Day. But the apostles, in their decree, did not wish to impose such a burden on the churches as if it were necessary for salvation, as the clear words of their decree indicate. For they express it in clear words, that no one should be concerned whether the brethren who keep Easter Day 2c. do not actually reckon the time. For Epiphanius reminds us of the words of the apostles, from which every man of understanding clearly perceives that the apostles would have the people rejected from error, lest any man should be conscience-stricken about holidays, certain times 2c. For they clearly state that one should not be very concerned about whether one has already erred in the reckoning of Easter Day. I could bring up countless such things from the histories, and show even more clearly that such inequality in outward statutes does not separate or separate anyone from the common Christian church.

327 The adversaries do not understand at all what faith is, what the kingdom of Christ is, who teach that the unity of the Christian church is found in the statutes which speak of food, of days, of clothing, and such like things, which God has not commanded. But here every one may see and perceive how devout and exceedingly holy the adversaries are. For if universal ordinances are necessary, and are not to be changed, who commanded them to change the ordinance of the Lord's Supper of Christ? which is not a human ordinance, but a divine ordinance. But of this we shall hereafter speak more particularly.

328 The eighth article the adversaries leave entirely to their liking, because we say that hypocrites and ungodly men are also found in the church, and that the sacraments are not without power because they are administered by hypocrites. For they minister in Christ's stead, and not for their per-

son, as it is said, "He that heareth you heareth me" [Luc. 10:16.]. But let not false teachers be accepted or heard, for the same are no longer in Christ's stead, but are antichrists, and Christ clearly commanded of them [Matt. 7:15.], "Beware of false prophets." And Paul to the Galatians [Cap. 1, 8.], "Whosoever shall preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed."

329 As for the priests' own lives, Christ has admonished us in the parables of the church, that we should not cause schism or separation, unless the priests or the people everywhere live purely Christian lives, as the Donatists have done. But those who for this reason in some places have caused schism and separation by pretending that the priests are not allowed to have goods or possessions, we consider to be rebellious. For to have goods of one's own is a worldly order. But Christians may use all kinds of worldly things as freely as they use air, food, drink, and common light. For just as the heavens, the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars are God's order and are preserved by God, so the police and everything that belongs to the police are God's order and are preserved and protected by God against the devil.

Article IX. Of Baptism.

(330) The ninth article is also acceptable to them, since we confess that baptism is necessary for salvation, and that the baptism of young children is not in vain, but necessary and blessed. And because the Gospel is preached among us purely and with all diligence, we also have (praise God!) the great benefit and blessed fruit of not having Anabaptists break into our churches. For our people are (praise God!) instructed by God's Word against the godless, seditious mobs of these murderous evil-doers. And even though we have curbed and condemned many other errors of the Anabaptists, we have especially contended against them and maintained that infant baptism is not useless.

331 For it is quite certain that the divine promises of the graces of the Holy Ghost concern not only the aged, but also the children. Now the promises do not concern those who are outside the church of Christ, since there is neither gospel nor sacrament. For the kingdom of Christ is nowhere, except where the word of God and the sacraments are.

(332) Therefore it is also Christian and necessary to baptize infants, that they may be made partakers of the gospel, of the promise of salvation and grace, as Christ commanded, Go, baptize all the Gentiles (Matt. 28:19). As grace and salvation are offered to them in Christ, so baptism is offered to them, both male and female, boys and young children. It certainly follows that young children may and should be baptized, for in and with baptism common grace and the treasure of the gospel are offered to them.

333 Secondly, it is in the day that God the Lord pleases him to baptize young children. Therefore the Anabaptists teach wrongly, condemning this baptism. But that God is pleased with the baptism of young children, he shows by the fact that he has given the Holy Spirit to many who were baptized in childhood, for there have been many holy people in the church who were baptized in no other way.

Article X. Of the Holy Communion.

(334) The tenth article the adversaries do not dispute, wherein we confess that the body and blood of our Lord Christ are truly present in the supper of Christ, and are presented and taken with the visible things, bread and wine, as has hitherto been held in the church, as the Greek canons also testify. And Cyril says that Christ is bodily presented and given to us in the Lord's Supper, for thus he says: "We do not deny that we are spiritually united to Christ through right faith and pure love. But that we should have no union at all with him according to the flesh, we say no to. And this is also contrary to the Scriptures. For who can doubt that Christ also is the vine, and we the branches, that we have juice and life from him? Hear how Paul saith [1 Cor. 10:17.], "We are all one body in Christ: though ours be many, yet in him we are one; for we all partake of one bread." Thinkest thou that we know not the power of the divine blessing in the Lord's Supper? For when this is done, it makes Christ also dwell in us bodily by the partaking of the flesh and body of Christ. Item: Therefore this is to be noted, that Christ is not only in us by spiritual unity, by love, but also by natural fellowship; and we speak of the presence of the living body. For we know, as Paul saith [Rom. 6:9], that death shall not henceforth have dominion over him.

Article XI. Of Confession.

(335) The eleventh article, where we speak of absolution, the adversaries allow them. But as to confession, they add this, that confession should be kept according to the chapter Oinni8 ntriu8HN6 86XN8, that every Christian should confess once every year; and though he cannot tell all his sins so purely, yet he should be diligent to remember them all, and as much as he may remember, that he should tell them in confession.

336 Of the whole article we shall hereafter proceed, when we shall speak of Christian repentance. It is in the day, and the adversaries cannot deny it, that ours have preached, written, and taught about absolution, about the keys, in such a Christian, correct, and pure manner, that many afflicted, challenged consciences receive great consolation from it, after they have been clearly instructed in this necessary matter, namely, that it is God's commandment, that it is the right custom of the Gospel that we believe in absolution, and that we certainly believe that sins are forgiven us through Christ without our merit, that we are also truly reconciled to God when we believe the word of absolution, as if we heard a voice from heaven.

This doctrine, which is almost necessary, has been almost comforting to many troubled consciences. Also, many honest, understanding people, many pious hearts, at the beginning of this teaching of ours, highly praised Luther, and had a special joy that the necessary, certain consolation was again brought to light. For previously the whole necessary doctrine of repentance and absolution had been suppressed, since the sophists taught no right and constant consolation of conscience, but pointed people to their own works, out of which came vain despair in frightened consciences.

338 But as to the certain time of confession, it is true, and not known to the adversaries, that in our churches many people in the year need confession, absolution, and the holy sacrament not once only, but often; and the preachers, when they teach of the use and benefit of the holy sacrament, teach it thus, that they diligently exhort the people to use the holy sacrament often. And the books and writings of ours are also in the light, which are written in such a way that those who oppose them, who are respectable, godly people, do not challenge them, but praise them.

339 So also our preachers always declare that they which live in public vices, fornication, adultery, 2c, shall be banished and excluded. Item, if the holy
Sacrament despise. This, then, we hold according to the Gospel, and according to the ancient cmnonidn8.

340 But for certain days or times of the year no one is urged to the Sacrament. For it is not possible that all the people should be sent to a certain time, and if they all go to the altar at one time in a whole parish, they cannot be so diligently examined and instructed as they are in ours. And the old canons and fathers do not set a certain time; but the canon says: If some go to church, and are found not to need the sacrament, they are to be admonished. If some do not communicate, they are to be admonished to repentance. But if they want to be considered Christians, they should not always consider themselves Christians. St. Paul, 1 Cor. 11:29, says that those receive the sacrament to judgment who receive it unworthily. Therefore our pastors do not compel those who are not fit to receive the Sacrament.

341 But of the recital and remembrance of sins in confession our preachers instruct the people so that they do not entangle the consciences, as if it were necessary to recount all sins by name. Although it is good to instruct the rough and inexperienced to name some sins in confession, so that they can be taught more easily, we do not discuss this here, but whether God has commanded that all sins must be told, and whether sins may not be forgiven without being told.

342 Therefore the adversaries should not have attracted to us the chapter of Ornni8 ntriri8Hns 86XU8, which we know very well, but should have proved to us from the holy Scriptures, from the Word of God, that such telling of sin was commanded by God.

343 It is, alas, all too clear in the day, and reproved by all churches throughout Europe, how this xurtieula, of the chapter Ornni8 utrin8HU6 86xn8, where it states that one should be guilty of confessing all sin, has brought the conscience into misery, sorrow, and entanglement. And the text itself did not do as much harm as the books of the Summists, in which the circumstances, the circumstance of sin, were summarized. For in this way they have made the consciences quite mad, and have afflicted them unspeakably, and in addition, they have made good-hearted people vain. For the wicked and the savage have not asked much about it.

0344 Whereof, after that the text readeth, every man shall confess unto his own priest the things of great strife, and murderous envy and hatred.

Did this question cause trouble between priests and monks of all orders, which one was the priest? For there all brotherhood, all friendship was over, when it was a question of the rule, of the confessional penny.

(345) Therefore we hold that God has not commanded that sin be named and told. And Panormitanus and many other scholars hold the same. Therefore we do not want to put a burden on the consciences by the chapter Omni8 utriu8HU6 86xu8, but say of it, as of other statutes of men, namely, that it is not a service of God which is necessary to salvation. Also in this way an impossible thing is commanded in the chapter, namely, that we should confess all our sins. Now it is certain that we cannot remember many sins, nor see the greatest sins, as the Psalm says, "Who knoweth his own faults?" [Ps. 19:13.]

346 Where there are sensible, God-fearing pastors and preachers, they will well know how far it may be necessary and useful to ask the young and otherwise inexperienced people in confession. But this tyranny over the consciences, since the summists, as the cane-masters, have plagued the consciences without ceasing, we cannot nor will not praise. Which, nevertheless, would have been less burdensome, if they had, with one word, thought of faith in Christ, by which consciences are rightly comforted.

347 But of Christ, and of faith, and of the remission of sins, there is not a syllable, not a tittle, in so many great books of their decretal, their commentary, their summary, their confessional; there shall no man read a word, that he may learn Christ, or what Christ is. But they go about with these registers to gather and heap up sins. And if only they understood the sin that God considers sin. Now the greater part of their sums is nothing but of fools' work, of men's statutes. Oh what despair the unholy, ungodly doctrine has brought to many pious hearts and consciences, who would gladly have done right, and who have not been able to rest! For they knew nothing else, so they had to eat and bite themselves with the telling and adding up of sin, and yet they always found unrest, and that it was impossible for them. But the adversaries have taught no less awkward things of the whole repentance, which we shall hereafter relate.

Article XII. (V.) Of penance.

348. in the twelfth article the adversaries let them have the first part, because we say that all those who after baptism are in sin
They say that they fall, obtain forgiveness of sin, at what time and how often they are converted. The other part they reject and condemn, because we say that repentance has two parts, contritionsin and fidem, that is, repentance has these two parts, a repentant broken heart and faith, that I believe that I obtain forgiveness of sin through Christ.

(349) Hear now to what the adversaries say nay. They may impudently deny that faith is not a part of repentance. What shall we do here, most gracious emperor, against these people? It is certain that we obtain forgiveness of sin through faith. This word is not our word, but the voice and word of Jesus Christ our Savior. Now the clear word of Christ these masters of confutation condemn. Therefore we cannot consent to confutation in any way. We will not, if God wills, deny the clear words of the Gospel, the holy divine truth, and the blessed Word, wherein is found all comfort and salvation. For to deny this, that we obtain forgiveness of sins by faith, what else would it be but to blaspheme and profane the blood of Christ and his death?

Therefore we ask, most gracious Lord Emperor, that Your Imperial Majesty graciously and diligently hear and recognize this great, highest, most important matter, which concerns our own souls and consciences, as well as the entire Christian faith, the entire gospel, the knowledge of Christ, and the highest, greatest thing, not only in this transitory life, but also in the life to come, even our eternal salvation and destruction before God. All God-fearing, pious and respectable people should not find otherwise than that in this matter we have taught and let teach the divine truth and the most salutary, most necessary, most comforting instruction of the consciences, in which all pious hearts of the entire Christian church have the most important and greatest, indeed all their salvation and welfare, without which instruction no preaching ministry, no Christian church can be or remain.

351 Let all the godly find that this doctrine of ours concerning repentance has brought the gospel and pure understanding to light again, and that thereby much harmful, ugly error has been done away, as this doctrine, which is true repentance, was even suppressed by the scholastics' and canonists' books. And before we come to the point, we must indicate this: All respectable, honest, learned people, high and low, even the theologians themselves, will have to confess, and no doubt also the enemies will be convinced of their

convinced in my own heart that before and before D. Luther wrote. Luther wrote, all dark, confused writings and books of repentance existed, as can be seen in the Sententiaries, where there are countless useless questions, which no theology itself has yet been able to sufficiently discuss, much less has the people been able to comprehend a summary from their sermons and confused books of repentance, or to notice what primarily belongs to true repentance, how, or by what means a heart and conscience must seek rest and peace. And in spite of this, let one come forth who will teach a few people from their books, when sins have certainly been forgiven.

Dear Lord God, how blind they are, how they know nothing of it, how their writings are all night, all darkness. They bring forward questions whether sins are forgiven in attEorio or contritione, and if sin is forgiven for the sake of repentance or contrition, what need is there of absolution? And if sin be already forgiven, what need is there of the power of the keys? And then they are afraid, and first commit a crime, and even destroy the power of the keys. Some of them invent and say that by the power of the keys the guilt before God is not forgiven, but that eternal punishment is thereby changed into temporal punishment, and thus they turn the absolution, the power of the keys, by which we are to expect comfort and life, into such a power that only punishment is inflicted upon us. Others would be wiser, who say that by the power of the keys sins are forgiven before men, or before the Christian congregation, but not before God.

353 This is also almost a harmful error. For if the power of the keys, which is given by God, does not comfort us before God, how will the conscience be at rest? About this they teach and write even more clumsy and confused things. They teach that one can earn grace through repentance. And when they are asked, why then did not Saul and Judas and the like merit grace, in whom there was even a terrible controversy? - To this question they should answer, that Judas and Saul lacked the gospel and faith, that Judas was not comforted by the gospel, and did not believe; for faith distinguishes the repentance of Peter and Judas. But the adversaries do not remember the gospel and faith at all, but the law; they say, Judas did not love God, but was afraid of the punishment. But is not this uncertain and unsure?

taught of repentance? For if a frightened conscience, especially in the great fears described in the Psalms and the Prophets, wants to know whether it fears God as its God out of love, or whether it fears and hates His wrath and eternal damnation.

(354) They may not have known much of these great fears, because they play thus with words, and make difference according to their dreams. But in the heart, and when it comes to experience, it is much different, and with the bad syllables and words no conscience finds rest, as the good, gentle, idle sophists dream. Here we appeal to the experience of all God-fearing men, to all honest, sensible people, who also like to know the truth; who will confess that the adversaries in all their books have taught nothing righteous about repentance, but vain, useless babble; and yet this is a principal article of Christian doctrine, of repentance, of forgiveness of sin.

355 Now this same doctrine of questions, which is now told, is full of great error and hypocrisy, whereby the right doctrine of Christ, of the keys, of faith, has been suppressed to the unspeakable hurt of consciences.

(356) Further, they cause still more error in speaking of confession; there they teach nothing but making long registers and recounting sins, and more than one sin against the commandment of men, and drive men here as if such counting were *de jure divino,* that is, commanded by God. And this would not be so burdensome, if only they had taught rightly about absolution and faith. But there they pass by, and leave the high consolation, and think that the work, confession and repentance, make pious *ex opere operato,* without Christ, without faith. These are called true Jews.

The third part of this play is the 8ati8kaotio, or satisfaction for sin. There they teach even more clumsily, more confusedly, throwing the hundred into the thousand, so that there not a drop of good or necessary consolation might find a poor conscience. For there they themselves invent that the eternal chastisement is changed before God into the chastisement of the purgatory, and a part of the chastisement is forgiven and remitted by the keys; but for a part one must do enough with works. They say further about this and call the satisfaction *opera supererogationis*, that is, with them the childish, foolish works, such as pilgrimage, rosaries, and the like, since there is no commandment of God.

358 And further, as they buy and redeem the chastisement of purgatory with their indulgences, so they have devised yet another little bundle to redeem the same indulgences for purgatory also, which then became quite a delightful, rich purchase and great fair. For they brazenly sold their indulgences and said, "Whoever redeems indulgences should thus buy himself off, since otherwise he would have to do enough. And they have been unseemly in selling indulgences to the living, but they have also had to buy indulgences for the dead. They also introduced the terrible abuse of the mass, that they wanted to redeem the dead by keeping the mass. And under such devilish teachings the whole Christian doctrine of faith, of Christ, how we are to be comforted by it, has been suppressed.

(359) Wherefore all respectable, upright, honourable, understanding men, let alone Christians, perceive and understand here, that it hath been highly necessary to reprove such ungodly doctrine of the Sophists and Canonists concerning repentance. For this doctrine of theirs is openly false, unjust, contrary to the plain words of Christ, contrary to all the scriptures of the apostles, contrary to all the holy scriptures and fathers, and these are their errors:

1) That God must forgive us our sins, if we do good works, even apart from grace.

2) That we merit grace by attrition or repentance.

3) That to blot out our sin is enough, if I hate and reproach sin in myself.

4) That through our repentance, not for the sake of faith in Christ, we may obtain forgiveness of sin.

5) That the power of the keys confers forgiveness of sin, not before God, but before the church or people.

6) That by the power of the keys not only are sins forgiven, but that the same power is instituted to change eternal chastisement into temporal, and that it may put forth some satisfaction to the consciences, and establish worship and 8ati8kn6lioii68, and bind and obligate the consciences before God.

7) That the telling and actual reckoning of all sin is commanded by God.

8) That 8nti8knoUono8, which are nevertheless imposed by men, are necessary to pay the chastisement or also the guilt. For although in the school the 8nU8kaoUoiw8 is reckoned for the chastisement alone, yet it is only understood by men that one thereby earns forgiveness of the guilt.

9) That by receiving the Sacrament of Penance, *ex opere operato,* if the heart is not present, we obtain grace without faith in Christ.

10) That out of the power of the keys by indulgence souls may be delivered from purgatory.

11) That in reserve cases not the punishment of the cmnonurn, but the guilt of sins before God may be reserved by the pope in those who truly convert to God.

(360) Now that we may help the consciences out of the innumerable snares and tangled nets of the sophists, we say that repentance or conversion has two parts, oontritionorn and mine. Now if any man will add the third part, namely, the fruits of repentance and conversion, which are good works that ought and must follow, with him I will not greatly contend. But when we speak eo oontritiono, that is, of right repentance, do we cut off the innumerable useless questions, since they pretend questions, when we repent from the love of God, item, when we repent from fear of punishment? For they are mere words and vain babblings of those who have not experienced how a frightened conscience should be made to feel.

(361) We say that contritio, or right repentance, is when the conscience is terrified, and begins to feel its sin and the great wrath of God against sin, and is sorry that it has sinned. And the same oontritio occurs when our sin is punished by God's word. For in these two things stands the summa of the Gospel. First, it says: Repent, and make every man a sinner. Secondly, it gives forgiveness of sins, eternal life, blessedness, all salvation, and the Holy Spirit through Christ, by whom we are born again. So also the summa of the gospel comprehends Christ, when he saith, Luc. 24:47, "To preach repentance and remission of sins in my name among all nations." And of the terror and anguish of conscience the Scripture speaks in the 38th Psalm, v. 5. "For my iniquities are gone over my head, like a heavy burden they have become too heavy for me." And in the 6th Psalm, v. 3. f., "O Lord, be merciful unto me, for I am faint; heal me, O Lord, for my bones are troubled, and my soul is greatly distressed 2c. Ah, O LORD, how long?" Isa. 38:10. ff: "I said, Now must I go to the gates of hell, when I thought to live longer 2c. I thought to live till to-morrow; but he brake all my bones as a lion." Item: "My eyes would break, O Lord, I am in distress." 2c. Jn

In the same anxiety the conscience feels God's anger and seriousness against sin, which is an unknown thing to such idle and carnal people as the Sophists and their like. For only then does the conscience realize what a great disobedience to God sin is; only then does the conscience feel the terrible wrath of God, and it is impossible for human nature to bear it if it is not raised up by God's word.

362 So saith Paul, By the law I am dead to the law. For the law alone accuses the consciences, teaches what is to be done, and terrifies them. And the adversaries do not speak a word of faith; they do not teach a word of the Gospel, nor of Christ, but only the doctrine of the law, and say that people deserve grace with such pain, sorrow, and suffering, with such anguish, but where they repent out of the love of God, or love God. Dear Lord God, what kind of sermon is this for the consciences that need consolation? How can we love God when we are in such high, great anguish and unspeakable struggle, when we feel such great, terrible God's seriousness and wrath, which feels stronger than any man on earth can say or speak? What do such preachers and doctors teach but vain despair, who in such great anguish preach no gospel, no comfort, but only the law to a poor conscience? But we add to this the other part of repentance, namely, faith in Christ, and say that in such anguish the consciences should have held before them the gospel of Christ, in which is promised forgiveness of sin by grace through Christ. And let such consciences believe that sins are forgiven them for Christ's sake. This faith restores, comforts, and restores life and joy to such broken hearts, as Paul says in Romans 5:1: "Therefore, if we have been justified, we have peace with God." This faith shows the difference between the repentance of Judah and Peter, Saul and David. And therefore the repentance of Judah and Saul was of no avail. For there was no faith that kept the promise of God through Christ.

(363) David's and St. Peter's repentance, on the other hand, was righteous, for there was faith that grasped the promise of God, which implies forgiveness of sin through Christ. For there is actually no love of God in any heart, unless we are first reconciled to God through Christ. For God's law, or the

Without Christ no one can fulfill or keep the first commandment, as Paul says to the Ephesians: "Through Christ we have access to God. And faith fights against sin throughout life, and is tested and increased by many temptations. Where faith is, only then does the love of God follow, as we said above.

(364) And this then is rightly taught, which tirrior Mulis fei, namely, such a fear and fright before God, where nevertheless faith in Christ again comforts us. Korvilis timor untern, servile fear is fear without faith; there becomes vain anger and despair.

(365) The power of the keys, which by absolution proclaimeth the gospel unto us. For the word of absolution proclaims peace to me, and is the gospel itself. Therefore, when we speak of faith, let us also understand absolution. For faith is of hearing. And when I hear absolution, that is, the promise of divine grace or the gospel, my heart and conscience are comforted. And because God truly gives new life and comfort to the heart through the word, so also by the power of the keys sins are truly counted away here on earth, so that they are loosed before God in heaven, as the saying goes [Luc. 10:16.], "He who hears you hears me." Therefore we should not regard the word of absolution less, nor believe it less, than when we hear God's clear voice from heaven, and absolution, the blessed consoling word, should be called the sacrament of penance, as some scholastics, more learned than others, speak of it.

(366) And the same faith in the word shall be strengthened for ever by hearing the sermon, by reading, by the use of the sacraments. For these are the seals and tokens of the covenant and of the graces in the New Testament. These are signs of reconciliation and forgiveness of sin. For they offer forgiveness of sin, as is clearly witnessed 1) by the words in the Lord's Supper, "This is my body which is given for you," 2c. "This is the cup of the new testament" 2c. So also faith is strengthened by the word of absolution, by the preaching 2) of the Gospel, by the reception of the Sacrament, that it may not perish in such terror and anguish of conscience.

367. this is a clear, certain, right doctrine of repentance; by it may be understood, and

1) Müller: "show". Latin: tkstnntur.
2) Müller: "Preacher. Latin: per nuäituin.

know what the keys are or are not, what the sacraments are useful for, what Christ's good deed is, why and how Christ is our mediator.

368 But because the adversaries condemn us for having set the two parts of repentance, we must show that it is not we, but the Scriptures, that thus express these two parts of repentance or conversion. Christ says Match. 11:28, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you." There are two pieces, the burden or burden, since Christ speaks of, that is the wailing, the great fright of God's wrath in the heart. Secondly, the coming to Christ. For coming is nothing else than believing that for Christ's sake our sins are forgiven, and that we are born again and made alive by the Holy Spirit. Wherefore these two must be the chiefest pieces in repentance, repentance and faith. And Marci 1:15. saith Christ, "Repent, and believe the gospel." For the first, he makes us sinners, and terrifies us. For the second, he comforteth us, and preacheth forgiveness of sins. For to believe the gospel is not only to believe the stories of the gospel, which faith also the devils have, but it is actually to believe that through Christ our sins are forgiven, for this same faith the gospel preaches to us. There you see also the two parts, repentance, or the terror of conscience, when he says, "Repent," and faith, when he says, "Believe the gospel." Now whether any one would say that Christ also comprehends the fruits of repentance, the whole new life, we do not greatly contest this. It is enough for us here that Scripture expresses these two things primarily, repentance and faith.

369 Paul in all his epistles, as often as he deals with how we are converted, sums up these two things, the death of the old man, that is repentance, fear of God's wrath and judgment, and on the other hand renewal through faith. For by faith we are comforted and brought back to life, and saved from death and hell. Of these two things he clearly speaks Rom. 6:2: that we are dead to sin, which is by repentance and terror; and again, that we should rise again with Christ, which is when we again obtain comfort and life by faith. And because faith is said to bring comfort and peace to the conscience, according to the saying Rom. 5:1, "If we have been justified by faith, we have peace," it follows that before this there is terror and anguish in the conscience. So repentance and faith go side by side.

370. however, what is noth much sayings or

To introduce testimonies of Scripture, as the whole Scripture of Proverbs is full, as in the 118th Psalm, v. 18. "The Lord chasteneth me well, but giveth me not unto death." And in the 119th Psalm, v. 28. "My soul is consumed with anguish; raise me up according to thy words." First, he says of terror, or of repentance. In the other part of the verse he clearly shows how a repentant, poor conscience is comforted again, namely by the word of God, which gives grace and restores it. Item, 1 Sam. 2, 6: "The Lord killeth, and quickeneth; he leadeth into hell, and out again." There also the two pieces are touched, repentance and faith. Item, Isa. 28:21: "The LORD will be wroth to do his work, which is not his work." He says: God will be afraid, although it is not God's work; for God's own work is to make alive. Other works than to terrify, to kill, are not God's own works. For God alone makes alive, and when he terrifies, he does it so that his blessed consolation may be the more pleasant and sweet to us. For secure and carnal hearts, which feel not God's wrath and their sin, regard no comfort.

(371) In this manner the holy Scripture is wont to set the two things together, first the terror, then the consolation, to show that these two things belong to a right repentance or conversion, first heartfelt contrition, then faith, which restores the conscience. And it is certain that it is not possible to speak of the matter more clearly or more correctly. So we know for certain that God works in his Christians in the church in this way.

Now these are the two chief works whereby God worketh in his own. Of these two things speak all the Scriptures: first, that he should affright our hearts, and shew us sin; and secondly, that he should comfort us, and raise us up, and make us alive. Wherefore also all the scriptures have these two doctrines. One is the law, which shows us our sorrow, and punishes sin. The other teaching is the gospel. For God's promise of grace through Christ and the promise of grace are repeated throughout the Scriptures from Adam onward. For first, the promise of graces, or the first gospel, is promised to Adam, "I will set enmity," 2c. [Then the promise of grace was made to Abraham and other patriarchs by the same Christ, which was then preached by the prophets; and last of all the same promise of grace was preached by Christ himself, when he came, among the Jews, and finally by the apostles among the Gentiles.

The Gentiles have been spread throughout the world. For by faith in the gospel, or in the promise of Christ, all the patriarchs, all the saints from the foundation of the world, have been justified before God, and not because of their repentance, or sorrow, or any works.

(373) And the examples of how the saints became righteous show also the two things above mentioned, namely, the law and the gospel. For Adam, when he had fallen, was first punished, so that his conscience was terrified and came into great anguish; this is the right repentance or contritio. After this, God promised him grace and salvation through the seed that had been given, that is, Christ, through whom death, sin, and the devil's kingdom were to be broken; then he restored him to grace and forgiveness of sin.

These are the two pieces. For even though God then inflicted punishment on Adam, he did not merit forgiveness of sin through the punishment. And of the punishment inflicted we will say hereafter.

075 So David is harshly spoken to and affrighted by Nathan the prophet, that he speaks and confesses, "I have sinned before the Lord," [2 Sam. 12:13] which is now repentance; after which he hears the gospel and absolution, "The Lord hath taken away thy sin, thou shalt not die." When David believed the word, his heart received comfort, light, and life again. And though punishment is laid upon him, yet by punishment he earns not forgiveness of sin. And there are also examples where such special punishments are not added, but these two things always belong first of all to a right repentance. The first, that our conscience may know and be afraid of sin; and the second, that we may believe the divine promise. As Luke 7:38, the poor sinful woman comes to Christ and weeps bitterly. The weeping indicates repentance. Then she hears the gospel: "Thy sins are forgiven thee, thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace." Now this is the other noblest part of repentance, namely, faith, which comforts her again. From this all Christian readers may notice that we are not introducing unnecessary disputations, but are clearly, correctly, and actually setting forth the pieces of repentance without which sins cannot be forgiven, without which no one can be pious, holy, or born again before God.

376 But the fruits and good works, item, patience, that we gladly suffer the cross and punishment, which God lays out for the old Adam, all this follows, when therefore only by faith sin is removed
is forgiven, and we are born again. And we have set forth these two things clearly, that faith in Christ, of which the sophists and canonists are all silent, may be taught once, that it may be seen the more clearly what faith is or is not, when it is thus held against great terror and fear.

377 But because the adversaries condemn this clear, certain, and most excellent article without all shame, saying that men obtain forgiveness of sins by faith in Christ, let us give some reasons and proofs, from which it may be understood that we do not obtain forgiveness of sins *ex opere operato,* or by works done, by repentance or sorrow, 2c. but by faith alone, since every one believes for himself that his sins are forgiven him. For this article is the chiefest and most necessary, wherefore we contend with the adversaries, which also is the most necessary for all Christians to know. But as we have here above said enough of the same in the article of justification, we will here the more briefly treat of the same.

(378) The adversaries, when they speak of faith, say that faith must precede repentance. And they do not understand the faith which justifies before God, but the faith by which it is generally believed in Zonors, that is, that there is a God, that there is a hell. 2c. But we speak of this as a faith, in that I believe for myself assuredly that my sins are forgiven me for Christ's sake. Of this faith we argue, which must and must follow after the terror, and comfort the conscience and make the heart content again in the heavy struggle and fear.

379 And this we will, God willing, defend for ever, and keep against all the gates of hell, that the same faith must be there, if any man's sins be forgiven. Therefore we also set this piece to repentance. Nor can the Christian church hold otherwise than that sins are forgiven by such faith, though the adversaries bark against it as mad dogs.

(380) For the first, I ask the adversaries here whether it is also a part of penance to hear or receive absolution. For if they separate absolution from confession, as they are subtle about distinguishing, no one will know or be able to say what confession is useful without absolution. But if they do not separate absolution from confession, they must say that faith in the word of Christ is a part of repentance, if absolution cannot be received, because only faith in the word of Christ is a part of repentance.

by faith. That one cannot receive the word of absolution except by faith alone is proven by Paul in Romans 4:16, where he says that no one can grasp the promise of God except by faith alone.

But absolution is nothing else than the gospel, a divine promise of God's grace and mercy. 2c. Therefore it cannot be had nor obtained, but by faith alone. For how can the word of absolution be profitable to those who do not believe it? But not believing in absolution, what is that but to prove God false? because the heart wavers, doubts, considers it uncertain that God has promised. Therefore it is written in 1 John 5:10: "He who does not believe God punishes Him by lying, for he does not believe the testimony that God bears of His Son."

0382 Secondly, the adversaries must confess with certainty, that the remission of sins is a part, or, that we speak in their way, is the end, or tsrmirms uck husm, of the whole atonement. For what is the use of repentance, if forgiveness of sin be not obtained? Therefore that by which forgiveness of sin is obtained ought to be, and must ever be, the chiefest part of repentance. But it is actually true, clear, and true, when all the devils, all the gates of hell, cry out against it, that no one can grasp the word of the forgiveness of sins, but by faith alone, Rom. 3:25: "Whom God hath set forth to be a mercy-seat through faith." 2c. Item, Rom. 5, 2: "By whom also we have access by faith into this grace." 2c. For a frightened conscience, which feels its sin, soon realizes that God's wrath cannot be propitiated by unremovable wretched works, but so a conscience comes right to peace when it holds to the Mediator Christ, and believes the divine promises. For those do not understand what forgiveness of sin is, or how it is obtained, who think that hearts and consciences can be satisfied without faith in Christ.

Peter the Apostle introduces the saying of Isaiah 49:23: "He who believes in Him will not be put to shame. Therefore the hypocrites must be ashamed before God, who think they want to obtain forgiveness of sins by their works, not for the sake of Christ. And Peter Apost. 10, 43. says: "All the prophets bear witness to Jesus that those who believe in him receive forgiveness of sins through his name." He could not have spoken more clearly, for he says "through his. Name," and adds, "All that believe on him."

0384 Therefore we obtain forgiveness of sins through the name of Christ, that is, for Christ's sake, not for our merit or works; and this is done when we believe that sins are forgiven us for Christ's sake.

385 The adversaries cry out that they are the Christian church, and they hold what the common church holds. But Peter the apostle, here in our cause and our highest article, praises also an eatliolieu, common church, when he says, "To JESUS all the prophets bear witness, that we obtain forgiveness of sins through his name." I mean ever, if all holy prophets agree together (after God also respects one prophet for a world treasure), let j[it]j ever also be One decree, One voice and unanimously strong resolution of the common Catholic, Christian, holy church, and be held cheaply for it. We will not concede to Pope, bishop, or church the power to hold or conclude anything against the unanimous voice of all prophets. Nor has Pope Leo X. been allowed to condemn this article as erroneous. And the opponents condemn this also.

(386) Therefore it is enough in the day what a fine Christian church this is, which may not only condemn by public, written decree and mandate this article, namely, that we obtain forgiveness of sin without works through faith in Christ, but also condemn and strangle innocent blood above the confession of this article. They may issue a commandment that pious, upright people who teach this should be driven out, and by all kinds of tyranny they seek their life and limb as bloodhounds.

387 But they will perhaps say: they have also teachers for themselves, Scotum, Gabrielum, and the like, who also have great names, and also the sayings of the fathers, which are dressed mutilated in the decree. Yes, it is true, they are all called teachers and scribes, but by the singing you can tell which birds they are. These same scribes have taught nothing but philosophy, and have known nothing of Christ and God's work. Their books clearly prove this.

388 For this reason we are not mistaken, but know truly that we may cheerfully hold the word of the holy apostle Peter, as a great doctor, against all the sententiarios in a heap, even if there were many of them. For Peter clearly says that it is a unanimous voice of all the prophets, and the same glorious preaching of the great, great apostle has been powerfully confirmed by God this time through the bestowal of the Holy Spirit.

the Holy Ghost. For thus the text saith, While Peter yet spake, the Holy Ghost fell upon all them that heard the word."

389 Therefore let the Christian conscience know that this is God's word and commandment, that sins are forgiven us through Christ without merit, not because of our works. And such a word and commandment of God is a right, strong, certain, everlasting consolation against all terror of sin and death, against all temptation and despair, torment and anguish of conscience.

(390) The idle sophists know little of this, and the blessed preaching, the gospel, which preacheth the forgiveness of sins through the given seed, that is, Christ, hath been the greatest treasure and comfort of all patriarchs, of all pious kings, of all prophets, of all believers, from the foundation of the world. For they believed in the same Christ that we believe in. For from the foundation of the world no saint has been saved except through faith in this same gospel. Therefore also Peter saith, that there is one voice of all the prophets: and the apostles also preach the same with one voice, signifying that the prophets spake alike as of one mouth.

391 The testimonies of the holy fathers are about this. For St. Bernard says in clear words: "Therefore it is necessary above all things to know that we cannot have forgiveness of sins in any other way than by the grace of God. But you should add this to it, that you believe this, that sins are forgiven you also, and not only others, through Christ. This is the testimony of the Holy Spirit inwardly in your heart, when he himself tells you in your heart that your sins are forgiven you. For thus the apostle calls it, that a man without merit is justified by faith.

392 These words of St. Bernard first bring out this doctrine of ours, and set it right in the light. For he says that we ought not only to believe in general that sins are forgiven us, but says that this must be added to my believing for myself that sins are forgiven me. And teach on this more truly and clearly, how we are assured inwardly in the heart of grace, of the forgiveness of our sins, namely, when the hearts are comforted and quenched inwardly by this consolation. But how now, ye adversaries? Is St. Bernard also a heretic? What more do you want? Do you still deny that we obtain forgiveness of sins through faith?

393 For the third, the adversaries say that sin is thus forgiven, yuia uttritus vsl coritritu" slieit actum äilsetioiiiZ Osi, if we resolve by reason to love God, by the work (they say) we obtain forgiveness of sin. This is no other thing than to reject the gospel and the divine promises, and to teach vain law. For they speak of the law and our works: for the law requireth love.

394 Therefore they teach to trust, that we may obtain forgiveness of sins by such repentance and lovingkindness. What is this but trusting in our works, not in the promise of Christ? If then the law is sufficient to obtain remission of sins, what need is there of Christ, what need is there of the gospel? But we turn away consciences from the law, from their works to the gospel, and to the promise of grace. For the gospel, which accepts Christ and is grace, makes us trust in the promise that we will be reconciled to the Father for Christ's sake, not for our repentance or love, for there is no other mediator or reconciler but Christ. So we cannot fulfill the law unless we are first reconciled through Christ, and even if we do something good, we must consider it that we do not receive forgiveness of sin because of works, but because of Christ.

395 For this cause is Christ profaned, and the gospel rejected, if any man should think that we obtain forgiveness of sins by the law, or in any other way than by faith in Christ. And this also we have done above, when we have said why we teach that we are justified by faith, and not by the love of God, or by our love toward God.

396 Therefore, when the adversaries teach that we obtain forgiveness of sin through repentance and love, and trust in this, it is no different than teaching the Law, which they nevertheless do not understand as to what love towards God it demands, but look, like the Jews, only into the hidden face of Moses. For I will put it alike that works and love are there, yet neither works nor love can propitiate GOD, or be counted as much as Christ, as the Psalm says, "Thou wouldest not enter into judgment with thy servant. "2c. [Therefore we should not give the glory of Christ to our works.

0397 For this cause Paul contends, that we are not justified by the law, and holds that we are not justified by the law.

against the law the promise of God, the promise of grace, which is given to us because of Christ. Paul moves us around [Rom. 4, 3] and points us from the law to the divine promise, so that we should look to God and His promise, and consider the Lord Christ as our treasure. For this promise will be in vain if we are justified before God by the work of the law, if we merit forgiveness of sin by our righteousness.

398 Now it is certain that for this reason God makes the promise, for this reason Christ also came, that we cannot keep the law nor fulfill it; therefore we must first be reconciled through the promise before we fulfill the law. But the promise cannot be grasped, except by faith alone.

399 Therefore all they that have true repentance lay hold on the promise of grace through faith, and believe assuredly that we are reconciled to the Father through Christ. This also is the opinion of Paul, Rom. 4:16: "Therefore we obtain grace through faith, that the promise may stand fast." And Gal. 3:22: "The scripture hath concluded all things under sin, that the promise of Jesus Christ should be given by faith to them that believe." That is, All men are under sin, and cannot be saved, except they take hold of forgiveness of sin through faith. Therefore, before we fulfill the law, we must first obtain forgiveness of sin through faith. Although, as we said above, love certainly follows from faith, for those who believe have received the Holy Spirit. Therefore they began to hold fast the law, and to obey it.

(400) We would have introduced more sayings here, but the Scriptures are full of them everywhere. Nor did I wish to make it too long, that this matter might be the clearer. For there is no doubt that this is Paul's opinion, that we obtain forgiveness of sin for Christ's sake through faith, that we also must set the Mediator against God's wrath, not our works.

(401) Let not even pious Christian consciences err in this, whether the adversaries misinterpret and wrongly interpret the clear sayings of Paul. For nothing so simple, so certain, so pure, so clear, can be spoken or written; one can make another nose at him with words.

040 But we are sure of it, and know it for a fact, that the opinion which we have set is the opinion which we have set. is the right opinion of Paul. There is no doubt that this doctrine alone is a certain comfort to hearts and consciences in the right fight and in death and temptation, as experience shows.

403 Therefore only far, far from us with the Pharisaical teachings of the adversaries, since they say that we do not obtain forgiveness of sin by faith, but that we must earn it with our works, and with our love toward God. Item, that we should propitiate God's wrath with our works and love. For it is quite a Pharisaical doctrine, a doctrine of the Law, not of the Gospel, when they teach that a man is first justified by the Law before he is reconciled to God through Christ, when Christ says [John 15:5], "Without me you can do nothing." Item: "I am the vine, ye are the branches."

040 But the adversaries speak as if we were not the branches of Christ, but of Moses; for they would first become righteous and just before God by the law, and first offer our works and dilections to God, before they would be branches of the vine of Christ. But Paul, who is certainly a much higher doctor than the adversaries, speaks clearly, and again denies this alone, that no one can do the law without Christ. Therefore, those who feel or have experienced sin and anguish of conscience must keep the promise of grace, that through faith they will first be reconciled to God for Christ's sake before they fulfill the law. All this is public and clear enough in God-fearing consciences. And from this Christians will well understand why we said above that we are justified before God by faith alone, not by our works or dilection 2c. For all our abilities, all our deeds and works are too weak to take away and satisfy God's wrath; therefore we must present Christ as the mediator.

405 Finally, let the adversaries consider, if a poor conscience will come to peace and be quiet, if we obtain grace and forgiveness of sin by loving God, or by fulfilling the law. The law will always accuse us, for no man fulfills the law, as Paul says [Rom. 4:15.], "The law provokes wrath."

(406) Chrysostom asks, as the Sententiarii also ask, how one may be sure that his sins are forgiven? It is indeed worth asking; good to him who gives a right answer. To this most necessary question it is not possible to give an answer, nor is it possible to give the answer.

know how to comfort or calm down in temptations, so that one responds to this opinion:

407. It is God's decree, God's command from the foundation of the world, that through faith in the Seed given, that is, through faith for Christ's sake, sins shall be forgiven us without merit. But if any man stumbleth or doubteth concerning this, he maketh God false in his promise, as John saith. So we say that a Christian should take this for certain as God's command, and if he keeps it, he is certain and has peace and comfort.

408. The adversaries, when they preach and teach long apart from this doctrine, leave the poor consciences in doubt. It is not possible that there should be peace, a quiet or peaceful conscience, when they doubt whether God is gracious. For if they doubt whether they have a gracious God, whether they do right, whether they have forgiveness of sin, how can they call upon God in doubt? How can they be sure that God will respect and listen to their prayer? So all their lives are without faith, and they cannot serve God properly. This is what Paul says to the Romans [Cap. 14, 23.]: "What is not of faith is sin." And because they are always and forever stuck in doubt, they never know what God is, what Christ is, what faith is. In the end, they die in despair, without any knowledge of God.

409 Such a harmful doctrine "lead the adversaries, namely, such a doctrine, by which the whole gospel is done away, Christ is suppressed, the people are led into heartache and anguish of conscience, finally, when temptations come, into despair.

410 Let this now be graciously considered by Imperial Majesty. Majesty graciously consider, and look well to it; it concerns not gold or silver, but souls and consciences. Also, let all honorable and prudent people pay attention to what this matter is or is not. Here we may suffer all respectable men to judge which part has taught the most useful thing for the Christian conscience, we or the adversaries. For indeed it is to be thought that we are not well pleased with strife and discord. And if it had not been for the greatest, most important causes, namely, concerning the conscience of all of us, salvation and soul, why we have to quarrel so vehemently with the adversaries, we would have kept silent: But after they have rejected the holy gospel, all the plain. But since they condemn the holy gospel, all the clear Scriptures of the apostles, and the divine truth, we can, with God and conscience, reject the blessed doctrine and divine truth, of which we are finally convinced.

When this poor temporal life ceases, and all creatures' help is ended, wait for the one, eternal, highest consolation, not denying it, nor departing in any way from this cause, which is not ours alone, but the whole Christianity's, and concerns the highest treasure, JESUS CHRIST.

411 We have now stated from what causes we have put the two parts of repentance, namely, repentance and faith. And this we have done, because all sorts of sayings are found now and then in the books of the adversaries concerning repentance, which they introduce from Augustine and the other ancient fathers in a mutilated manner, which they have then everywhere interpreted and stretched to suppress the doctrine of faith altogether. For they have set this saying: Repentance is a pain by which sin is punished. Repentance is to repent of a former sin, and not to repeat the sin for which I was punished. Faith is not considered at all in the Proverbs, nor is it considered at all in their schools, even though they treat such proverbs according to length.

412 Therefore, that the doctrine of faith might be the more widely known, we have set faith for a part of repentance; for the sayings which teach our repentance and our good works, and do not remember faith at all, are very dangerous, as experience shows. Therefore, if they had considered the great danger to souls and consciences, the Sententiarii and canonists should have written more wisely about their decree. For if the fathers also speak of the other part of repentance, not of one part only, but of both, repentance and faith, they ought to have put them together.

413 For Tertullian also speaks very comfortingly of faith, and especially praises the divine oath, of which the prophet speaks: "As truly as I live, saith the Lord, I will not the death of the sinner, but that he should repent and live. Because God swears (says) that He does not want the death of the sinner, He certainly requires faith that we should believe His oath and swear that He will forgive us sin. Without this, God's promises are to be held in the highest esteem and esteemed by us. Now the promise is confirmed with an oath. Therefore if anyone thinks that sins will not be forgiven him, he is punishing God with a lie, which is the greatest blasphemy. For thus says Tertullianus: Invitat praernio ack salutsrn, zurans etiarn ete. That is, God entices us for our own salvation, with His own oath, that we may believe Him. O blessed are those for whose sake God swears! O woe to us wretched

People, if we also do not believe the divine oath!

414. And here we must know that faith must certainly hold that God forgives us sin by grace for Christ's sake, not for our works, for confession and satisfaction. For as soon as we base ourselves on works, we become uncertain. For a frightened conscience soon realizes that its best works are of no value against God. For this reason Ambrose says a fine word about repentance: "We must repent, and also believe that grace will come to us; but in this way we hope for grace through faith, for faith waits for and obtains grace, as if from a handwriting. Item: Faith is the very thing by which sins are covered.

045 Wherefore there are plain sayings in the books of the fathers, not of works only, but also of faith. But the adversaries, not understanding the manner of repentance, neither understanding the sayings of the fathers, pick out some of them mutilated from one part of repentance, namely, from repentance and from works; and what is spoken of faith they pass over.

(Article VI.) Of confession and satisfaction.

416 God-fearing, respectable, pious, Christian people may well notice here that much is at stake that a right, solid doctrine of repentance and faith be had and preserved in the church. For the great fraud of indulgences, 2c., item, the clumsy doctrine of the sophists, has shown us enough what great mischief and danger arise from it, if rnan fails here. How many a pious conscience under the papacy has sought the right way here with such great labor, and has not found it under such darkness.

(417) Therefore we have always taken great pains to teach this matter clearly, certainly, and correctly. We have not particularly quarreled about confession and satisfaction. For we keep confession also for the sake of absolution, which is God's word, by which the power of the keys absolves us from sins. Therefore, it would be against God to refuse absolution from the church. 2c.

418 Those who despise absolution know not what the forgiveness of sins is, or what the power of the keys is. But of the telling of sins we have said above in our confession, that we hold that it is not commanded by God. For that they say, Every judge must first understand the things and infirmities of sin.

Before he pronounces the sentence, he must hear the sins first. 2c. That is not the point. For absolution is badly the command to absolve, and is not a new judgment to inquire into sin. For God is the judge, who commanded the apostles, not the office of judge, but the execution of grace, to absolve those who desire it, and to absolve and absolve them also from sins which do not occur to us. Therefore absolution is a voice of the gospel, by which we receive comfort, and is not a judgment or law. And it is foolish and childish enough for those of understanding to introduce the saying of Solomon, when he says in the 27th, v. 23, viliMntsr 6OANO866 vulturn x> 660ri8 tui, that is, take heed to thy sheep 2c., into the place of confession or absolution. For Solomon there speaks nothing at all of confession, but gives commandment to the fathers of the house, that they should be content with their own, and abstain from other people's goods. And he commands with the word: each one should diligently take care of his livestock and goods; but he should not forget God's fear, God's commandment, and God's word out of stinginess.

419. But the adversaries make black and white of the Scripture, if and as they will, contrary to all the natural way of clear words. In the place: 60MO866 vulturn x>6eori8 ete. , there 6OMO866r6 confession must be called, cattle or sheep must be called there people. Ltudulurn, we observe, is also called a school, where such Doctores and Oratores are in attendance. But it serves them right, who thus despise the holy Scriptures, all good arts, that they are so grossly lacking in "grammar". If anyone in the place ever felt like comparing a householder, of whom Solomon speaks, with a pastor, vultu8 would not have to mean ureurm 6ori86i6ritiu6, but the outward walk.

420 But I will let this pass. In some places in the Psalms the word eon168810 is remembered, as in the 32nd Psalm, v. 5: "I will confess my transgression against me unto the Lord." That same confession and confessing which is done to God is repentance itself. For when we confess to God, we must recognize ourselves as sinners in our hearts, and not only with our mouths, as the hypocrites do, but only by repeating the words. Thus the same confession that God makes is such repentance in the heart that I feel God's seriousness and wrath, and I agree with God that He is justly angry, that He cannot be reconciled even with our merit, and that we seek mercy, since God has promised mercy in Christ. So this is a confession in the 51st Psalm, v. 6: "In You alone

I have sinned, that thou mayest be found righteous when thou art judged," that is: I confess myself a sinner, and that I have deserved eternal wrath, and cannot with my works, nor with my merit, appease thy wrath: therefore I say that thou art righteous, and justly punish us. I have proved thee right, though the hypocrites judge thee, because thou regardest not their merit and their good works. Yea, I know that my works stand not before thy judgment: but we are justified, if thou hast judged us righteous through thy mercy.

(421) There might also be one who would like to use Jacob's saying, "Confess your sins one to another" [Jac. 5:16]. But he does not speak of confession, which happens to the priest 2c., but speaks of a reconciliation and confession, if I otherwise reconcile myself with my neighbor.

422. The adversaries also must much condemn their own teachers, if they will say that the telling of sin must be done, and is commanded by God. For though we also keep confession, and say that it is not useless to ask the young and inexperienced, that they may be the better instructed. But all this is to be tempered, lest the consciences be entrapped, which can never be satisfied so long as they are under the delusion that they are guilty of sin before God.

423 Wherefore the word of the adversaries, when they say that to salvation there is need of a very pure confession, because no sin is concealed, 2c. is altogether false. For such confession is impossible. O Lord God, how miserably have they afflicted and tormented many a pious conscience by teaching that confession must be entirely pure, and that no sin must remain unconfessed! For how can a man always be sure when he has confessed completely purely?

424 The fathers also remember confession; but they speak not of the recital of secret sin, but of a ceremony, a public penance. For in ancient times those who had been in public vices were not received back into the church without a public ceremony and punishment. For this reason they had to confess their sin to the priests, so that the sutiskaetioiieZ might be imposed according to the greatness of the transgression. But the whole thing was not like the telling of sins of which we speak. For the same confession and confession did not take place because without the same confession forgiveness of sin could not take place before God, but because no outward punishment could be imposed on them, unless they knew of the sin.

425 And of the outward ceremony of public penance is also the word 8uti8ku6tio, or satisfaction. For the fathers did not wish to receive again without punishment those who had been found guilty of public vices. And this had many causes. For it served as an example that public vices should be punished, as the gloss in the decree also says. Thus it was also unwise that those who had fallen into open vice should soon be admitted to the sacrament unattempted. All of these ceremonies have now long since ceased, and there is no need for them to be instituted again. For they do nothing at all for reconciliation before God. Nor has it been the opinion of the fathers in any way that men should thereby obtain forgiveness of sin, although such outward ceremonies easily lead the inexperienced to think that they help something toward salvation. Now he that teacheth and keepeth these things teacheth and keepeth them wholly Jewish and heathen. For the heathen have also had some purifications, thinking that they would be reconciled to God by them.

426 But now, if this same manner of public penance has departed, the name 8uti8ku6tio has remained, and the shadow of the old custom of putting on penance in confession has remained, and they call it *opera non debita*. We call it 8uti8ku6tioii68 eunonieuL. Of this we teach, as of the telling of sins, namely, that these same public ceremonies are not commanded by God, nor are they necessary, nor do they help to the forgiveness of sin. For this doctrine must be preserved and remain above all things, that we obtain forgiveness of sin by faith, and not by our works, which come before or after we are converted or born again in Christ.

427 And we have spoken of *satisfactionibus* chiefly for this cause, lest any man should so understand satisfaction as to suppress the doctrine of faith, as if we could merit forgiveness of sin by our works. For the dangerous error of *satisfactionibus* has thus been torn down and confirmed by some unskilful teaching, so that the adversaries write that satisfaction is such a work, by which the divine wrath and displeasure are propitiated.

428. However, the adversaries themselves confess that the *satisfactiones do* not absolve the guilt before God, but they invent that they alone redeem and absolve the chastisement or punishment. For thus they teach, that when sin is forgiven, the guilt or enlxu is made free without remedy, solely through

God forgives; and yet, because He is a just God, He does not leave sin without punishment, and turns eternal punishment into temporal punishment. They teach that a part of the temporal punishment is remitted by the power of the scourge, but a part is paid by *satisfactiones* or pardon. And it cannot be understood what part of the punishment or chastisement is remitted by the power of the keys, for they would say that a part of the chastisement of the purgatory is remitted, from which it would follow that the *satisfactiones* alone served to redeem the chastisement of the purgatory. And further, they say that the *satisfactiones are* good in the sight of God, even if they are done by those who have fallen into mortal sin; as if God were reconciled by those who are in mortal sin and are his enemies.

(429) All these are vainly imagined, fictitious doctrines and words, without any foundation in Scripture, and contrary to all the writings of the ancient fathers. Nor does Longobardus himself speak of the *satisfactionibus in this* way. The Scholastici may have heard that there were *satisfactiones in the* church, and they did not consider that it was an outward ceremony, in which the pudlies po6nit6nt68 or penitents had to show themselves to the church with a ceremony that was used, first, as a fright and example that others might take offense at; and, second, as a test whether the same sinners or penitents, who desired mercy again, had also heartily converted. In sum, they have not seen that such sntiskuetio is an outward discipline, punishment, and äisoiplinu, and that such a thing, like another worldly discipline, is set up for a shyness or fear. They have taught that they serve not only for discipline, but also to propitiate God, and are necessary for salvation. 1) But as in many other things they have boiled together the kingdom of Christ, which is spiritual, and the kingdom of the world, and outward discipline, so they have also done with the *satisfactionibus*. But the glosses in eunonidus show in some places that these satiskuotionW alone are to serve as an example for the church.

430 But here let us see how the adversaries base and prove such their dreams in the Confutation, which they finally hung on the Emperor's Majesty. Majesty hanged at last. They use many sayings of Scripture to make the inexperienced believe that their doctrine of *satisfactionibus is* founded in Scripture, which was still unknown in the time of Longobardi. They bring these sayings

1) Müller: Because. Latin: 8icut.

"Repent ye, and bring forth the fruits of repentance." Item: "Set your limbs to the service of righteousness." Item: Christ said, "Repent." Item: Christ commands the apostles to preach repentance. Item: Peter preaches repentance in the Acts of the Apostles, 2, v. 38. After this they point to certain sayings of the Fathers, and the Canons, and decree: "The penances in the church against the Gospel, against the decree of the Fathers and Conciliar, against the decree of the holy church, are not to be done, but those who obtain absolution are to perform their penance and satisfaction, the penance laid upon them by the priest.

431. May God disgrace and punish such desperate sophists who so treacherously and wickedly interpret the holy Gospel in their dreams. What pious, honorable man would not be pained in his heart by such a great public abuse of the divine word? Christ says, "Repent." The apostles also preach, "Repent." Therefore is it proved by Proverbs that God does not forgive sin except for the sake of fictitious satisfaction? Who taught the rude, insolent asses such dialectics? But it is not *dialectics* nor *sophistics*, but it is knavery to play with the word of God in this way, and to be so vexatious. For this reason they take the saying from the Gospel, "Repent," as dark and obscure, so that when the inexperienced hear that this word from the Gospel is taken against us, they should think that we are such people who think nothing at all of repentance. With such wickedness do they deal with us. Although they know that we teach rightly about repentance, yet they want to discourage people, and they like to embitter many people against us, so that the inexperienced will cry out: Crucify, crucify such pernicious heretics, who think nothing of repentance; and so they are publicly overcome here as liars.

432 But we are comforted by this, and we know for certain that such insolent lies and falsification of the holy Scriptures are of no avail to the godly, even to honorable, pious, honest people. Thus, even God the Lord, as truly as He is a living God, will not long suffer such insolent blasphemy and unheard malice; they will certainly burn themselves on the first and other commandments of God.

433 And having comprehended in our Confession almost all the highest articles of the whole Christian doctrine, that is, that about this matter there can be no greater, more highly important matter under the sun, one ought to add to these high, most important

We have sought out and selected so many innumerable souls and consciences in all the world and in the whole holy Christian religion, the welfare and unity of the whole Christian church, now and in 1) this time and in our descendants, with all faithful, highest diligence, who would be more God-fearing, more understanding, more experienced, more capable, and more honest, and who would also bear and show more faithful, good hearts and minds for the common good, for the unity of the church, and for the welfare of the kingdom, than the loose, careless sophists who wrote the Confutation.

434. And you, Cardinal Campegi, as the wise man to whom this matter is entrusted in Rome, whose wisdom is to be praised, even if you would not respect or regard anything but the honor of the pope and see of Rome, should have kept better house here, and done this with the greatest diligence, so that in such a great and excellent matter such a clumsy confutation would not have been written by such or such sophists, that in such a great and excellent matter such a clumsy confutation would not have been written by the or such sophists, which both at this time and in the future with the descendants will bring you no other than to vain ridicule, to the diminishment of your reputation and name, to eternal, unavoidable disgrace and damage.

435 Ye Romanists see that these are the last times before the last day, of which Christ warned that many perils should befall the church. You then, who would be called watchmen, shepherds, and heads of the church, should be careful in this time with special, faithful, and supreme diligence. There are already many signs before your eyes that, if you do not manage and direct yourselves well in time and affairs, a great change will take place in the whole Roman see and in its nature. And you must not take it into your heads, indeed you must not think that you want to keep the congregations and churches with you and the Roman see by the sword and force alone. For good consciences cry out for the truth and right instruction from God's word, and death is not so bitter to them as it is bitter to them when they doubt in one thing. Therefore they must seek where they can find instruction. If you want to keep the church with you, you must strive to teach and preach rightly, so that you can establish good will and constant obedience.

436 Let us here return to the matter in hand. The sayings of the Scriptures, so attracted by the adversaries, do not speak of the satisfaction of the Lord.

1) Müller: "now and". Jenaer: "itzund".

and satisfaction, of which the adversaries contend. Therefore, it is only a falsification of the Scriptures that they interpret God's word in their own opinion. We say that where there is true repentance and renewal of the Holy Spirit in the heart, good fruits and good works will surely follow. And it is not possible that a man should turn to God, do right repentance, have heartfelt remorse, and good works, good fruits, should not follow. For a heart and conscience that has rightly felt its sorrow and sin, that is rightly alarmed, will not regard or seek much of the pleasures of the world. And where faith is, it is grateful to God, and warmly respects and loves His commandments. Also, inwardly in the heart there is certainly no true repentance, if we do not outwardly show good works, Christian patience. And so also John the Baptist means it, when he says [Luc. 3:8. Matt. 3:8], "Produce true fruits of repentance." Item, Paul, when he saith to Romans 6, v. 19, "Beget your members for weapons of righteousness. "2c. And Christ, when he saith, "Repent," speaketh truly of the whole repentance, and of the whole new life, and the fruits thereof. He does not speak of the hypocritical satisfactions of which the scholastici dream, and may say that they are then also valid before God for punishment, if they are done in mortal sins. This, of course, should be a delicious service.

437 There are also many other arguments and reasons, so that the above sayings of Scripture do not rhyme with the satisfaction of which the scholastics speak. They invent and say that the *satisfactiones are* fine works, which we do not owe. But the Scriptures, in the Proverbs which are introduced, require such works as we owe. For this word of Christ, when he saith, Repent ye, is a word of divine commandment.

438 Item, the adversaries write that those who confess, even if they do not want to accept the *satisfaction,* do not sin because of it, but will have to bear punishment and satisfaction in purgatory. Now there is no doubt that these sayings, "Repent," 2c., item Pauli, "Pray your members to serve righteousness," and similar sayings are those of Christ and the apostles, which have nothing to do with purgatory, but only with this life. Therefore they cannot be stretched to the *satisfactionibus* that I may or may not accept. For God's commandments are not thus freely given to us. 2c.

439 Thirdly, the pope's law and canon teach that by indulgences such 8ati8ka<Kion68 are remitted, onp. Orrrn ex so äs xc>6nit6ntii8. But the indulgence makes no one loose

Of these commandments, "Repent," "Produce right fruits of repentance," 2c.

440 Therefore it is light in the day, that the sayings of the Scripture of the sutiMcrtioniftuK are introduced altogether unskilfully. For if the penances of purgatory are *satisfactiones* or *satispassiones,* or if the *satisfactiones* are acknowledgments of the chastisements of purgatory, then the above-mentioned sayings of Christ and Paul must also prove and test that souls go into purgatory and suffer chastisements there. If, therefore, it is necessary to follow from the opinion of the adversaries, the sayings must all put on new garments, and be thus interpreted: 1ruotu8 ste. The sinner must show the right fruits of repentance, that is, he must suffer in purgatory after this life. But it is vexatious to make more words of such 1) public error of the adversaries. For indeed it is known that the Scriptures speak in places of works which we owe, and of the whole new life of a Christian, 2c. not of the fictitious works which we do not owe, of which the adversaries speak. And yet with these lies they defend monasticism, the buying and selling of masses, and innumerable other traditions, namely, that it feigns works to do enough for penance and punishment, though they do not do enough for guilt against God.

441 Forasmuch then as the Proverbs, drawn from the Scriptures, do not at all say, that by works, for which we are not guilty, eternal chastisement, or purgatory, shall be paid; so the adversaries say, without any reason, that by such *satisfaction* the chastisements of purgatory shall be redeemed.

442 Neither have the wicked commanded to inflict chastisement, or to acknowledge the chastisement in part or in whole. Such dreams and lies are nowhere found in Scripture. Christ speaks of forgiveness of sin, as he says, "What ye dissolve," 2c. When sin is forgiven, death is also taken away and eternal life is given. So also the text, "Which ye dissolve," 2c. does not speak of putting on punishment, but that sins remain on those who do not convert.

443. Although we now hold that good fruits and works should follow right repentance, to praise and thank God, and of the same good works and fruits we have God's commandment, as of fasting, praying, almsgiving, 2c, yet nowhere in Scripture is it found that God's wrath or eternal chastisement should be relieved by the chastisement of the purgatory, or by 8uti8ku6tivQ68 or satisfaction, that is, by some

1) Müller: "so von".

Works that we would not be guilty of without it, or that the power of the keys is commanded to inflict punishment, or to remit a part of the punishment. Now let the adversaries prove these things from the Scriptures. This they will not do.

444 Therefore it is certain that Christ's death is a satisfaction, not only for guilt against God, but also for eternal death, as is clearly stated in the saying of Hosea: "Death, I will be your death. What an abomination it is to say that Christ's death is sufficient for guilt against God, but that the punishment we suffer redeems us from eternal death? that is, that this word of the prophet, "Death, I will be thy death," is to be understood not of Christ, but of our works, and in addition of wretched human statutes, which God has not commanded. And yet they may say that these works are sufficient for eternal death, even if they are done in mortal sin.

445 A pious heart must certainly be grieved by the very clumsy speech of the adversaries. For whoever reads and considers it, must be heartily grieved by such public doctrines of the devil, which the wicked Satan has spread into the world to suppress the true doctrine of the gospel, so that no one or few may be taught what is law or gospel, what is repentance or faith, or what are the benefits of Christ.

446 For of the law they say thus, God hath considered our infirmities, and hath set for man a purpose and measure of the works which he is bound to do, which are the works of the ten commandments, 2c. that of the rest, of the *operibus supererogationis*, that is, of the works which he is not bound to do, he may be sufficient for his faults and sins.

(447) Then they invent a dream for themselves, as if a man were able to fulfill God's law, so that he would do something more and above and beyond what the law requires, when all the holy Scriptures testify, and all the prophets also testify, that God's law demands much more than we are always able to do. But they want to think that the law of God and God are satisfied with outward works, and do not see how the law demands that we love God with all our heart and be free from all evil desires. Therefore there is no man on earth who does as much as the law requires.

448 Therefore it is quite foolish and childish for those of understanding to imagine that we can do anything more than is required by the divine law. For though we can do the poor outward works, which are not God's, but the law's, we cannot do them.

If I have commanded men, whom Paul calls mendicant statutes, this is a foolish, vain confidence, that I would trust to have fulfilled God's law, yea, to have done more than God requires.

449. Item, right prayers and right alms, right fasting, these are commanded by God, and in the case that they are commanded by God, one cannot slacken them without sin. On the other hand, these works, if they are not commanded by God's laws, but have a form according to human choice, are nothing but human statutes, of which Christ says [Matt. 15:9], "They serve me in vain with the commandments of men," as then are some certain fasts, not invented to tame the flesh, but to honor God with it, and, as Scotus says, to get rid of eternal death. Item, how then are some prayers, some certain alms, which are to be a service of God, which sx opere operato reconcile God, and deliver from eternal damnation. For they say and teach that such works ex opere operato, that is, by the work done, are sufficient for sin, and teach that such satisfaction is valid, though one be in mortal sin.

(450) Above these are works that have even less divine command, such as the rosaries and pilgrimages, which are of many kinds. For some go to St. James in full armor, some with bare feet, and the like. Christ calls these vain and useless services. Therefore they are of no use to reconcile God, as the adversaries say. And these works, as pilgrimages, they praise highly, 1) and esteeming them great and delicious works, call them opera supererogationis. And that which is more shameful, that which is still more blasphemous, they give them the honor which is due to Christ's death and blood alone, that they should be the protiurn, that is, the treasure, so that we may be redeemed from eternal death. Fie on the wicked devil, who may so revile and blaspheme Christ's holy and precious death!

451 So these pilgrimages are preferred to the righteous works expressed in the ten commandments, and thus God's law is obscured in two ways. First, that they think they have done enough for the law, when they have done the outward works. Second, that they esteem the wretched statutes of men more highly than the works which God has commanded.

452 The doctrine of repentance and grace is also suppressed. For eternal death and the fears of hell cannot therefore be

1) Müller: "doch" instead of: "hoch".

as they would have us believe. There is much more and greater treasure than our works, by which we are saved from death, eternal anguish, and pain. For such holiness of works is an idle thing, and the saints of works do not even taste what death is; but, as God's wrath cannot but be overcome, but by faith in Christ, so also death is overcome through Christ alone, as Paul says, "Praise be to God, who gives us the victory through Jesus Christ our Lord" [1 Cor. 15:57]. He does not say, who gives us victory through our sufficiency.

453 The adversaries speak almost coldly and sleepily of the forgiveness of sin against God, and do not see that forgiveness of such guilt, and redemption from God's wrath and eternal death, is such a great thing, that it is obtained only through the one Mediator Christ and through faith in Him.

454 If therefore the death and blood of Christ be the just payment for eternal death, and the adversaries themselves confess that such works of satisfaction are works which we owe not, but ordinances of men, of which Christ saith, Matt. 15:9, that they are vain works of God: we may freely conclude, even from their own words, that such *satisfactions are* not commanded of God, neither do they redeem eternal chastisement and guilt, or the chastisement of purgatory.

(455) Perhaps the adversaries will here reproach us, that chastisement and punishment properly belong to repentance. For Augustine says that penance is vengeance, fear, and punishment for sin. Answer: Our adversaries are gross asses, that they interpret the words of Augustine, who speaks of contrition and entire repentance, to mean the ceremonies of satisfaction, and still further hang upon it, that such satiskaoüo is to merit forgiveness of eternal death.

456 We also teach that in repentance is the punishment of sin, for the great terrors by which sin is judged in us are a punishment far greater and higher than pilgrimages and the like pageantry. But such terror does not concern *satisfaction,* so it does not deserve forgiveness of sin or eternal death, but, if we were not comforted by faith, such terror and punishment would be vain sin and death. Thus Augustine teaches about punishment. But our adversaries, the rude asses, know not at all what repentance or contrition is, but go about with their jiggery-pokery, rosaries, pilgrimages, and the like.

457 But they say, God, being a just judge, cannot leave sin without punishment. Yea, verily he punisheth sin, when in such terror he presseth and affricteth consciences so strongly with his wrath, as David saith in the 6th Psalm, v. 1, "O Lord, punish me not in thy wrath;" and Jeremiah in the 10th Cap. v. 24, "Punish me, O Lord, yet with grace, not in thy wrath, lest I perish." There he speaks truly of great, unspeakable anguish, and the adversaries themselves confess that repentance can be so bitter and swift that satisfaction is not necessary. Therefore contritio or repentance is more of a torment than *satisfactio*.

458. For this cause the saints must bear death, and all manner of crosses and afflictions, as others do; as Peter saith, 1 Pet. 4:17: "It is time to look for judgment in the house of God." And though these afflictions are often penance and punishment for sin, yet they have another cause in Christians, namely, that they should drive and exercise Christians, that in temptation they may realize their weak faith, and learn to seek God's help and comfort, as Paul says of himself 2 Cor. 1:8. f.: "When we were weighed down above measure, and above might, so that we determined with ourselves that we should die, lest we should learn to trust in us." And Isaiah [Cap. 26:16] saith, The affliction and anguish wherein they are, and call upon thee, is a discipline unto them; that is, the affliction is a discipline of children, whereby God exerciseth the saints. God also sends us tribulations to kill and dampen the sin that is still left in us, so that we may be regenerated in spirit, as Paul says in Romans 8:10: "The body is dead because of sin," that is, it is being killed more and more every day because of the sin that is still left in the flesh. And death itself serves to put an end to sinful flesh, so that we may rise from the dead all holy and renewed.

459 We are not freed from these afflictions by the satiskuetionss, therefore it cannot be said that the 8uti8ku6tion68 apply to such a cross and affliction, and take away the temporal punishment of sin. For this is certain, that the power of the keys can absolve no man from the cross, or from other common afflictions. And if they would that the word of God should be understood of common afflictions, how then do they teach that one must be satisfied in purgatory?

460. They set before us examples of Adam and David, who was punished for his adultery. From the example they make a

Rule, that every sin must have its certain temporal punishment before the sin is forgiven. I have said before that Christians suffer tribulation, by which they are chastened; so they suffer terror in their consciences, many a struggle and temptation; so our Lord God also lays upon some sinners their own penance and punishment, as an example. And the power of the keys has nothing to do with the penalties, but God alone has to interpret and solve them as he wills.

461 Neither doth it follow, whether there be any punishment of his own laid upon David, that there should be a chastisement of purgatory above the common cross and tribulation of all Christians, since every sin hath its degree and measure of chastisement. For it is nowhere found in Scripture that we should not be delivered from eternal torment and death, except by such an acknowledgment of our suffering and satisfaction. But the Scriptures everywhere testify that we obtain forgiveness of sin without merit through Christ, and that Christ alone has overcome sin and death. Wherefore we ought not to put our own merit upon it, nor to mend it. And though Christians must suffer all manner of penalties, punishments, and afflictions, yet the Scriptures show that these are laid upon us to kill and humble the old Adam, not to deliver us from eternal death.

462 Job is excused in the scriptures, because he was not afflicted for some evil deeds. Therefore, afflictions and temptations are not always signs of divine wrath, but the consciences must be diligently instructed so that they may learn to regard afflictions in a different way, namely, as signs of grace, so that they will not think that God has cast them away when they are in affliction. They should look at the other true fruits of the cross, namely, that God attacks us and therefore does a foreign work, as Isaiah says, so that he may have his own work in us; as he gives a long, comforting sermon about this in chapter 28, v. 19 ff. And when the disciples asked about the blind man, John 9:3, Christ says that neither the blind man's parents nor he sinned, but that God's glory and work must be revealed. And so also Jeremiah the prophet saith [Cap. 49, 12.], "They also that are not guilty of it shall drink the cup. "2c. So the prophets are slain, so John Baptist is slain, and other saints.

463 Therefore the tribulations are not always punishments or penalties for past sins, but are works of God, directed to our benefit, that God's strength and power may be the more clearly seen in our weakness, as He is in the midst of the

Death can help 2c. So Paul says [1 Cor. 12, 9.1: "God's power and strength can be experienced and seen in weakness." Therefore we are to sacrifice our bodies in God's will, to show our obedience and patience, not to deliver us from eternal death or eternal torment. For God has ordained another treasure, the death of His Son, our Lord Christ.

(464) And thus St. Gregory interprets the example of David, [2 Sam. 12:14] when he says, If God, for the same sin, had forbidden him to be humiliated by his own son, why did he let this happen, since the sin was already forgiven? the answer is, that the forgiveness had taken place, so that the man might not be prevented from receiving eternal life. Nevertheless, the punishment that was inflicted followed, so that he might test him and keep him in humility. So God also put natural death on man, and did not take it away when sin was forgiven, so that those who were forgiven sin and sanctified might be tried and tested. Now it is public that the keys do not take away this common punishment, as war, torment, and such like plagues. Item, that even cmnorücms *satisfactiones do* not make us free from such plagues, so that our *satisfactiones* should help or apply to them, if we are already in mortal sins. Also the adversaries themselves confess that they lay up the 8uti8kaetions8 not for such common plagues, but for purgatory. Therefore their 8ati8ka6t1ori68 are vain imaginary dreams.

465. but here some draw upon the saying of Paul, 1 Cor. 11:31: "If we judged ourselves, we should not be judged." From this they conclude: If we would punish ourselves, God would punish more mercifully. Answer: Paul speaks of the punishment of the whole life, not of outward punishment and ceremonies; therefore this saying does nothing for satisfactio. For what does God ask of punishment without correction? Yes, it is an abominable blasphemy to teach that our satisfaction alleviates God's punishment, when it already occurs in mortal sins. Paul speaks of repentance and faith and of the whole correction, and does not speak of the outward punishment alone. Therefore nothing more can be enforced from this, except that if we amend, God will turn away His punishment. This is true, and it is useful, comforting, and necessary to preach that God will relieve the punishment if we mend our ways, as He did with Nineveh. And so Isaiah teaches in chapter 1, v. 18: "If
Though your sins be as red as blood, yet shall they be purged away, and be as white as snow, if ye amend." And this amendment is not in the canoniea *satisfactione,* but in other pieces of repentance, in contrition, in faith, in good works, which follow after faith. But our adversaries interpret these comforting sayings to their lies and jugglery of satisfaction.

466 But that the ancient teachers and fathers remembered the satisfaction, that the concilia were made of the *satisfactionibus* canones, I have said above, that it was an outward ceremony, and was not the opinion of the fathers, that these ceremonies of repentance should be a blotting out fine of guilt against God, or of chastisement. For though some of the fathers are like them, who think of the fire of sweeping, yet they themselves interpret it, that though it were, it was not salvation from eternal death and torment, which Christ alone does, but that it was a cleansing and sweeping (as they speak) of imperfect souls. Alfo Augustine says: The daily sins are burned and extinguished, as weak faith against God and the like 2c.

(467) It is also found in some places that the Fathers use the word *satisfactio* or satisfaction, which originally comes from the ceremony of public penitence, as I have said, for the right repentance and killing of the old Adam. Thus Augustine says: The right *satisfactio* or satisfaction is to cut off the cause of sins, that is, to kill the flesh 2c., item, to tame and mortify the flesh, not that eternal death or punishment may be acknowledged thereby, but that the flesh may not draw us to sins.

468 So Gregory says of the restitution of other men's goods, that it is a false repentance, if we do not do enough for those whose goods we have wrongfully. For he is not sorry that he has stolen, who still steals; for as long as he holds other people's goods, he is a thief or robber. The same *satisfaction* against those who are guilty shall be made against the same; and of this *civil satisfaction there is* no need to dispute here. Item, the fathers write that it is enough fei that once in the whole life the puklieu penitence or the public penance happens, of which the eanon68 8atl8ka6tioriurri are made. From this it may be seen that their opinion was not that these canons should be necessary for the forgiveness of sins. For without these ceremonies of public repentance, they otherwise teach much of Christian repentance, since they do not remember the 6an0ii68 sutiskaetioriurri.

469 The asses that have made the confutation.

Saying, that it is not to be suffered that satisiaetiorisk should be done against the public gospel. But we have shown this clearly enough before, that these same cmrioriicms sutikknotiori68, that is, such works (as they speak of) as we are not guilty of, are not founded in the Scripture or Gospel. Thus the thing indicates by itself: for if the sati8t'n6tiori68 are works which one is not guilty of, why do they say we teach contrary to the clear gospel? For if it were written in the Gospel that eternal punishment and death were taken away by such works, they were works which one was guilty of doing before God. But they speak in such a way as to make a pretence before the noses of the inexperienced, and they use sayings of the holy Scriptures which speak of right Christian works which we owe, while they base their satisfaction on works which we do not owe, and which they call opera non debita. They teach, and even admit in their schools, that such satisfaction can be remitted without mortal sin. Therefore it is false that they say that the clear gospel is able to make one keep the sati8tnotionW.

(470) Further, we have often said that righteous repentance cannot be without good works and fruits. The Ten Commandments teach us what good works require, namely, to truly and most sincerely esteem, fear, and love God the Lord, to cheerfully call upon Him in times of need, to always give thanks to Him, to confess His word, to hear the same word, and to comfort others with it, To be obedient to parents and authorities, to faithfully attend to his office and profession, not to be bitter, not to be hateful, not to kill, but to comfort, to be kind to one's neighbor, to help the poor according to one's ability, not to fornicate, not to commit adultery, but to keep the flesh in check at all times. And all this, not to do enough for eternal death or eternal torment, which is due to Christ alone, but to do it in such a way that the devil is not given room, and God is angered and the Holy Spirit is grieved and displeased. These fruits and good works are commanded by God and have their rewards, and for the sake of God's glory and divine commandment, they are to be done.

471 But that the eternal punishments are not remitted otherwise, than only by satisfaction in purgatory, or some good works of human tradition, the holy scripture saith nowhere of this. By means of indulgences, such penances and satisfactions as are imposed are acknowledged to the penitents, so that the people are not so much burdened. Have now men power, which satis

If a man is to remit the punishment or chastisement imposed on him, this *satisfactio is* not commanded by God. For a man cannot disobey a divine command and commandment.

472 But since the old way of public penance and pardon has long since been done away with, which the bishops have allowed to happen from one time to another, indulgences are not necessary, and yet the name iriäulMiitia, or indulgence, has remained in the church. Just as the word 8nti8kuetio is understood otherwise than for a church ordinance and ceremony, so the word Jndulgenz, or indulgence, has also been wrongly interpreted, and construed for such grace and indulgence, by which souls are delivered out of purgatory, when yet the whole power of the keys in the church extends no further than here on earth alone, as the text reads, "What thou shalt bind on earth, that shall be bound in heaven. What thou shalt loose on earth, that shall be loosed in heaven."

473 So the power of the keys is not such a power as to establish peculiar punishment or worship of their own, but only to forgive sin to them that are converted, and to banish them that are not converted. For to dissolve in that place is to forgive sin; to bind is not to forgive sin. For Christ speaks of a spiritual kingdom, and GOD has commanded to absolve from sins those who are converted, as Paul says, "Authority is given to us to edify, and not to break down" [2 Cor. 10:8.]

474 Therefore also the r686rvutio eakuuni, that is, in which the pope and the bishops reserve some cases, is an external, worldly thing. For they reserve to them the ak)8o1utio a posna cmrioriicm, not of guilt against God. Therefore the adversaries teach rightly, since they themselves confess and say that at the hour of death such a rsksrvutio or reservation should not hinder right Christian absolution.

475 We have herewith presented the summa of our doctrine of repentance, and know, indeed, that the same is quite useful and highly necessary to Christian and pious hearts. And if God-fearing, pious, respectable people will consider this most important matter according to necessity, and hold this doctrine of ours, and indeed of Christ and the apostles, against so much unsophisticated, confused, childish disputation and books of the adversaries, they will find that they have omitted the very highest, most necessary part, namely, faith in Christ, without which no one can teach or learn anything righteous, Christian, through which alone the consciences may have right consolation. They

will also see that the adversaries invent much from their own brains about the merit of attrition, about the narration of the sin, about satisfaction, all of which is unfounded in Scripture, and neither sufficient above nor below, which the adversaries themselves do not understand.

Article XIII. (VII.) Of the Sacraments and their right use.

476. in the thirteenth article, the adversaries allow them to say that the sacraments are not bad signs, by which people know one another, as slogans in war and court scar 2c., but are powerful signs and certain testimonies of divine grace and will toward us, by which God reminds and strengthens our hearts to believe all the more surely and joyfully.

477 But here they would have us confess that there are seven sacraments in number, neither more nor less. Then we say, that it is necessary to preserve these ceremonies and sacraments, which God has instituted by his word, how many and in what number they are. But of this number of the seven sacraments it is found that the fathers themselves did not count them equally, so that these seven ceremonies are not all equally necessary.

478 If we call sacraments the outward signs and ceremonies which have God's command, and have a divine promise of grace attached to them, we may soon conclude what sacraments are. For ceremonies and other outward things instituted by men are not sacraments in this way. For men without command have not God's grace to promise. Therefore signs which are instituted without God's command are not signs of grace, though they may otherwise bring to the remembrance of children and rude people, as a painted cross.

479 So the proper sacraments are baptism and the Lord's supper, and absolution. For these have the command of God, and also the promise of grace, which actually belongs to the New Testament, and is the New Testament. For this is the purpose of the outward signs, that thereby the hearts may be moved, namely, by the word and outward signs at the same time, that they may believe when we are baptized, when we receive the body of the Lord, that God truly wants to be gracious to us through Christ, as Paul says [Rom. 10:17]: "Faith is of hearing." But as the word entereth into the ears, so the outward sign is set before the eyes, to stir up the heart inwardly, and to move it to faith; for the word and the outward sign are the only things that can be done.

Signs work in the heart in one way or another, as Augustine spoke a fine word. The sacrament, he says, is a visible word, for the outward sign is like 1) a painting, by which is signified that which is preached by the word. Therefore they both signify the same thing.

(480) But the oonürrnutio and the last rites are ceremonies which are of ancient origin, and which the church has never considered necessary for salvation. For they do not have God's command or commandment. Therefore, it is well to distinguish these from the above-mentioned ceremonies, which are instituted and commanded by the Word of God and have a pledge of God attached to them.

481 By the sacrament of the order, or priesthood, the adversaries do not understand the ministry of preaching, and the ministry of administering and administering the sacraments, but understand it of priests, who are ordained to sacrifice. As if there should be a priesthood in the New Testament, as there was in the Levitical priesthood, where the priests sacrifice for the people, and obtain forgiveness of sins for others. But we teach that the one sacrifice of Christ on the cross was enough for all the sin of the world, and that we have no need of another sacrifice for sin. For we have not in the New Testament such a priesthood as the Levitical priesthood was, as the epistle to the Hebrews teacheth.

482 But if one would call the sacrament of the order a sacrament of the ministry of preaching and the gospel, there would be no objection to calling ordination a sacrament. For the office of preaching was instituted and commanded by God, and has the glorious promise of God, Rom. 1:16: "The gospel is the power of God to all those who believe in it." 2c. Isa. 55, 11: "The word that goeth out of my mouth shall not return unto me void, but shall do that which is right in my sight."

(483) If the sacrament of the order were thus to be understood, the laying on of hands might also be called a sacrament. For the church has God's command that it should appoint preachers and deacons. Since this is very comforting when we know that God wants to preach and work through men and those who are elected by men, it is good that such election be highly praised and honored, especially against the devilish Anabaptists, who despise and blaspheme such election along with the ministry of preaching and the bodily word.

484 But the conjugal estate was not first instituted in the new testament, but soon as the

1) "Like" is missing in Müller. Latin: *quasi*.

He is also commanded and commanded by God. It also has divine promises, which do not really belong to the New Testament, but rather concern bodily life. Therefore, if someone wants to call it a sacrament, we do not contest it highly. But let it nevertheless be separated from the two preceding, which are the proper signs and seals of the new testament. For if the marriage state alone should be called a sacrament because God has instituted and commanded it, then the other offices and states should also be called sacraments, which also go by God's word and command, as authorities or magistrates 2c.

485 And finally, if all things were to be called sacraments with such a glorious title, because they have God's word and command, then prayer should be called a sacrament above all others, for there is a strong command of God and a much more glorious, divine promise. It would also be justified, for if prayer were given such a great title, people would be encouraged to pray. Alms might also be counted among the sacraments. Item, the cross and the tribulation of Christians. For they also have God's promise. But no prudent man will make a great dispute as to whether seven or more sacraments are to be counted, so far, however, as not to interrupt God's word and command.

486 But this is more needful to dispute, and to know what is the right use of the sacraments. We must freely condemn all the Scholasticorum, and punish their error, since 1) they teach that those who use the sacraments badly, if they do not set odioona, obtain God's grace *ex opere operato, if the* heart then has no good thoughts. This, however, is a Jewish error, which they hold, that we should be justified and sanctified by a work and an outward ceremony, without faith, and if the heart is not already in it, and yet this harmful doctrine is preached and taught far and wide, absolutely and everywhere in the whole of Pabst's kingdom and Pabst's church. Paul cries out against this and says [Rom. 4:II] that Abraham was justified before God, not through circumcision, but that circumcision was a sign to exercise and strengthen faith. Therefore we also say that to the right use of the sacraments belongs faith, which believes the divine promise, and receives promised grace, which is offered through sacrament and word. And this is a certain, right

1) Müller: "that". Latin: qui ckoeent.

Custom of the holy sacraments, since a heart and a conscience may dare and let themselves be. For no one can grasp the divine promise except through faith alone. And the sacraments are outward signs and seals of the promise.

487 Therefore, the proper use of the same requires faith. When I receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, Christ clearly says, "This is the new testament. Then shall I believe assuredly that grace and remission of sins, which is promised in the new testament, shall be given me. And this I shall receive in faith, and with it comfort my frightened, stupid conscience, and stand sure that God's word and promise are not lacking, but be as sure, and even more sure, as if God had given me a new voice, or new miraculous signs from heaven, by which grace would be promised to me. But what good are miraculous signs if there is no faith? And we are speaking here of faith, since I certainly believe for myself that my sins are forgiven, not only of Udo Moorali, since I believe that there is a God. The same right use of the sacraments is quite comforting and refreshes the conscience.

488 But what the ugly, shameful, ungodly doctrine of the *opere operato,* which teaches that if I use the sacraments, the work done makes me pious before God and obtains me grace, even though the heart has no good thoughts about it, has introduced for abuse and error, no one can think, write, or say enough. For that is where the unspeakable, innumerable, horrible abuse of the masses came from. And they cannot point to a single tittle or letter from the ancient Fathers that proves the scholastic opinion; indeed, Augustine says flatly against it that faith in the use of the sacrament, not the sacrament, makes us pious before God.

Article XIV. Of the Church Government.

489 In the fourteenth article, where we say that no one shall be permitted to preach, or to administer the sacraments in the church, but only those who are duly called, which they accept, if we understand the calling thus of priests, who are ordained or consecrated according to the contents of the Canonum. We have let ourselves be heard of this matter several times at this Imperial Diet, that we are highly inclined to help preserve the old church order and the bishops' rule, which is called oarionioarn politianp, if the bishops would tolerate our doctrine and accept our priests.

490 Now the bishops have hitherto persecuted ours, and murdered them against their own rights. Thus we cannot yet obtain that they desist from such tyranny. Therefore it is our fault that the bishops are deprived of their obedience, and we are excused before God and all pious people. For since the bishops will not tolerate ours, for they forsake this doctrine which we have confessed, and yet we owe it to God to confess and maintain this doctrine, we must let the bishops go, and be more obedient to God, and know that the Christian Church is there, where God's Word is rightly taught. Let the bishops see how they will answer for it, that 1) by such tyranny they tear the churches apart and make them desolate.

Article XV. (VIII.) Of the human statutes in the church.

(491) In the fifteenth article they allow them, because we say that ceremonies and statutes are to be kept in the church, which may be kept with a good conscience without sin, and which serve for good order and peace. The other part they condemn, because we say that the statutes, which are established to propitiate God and to obtain forgiveness of sins, are strictly contrary to the gospel. Although we have said much in the Confession about the difference between food and ordinances, we must briefly repeat it here.

492 Although we thought that the adversaries would seek other causes to protect human statutes, we would not have thought that they should condemn this article, namely, that through human tradition no one deserves forgiveness of sin. But because the same whole article is unashamedly condemned, we have an easy bad thing. For this is publicly Jewish, that is, publicly suppressing the gospel with the devil's doctrine. For the Scriptures and Paul only call such doctrines true doctrines of the devil when they are praised for serving to obtain forgiveness of sin. For then they are contrary to Christ, contrary to the gospel, as fire and water are contrary to one another.

493 The gospel teaches that through faith in Christ we receive forgiveness of sins without merit and are reconciled to God. But the adversaries set up another mediator, namely, the laws of men, by which they seek forgiveness.

1) So the Jenaer. Müller: da.

They want to obtain the forgiveness of sin, through which they want to appease the wrath of God. But Christ clearly says, "They serve me in vain by the commandment of men. "

(494) We have above abundantly shown that we are justified before God by faith, when we believe that we have a gracious God, not by our works, but by Christ. Now it is quite certain that this is the pure gospel. For Paul clearly says to the Ephesians in chapter 2, v. 8: "Without merit you have been saved; and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, not of works." Now the adversaries say people deserve forgiveness of sins by such human statutes and works. What is this but to place and set over Christ another Mediator, another Reconciler? Paul says to the Galatians, "Ye are fallen away from Christ, if ye would be justified by the law," that is, if ye think that ye are justified before God by the law, Christ is of no use to you. For what may those of Christ's mediator who trust in the works of the law to propitiate God? God has presented Christ to be gracious to us for the sake of the same Mediator, not for the sake of our righteousness. But they think that God is gracious to us for the sake of their works and for the sake of this tradition. So now they take and rob Christ of his honor, and there is no difference between the ceremonies of the law of Moses and such statutes, as far as this matter is concerned. Paul rejects the ceremonies of Moses for the very reason that he rejects the commandments of men, namely, that the Jews considered them to be works for the remission of sins. For thereby Christ was oppressed. For this reason he rejects both the works of the law and the commandment of men, and contends that the forgiveness of sins is not promised for our works, but for Christ's sake without merit, so that we may receive it through faith. For the promise cannot be grasped otherwise than by faith.

495. If therefore we obtain forgiveness of sins by faith, if by faith we have a gracious God for Christ's sake, it is a great error and blasphemy that we should obtain forgiveness of sins by such statutes.

496 If then they say that we do not obtain forgiveness of sins by such works, but that if we have forgiveness now by faith, we shall then by such works merit that God be gracious to us. But Paul contends against this, to the

Galatians, 2 Cap. v. 17, where he says, "But if we, who seek to be justified by Christ, should yet be found sinners ourselves, Christ would be a minister of sin." Item sCap. 3, 15.], "To a man's testament let no man add." Therefore, even to the testament of God, when He promises us that He will be gracious to us for Christ's sake, nothing should be added, nor should this be hinted at, as if we first deserve that God should be gracious to us for the sake of such works.

497. And if anyone would still establish or choose such works to propitiate God, to earn forgiveness of sin, how would he be sure that the works pleased God, if he had neither God's command nor His word about them? How will he assure the consciences and hearts how they stand with God? Item, that the works are pleasing to God, if there is no word of God nor command?

498. The prophets forbid everywhere to establish their own, chosen, special worship without God's word and command, Ezek. 20, 18: "Walk not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their customs, nor be defiled by their idols. I am the LORD your God, walk in my commandments, and keep my statutes and my judgments, and do them." If men have power to worship, that we may thereby pay for sin and become godly before God, then all the worship of the heathen, all the idolatry of all the ungodly kings of Israel, Jeroboam and others, must also be good. For there is no difference. If there be power in men to establish worship, that they may obtain salvation, why should the worship of the Gentiles and Israelites, which they have chosen themselves, be unjust? For therefore are the services of the Gentiles and Israelites rejected, because they would think that such services pleased God, and knew nothing of the highest service, which is called faith. How can we be sure that such services and works without God's Word make one righteous before God, if no man can know or experience God's will other than by His Word alone? How, then, if such worship services are not only despised by God the Lord, but also considered an abomination? How then may the adversaries say that they justify themselves before God? Without God's word, no one can ever say that. Paul says to the Romans [Cap. 14, 23.], "All things that are not of faith are sin." Now if these same services have no divine command, the hearts must be in doubt as to whether they please God.

499 And what may this public matter of many words? When the adversaries defend these services as if they were works that merit forgiveness of sins and salvation, they are setting up a public antichristian doctrine and kingdom. For the kingdom of Antichrist is actually a new worship service invented by men, by which Christ is rejected, just as Mahomet's kingdom has its own worship services, its own works, by which they pretend to become holy and righteous before God, and do not believe that one is justified by faith alone in Christ.

(500) Thus the ministry also becomes a part of the kingdom of Antichrist, if it teaches to obtain forgiveness of sins by the commandment of men, and to make atonement to God. For Christ's glory is taken away when they teach that we are not justified by Christ without merit through faith, but through such worship services, especially when they teach that such self-chosen worship services are not only useful, but also necessary, as they hold in the eighth article above, where they condemn that we have said that it is not necessary for the right unity of the church that there should be uniform statutes of men everywhere. Daniel, in the eleventh chapter, v. 38, describes the kingdom of Antichrist in this way, indicating that such new services, invented by men, would be the xolUio, and the true essence of the Antichristian kingdom. For thus he saith, "The God of Maosim shall he honour, and the God whom his fathers knew not, shall he serve with gold, and silver, and precious stones." There he describes such new services, for he says of such a God, of whom the fathers knew nothing.

501 For the holy fathers, though they had ceremonies and ordinances, yet did they not think that such ceremonies were useful and necessary to salvation, yet they did not thereby subdue Christ, but taught that God was gracious to us for Christ's sake, not for the sake of such services. But they kept the same ordinances for the sake of bodily exercise, as feasts, so that the people, when they came together, would know that everything in the churches was done properly and chastely, for the sake of good examples, so that even the common, coarse people would be kept in fine child discipline. For such a difference in time and such various services serve to keep the people in discipline and to remind them of history. These were the reasons the fathers had for keeping the people in order.

0502 Neither in this manner do we dispute that good custom should be kept. And we may-

We are not surprised enough that the adversaries are allowed to teach against all the Scriptures of the apostles, against the Old and New Testaments, that we should obtain eternal salvation and forgiveness of sins through such worship. For what is this but, as Daniel says, to honor God with gold, silver, and precious stones, that is, to hold that God will be gracious to us through various church decorations, through flags, candles, such as are innumerable in such statutes of men? Paul writes to the Colossians [Cap. 2, 23.] that such statutes have an appearance of wisdom. And has also a great appearance, as if it were almost holy, for disorder is evil, and such orderly child discipline is useful in the church 2c. But because human reason does not understand what faith is, those who judge by reason fall into it from the beginning, and make such a work of it as shall help us to heaven, and reconcile us to God.

503 So the falsities and pernicious idolatries were broken down among the children of Israel. Therefore they made one worship above another, as in our time one altar is set up above another, one church above another. So also human reason judges of other bodily exercises than fasting 2c. For fasting serves to tame the old Adam; reason soon falls upon it and makes a work out of it that reconciles God, as Thomas writes, fasting is a work that is suitable to erase guilt against God and to prevent it further. These are the clear words of St. Thomas. So these services, which are very glittering, have a great appearance and a great reputation for holiness before the people. And now the examples of the saints help this, when they say, St. Francis wore a cap, and the like. Here they look only at the outward practice, not at the heart and faith.

504 And when men are thus deceived by so great and splendid an appearance of holiness, innumerable dangers and mischief follow therefrom, namely, that the knowledge of Christ and the gospel are forgotten, and that all confidence is placed in such works. Moreover, through such hypocritical works, the true good works that God demands in the Ten Commandments are completely suppressed (which is terrible to hear). For the works must only be called spiritual, holy, perfect life, and are then far preferred to the right, holy good works, since each one must walk according to God's commandment in his profession, to rule the authorities diligently, faithfully, the fathers of the house, the married people, wife and child, servants,

...to keep them in Christian discipline... This is the case when a servant is obliged to serve his master faithfully. These works are not considered divine, but worldly, so that many people have a heavy conscience about them. For it is known that some people have left their princely state, and some have left their married state, and have gone into monasteries to become holy and spiritual.

505 And over and above the error there is the misery that, when men are under the delusion that such statutes are necessary to salvation, their consciences are in unrest and torment without ceasing, because they have not kept their orders, their monasticism, and their established works so strictly. For who could tell all the statutes? There are innumerable books in which not one tittle, not one syllabus, is written of Christ, of faith, or of the right good works which God gives, which each one is obliged to do according to his profession, but of such statutes alone do they write as, to grasp the forty days, to hear mass, to pray four tides 2c. There is no end to interpretation and dispensation.

506 How miserably the good pious man Gerson agonizes, writhes, and wriggles over these things, since he would gladly help the consciences with the right consolation, since he seeks prrisesptoruru8 and latituäiri68 how far these commandments bind, and yet cannot find a certain degree, since he may assure the heart of security and peace. For this reason he also complains quite vehemently how much danger the consciences and consciences are in because such statutes are demanded in the case of a mortal sin and want to be kept.

507 But against such hypocritical, glittering statutes, by which much is touched, and by which the consciences are miserably troubled without cause, we are to arm ourselves and strengthen ourselves with the word of God. And let us first of all be sure that forgiveness of sin is not earned by such statutes. We have the apostle above, to Colossians [Cap. 2, 16.]: "Let no man make you conscience of meat, of drink, of new moons, of sabbaths." And the apostle wants the whole law of Moses and such tradition to be understood at the same time, so that the opponents would not fall asleep here, as they tend to do, as if Paul were speaking only of the law of Moses. But he indicates clearly enough that he also speaks of human statutes. Although the opponents themselves do not know what they are saying. For if the gospel and Paul clearly declare that even the ceremonies and works of the law of Moses do not help in the sight of God, much less do human statutes.

For this reason the bishops have neither power nor authority to establish their own chosen services, which are to make the people holy and devout before God. For the apostles also say, Apost. 15,10: "Why do you tempt God and put a burden on the disciples" 2c. Peter chides it as a great sin to blaspheme and tempt God. Therefore it is the apostle's opinion that this freedom should remain in the church, that no ceremonies, neither the law of Moses nor other statutes, should be valued as necessary services, as some ceremonies in the law of Moses had to be held as necessary in the Old Testament for a time. Therefore we must also prevent the preaching of grace and of Christ, of the forgiveness of sins by grace alone, from being suppressed, and the harmful error from taking hold, as if the ordinances were necessary to be pious before God.

509. there have been Gerson, and many other faithful pious people, who have borne compassion over the great peril of consciences, and

They have sought relief, how they might help their consciences, so that they would not be tortured by tradition in such manifold ways, and have been unable to find anything certain to help their consciences out of their bonds. The Scriptures and the apostles, however, have briefly gone over all this, and with a single stroke have badly rejected it, and have clearly and plainly declared that in Christ we are free from all traditions, especially when we seek thereby to attain salvation and the forgiveness of sin. For this reason the apostles also teach that the harmful Pharisaic doctrine is to be resisted with doctrines and with the counter-example.

(510) Therefore we teach that such statutes do not make one righteous in the sight of God, nor are they necessary for salvation, nor should anyone make or accept such statutes in the belief that he will thereby become righteous in the sight of God. But he who will keep them, let him keep them, as I might keep another city custom, where I dwell, without all confidence that I shall thereby be justified before God. I consider it a custom of the land that I wear German clothing among the Germans and French clothing among the whales, and I will not be saved by it.

511 The apostles, as the gospel signifieth, freshly break such statutes, and are commended of Christ for it. For it is necessary to show and prove to the Pharisees, not only by teaching and preaching, but also by deed, that such worship is of no use for salvation.

1) Müller and the Jenaers: are.

And therefore, although ours omit some traditions and ceremonies, they are sufficiently excused. For the bishops demand such things as necessary for salvation. This is an error that is not to be suffered.

512] Further, the oldest statutes in the church, as the three high feasts, 2c., the Sunday celebration, and the like, which were invented for the sake of good order, unity, and peace, 2c., we gladly keep. Even so ours preach it most gently to the people, but besides this they say that it does not make them righteous in the sight of God. Therefore the adversaries speak their authority, and do us all wrong in the sight of God, when they blame us for taking away and putting down all good ceremonies, all order in the church. For we may say it with truth, that it is more Christian and honest in our churches with right services, than with the adversaries. And where there are God-fearing, respectable, understanding, impartial people, who want to consider and look at this matter quite carefully, we hold the old Canons and iii6iit6m IsZis more, purer, and more diligently, than the adversaries. For the adversaries brazenly trample under foot the most honest canons, as they do Christ and the Gospel. The priests and monks in the monasteries abuse the Masses in the most horrible and atrocious manner, holding masses in great numbers every day, solely for the sake of interest, for the sake of money, for the sake of their shameful bellies. Thus they sing the psalms in pens, not that they study, or pray earnestly (for the greater part understand not one verse in psalms), but keep their matins and vespers as a proper service, which carries them their pensions and interest. All this they cannot deny. Even some of the righteous among them are ashamed of this fair, and say: 6lsru8 may be a reformation.

(513) But with us the people need the holy sacrament willingly, unrestrainedly, every Sunday, who are first questioned whether they are instructed in Christian doctrine, know or understand something in the Lord's Prayer, in the faith, and in the ten commandments. Item, the youth and the people sing Latin and German psalms properly, so that they get used to the sayings of the Scriptures and learn to pray. With the adversaries there is no catechism, since the canons speak of it. With us the canons are kept, that the pastors and church servants, publicly and at home, instruct the children and youth in God's word. And the catechism is not a child's note, like carrying flags and candles, but an almost useful instruction.

514 Among the adversaries, in many countries, as in Italy and Hispania, 2c. there is no preaching throughout the whole year, but only during Lent. Then they should cry out and complain with a loud voice, for this means that all services are overturned at once. For the greatest, holiest, most necessary, highest service, which God has demanded as the greatest in the first and second commandments, is to preach God's word. For the office of preaching is the highest office in the church; now, if the service of God is omitted, how can there be knowledge of God, the doctrine of Christ, or the gospel? Therefore, though they preach during Lent, or at any other time, they teach nothing, but of such statutes of men, of calling on the saints, of holy water, and of such foolish works; and the use is, that their people, when the text of the Gospel is spoken, soon run out of the church, which may begin by not having heard the other lies. Now some few of them also begin to preach of good works. But of the knowledge of Christ, of faith, of the consolation of consciences, they can preach nothing; but the same blessed doctrine, the dear holy gospel, they call Lutheran.

515 But in our church preachers teach these following necessary things with the greatest diligence: of right repentance, of the fear of God, of faith, what it is, of the knowledge of Christ, of righteousness, which comes from faith. How consciences should seek comfort in anguish and temptation, how faith must be exercised through all kinds of temptation, what is right prayer, how one should pray. Item, that a Christian should certainly comfort himself that his cries and petitions will be heard by God in heaven. About the holy cross, about obedience to the authorities. How every man of good estate may live and conduct himself in a Christian manner, in obedience to the commandments of the Lord, to all worldly rules and laws. How to distinguish the spiritual kingdom of Christ from the regiments and kingdoms of the world, from the state of marriage, and how to conduct it in a Christian manner, from the Christian discipline of children, from chastity, and from all kinds of works of love toward one's neighbor. Thus our church is equipped with doctrine and conduct, from which impartial people can easily notice and accept that we do not reject Christian, right ceremonies, but maintain them with diligence in the most faithful way.

516. and the mortification of the flesh, or old Adam, we teach thus, as our confession declares, that the right mortification takes place when God breaks our will, cross and tribulation.
that we learn to be obedient to His will, as Paul says to the Romans on the 12th [v. 1.]: "Commit your own bodies to a holy sacrifice." And these are right, holy mortifications, thus in tribulations learning to know God, fearing Him, loving Him 2c. Above these afflictions, which are not in our will, are also the bodily exercises, since Christ says of them, "Take heed that your bodies be not weighed down with eating and drinking" [Luc. 21:34.]. And Paul to the Corinthians [1 Ep. 9, 27.], "I tame my body" 2c. The exercises are to be done, not that they are necessary divine services, by which one becomes pious before God, but that we keep our flesh in check, so that through gluttony and burdening of the body we do not become secure and idle, following the devil's temptations and the lusts of the flesh. This fasting and fasting should not only be done for a certain time, but all the time. For God wants us to live moderately and soberly at all times. And as experience shows, certain days of fasting do not help much in this regard. For with fishes and all kinds of fasting food one has done more intemperance and quaffing than apart from the fasts. And the adversaries themselves have never kept fasts in the manner indicated in ounoiridus.

(517) This article of human tradition or statute has been the subject of much heavy disputation and questioning, and experience has given it too much to be true that such statutes are heavy chains and cords to torment the consciences miserably. For when there is this delusion that they are necessary to salvation, they torment a poor conscience beyond all measure, as pious hearts well experience when they have omitted a Complet in Uori8 eurionieis 2c., or have done the like against it. Again, to teach liberty generally, has also its concern and question, according to which the common people need outward discipline and instruction.

518. But the adversaries themselves make this thing certain and bad. For they condemn us because we teach that by human statutes we do not merit forgiveness of sin before God. Item, they want to have their statutes kept throughout the whole church, badly as necessary, and put them in the place of Christ. Here we have a strong patron saint, the apostle Paul, who argues in all places that such statutes do not justify before God and are not necessary for salvation.

519. ours also teach clearly and plainly, that Christian liberty in things ought to be used in such a way, that before the weak, as they are

That they which are not instructed in these things cause no offence, and that they which abuse liberty deter not the weak from the doctrine of the gospel. Therefore our preachers also teach that nothing should be changed in the church customs without special and moving causes, but for the sake of peace and unity those customs should be kept which can be kept without sin and without burdening the consciences. And on this Augsburg feast day we found ourselves and let ourselves be heard immediately enough, that for love's sake we wanted to be unburdened to keep some uUiupUoru with the others. For we have also well considered among ourselves that common unity and peace, as much as these could be maintained without burdening consciences, would be justly preferred to all other minor things. But of all this we shall speak further hereafter, when we shall treat of monastic vows and of the potsstats soolssiustiou.

Article XVI. Of the Secular Regiment.

520) The XVI article the adversaries leave to them without any further question, since we say and teach in the Confession that a Christian may be in authority with God and conscience, govern land and people, pronounce judgment and law, from imperial and other common rights, punish evildoers with the sword and otherwise according to severity, wage wars, buy and sell, have and keep house, farm and other property, swear oaths taken in courts. In sum, we teach that authority and government, item, their right and punishment, and everything that belongs to it, are good creatures of God and God's order, which a Christian may use with a good conscience. This article pleases them well.

(521) This very important and necessary article, concerning the difference between the spiritual kingdom of Christ and the temporal kingdom, which is almost necessary to know, has been given by ours in a very proper, correct, and clear way, to the great comfort of many consciences. For we have clearly taught that Christ's kingdom is spiritual, since he reigns through the Word and the preaching, works through the Holy Spirit, and fosters in us faith, godliness, love, patience inwardly in the heart, and here on earth sows in us God's kingdom and eternal life. But as long as this life endureth, he nevertheless maketh us need of the laws, of the ordinances, and of the professions which are in the world, according to which every man's profession is, even as he maketh us need of medicines, of things, of building and planting, of the air, and of the water.

And the gospel bringeth not new law into the government of the world, but commandeth, and would have us, that we should be obedient to the laws, and to the authorities under whom we dwell, whether they be Gentiles or Christians; and that in such obedience we should shew our love. For Carolostadius was mad and foolish in this matter, in that he taught that according to the law of Moses one ought to order the city and country regiments.

522 For this reason, ours have written about it all the more diligently. For the monks had taught many and very harmful errors in the church. For they called this an evangelical life, that one should not have one's own, that one should not practice punishment and vengeance, that one should not have a wife and child. Such teaching has quite suppressed the pure evangelical doctrine, that one has not understood at all what is Christian or the spiritual kingdom of Christ, and have boiled worldly and spiritual kingdom into one another, from which much unrighteousness and seditious, harmful teaching has resulted 2c. For the gospel does not tear up worldly government, housekeeping, buying, selling, and other worldly police, but confirms authority and government, and commands to be obedient to the same as God's order, not only for the sake of punishment, but also for the sake of conscience.

(523) Julianus Apostata, Celsus, and some others, have reproached the Christians that their gospel was tearing and breaking up the regiments and police of the world, because it forbade not to take vengeance, and the like. And the same questions have caused much trouble to Origen, Nazianzeno, and some others, so that it is easy to answer them, if only we know that the evangelical doctrine does not make new laws of world regiments, but preaches forgiveness of sin, and that the spiritual kingdom and eternal life begin in the heart of the believer.

524. But the gospel not only leaves the same outward police, world government and order, but also wants us to be obedient to them, just as in this temporal life we are to be obedient and subject to the common course of nature as God's order. We let it become winter and summer 2c. This does not hinder the spiritual kingdom. The gospel alone bequeaths privularn vinäiotuni, that no one may encroach upon the office of the authorities. And this is why Christ so often indicates that the apostles did not think that they should become world rulers, and take the kingdoms and authorities from those who were the time in dominions, as the Jews thought of the kingdom of Messiah.

But that they might know that their office was to preach the spiritual kingdom, not to change the government of the world. Therefore the commandment of Christ to avenge Himself is not only a counsel but a serious commandment, Matth. 5, 39. and Rom. 12, 19.

525 But the vengeance and punishment of evil, which is done by the authorities, is not forbidden, but rather commanded, for it is God's work, as Paul says in Romans 13:1, 2. The same vengeance is wrought in punishing evildoers, in waging war for the sake of public peace, in using swords, horses, and armor 2c. Some teachers have taught such harmful errors about these things that all princes, lords, knights, and servants have considered their rightful position to be worldly, ungodly, and condemned 2c. And it is not easy to explain in words what unspeakable harm and damage to souls and consciences this has caused. For they have taught as if the gospel and Christian doctrine were all monastic life, and have not seen that the gospel teaches how to be saved from sin, hell, and the devil in the sight of God and in conscience, and by heart leave the world their rule in outward things.

(526) This also has been a lie and a deceit, that they have taught impudently that Christian perfection consists in having nothing of one's own. For Christian perfection does not consist in being outwardly pious and in separating myself from the world, but in faith and the true fear of God in the heart. For Abraham, David, and Daniel were of royal rank, held great princely offices, and had great riches; yet they were holier and more perfect than any monk or Carthusian that ever lived on earth.

527 But the monks, especially the barefooted, have made a pretence before the eyes of the people, and no man hath known wherein true holiness is. For how highly evangelical, how great holiness the monks alone have praised this, that one should have nothing of one's own, that one should be willingly poor. But these are very harmful doctrines, since Scripture says nothing about them, but teaches them directly against them. The Ten Commandments of God clearly state, "Thou shalt not steal." God is relenting, so that each one may have what is his own.

528 In this matter, Wiclefus has raged, insisting that no bishop or priest should have anything of his own. Thus are innumerable, confused disputations of contracts,

Since Christian consciences can never be satisfied, they have been instructed in this necessary matter, so that a Christian with a good conscience may abide by the law and customs of the land. For this instruction saves many consciences, since we teach that the contracts are without danger in the sight of God, as long as they are accepted in the common laws and customs of the land, which are equal to the laws.

529 This high, necessary article, namely, of authority, of the laws of the world, is given by ours quite clearly and correctly, so that many great, high, honorable men, who according to their station have to deal with regiments, and are in great dealings, confess that their consciences have received noticeable consolation, who before suffered unspeakable anguish through such errors of the monks, and were in doubt whether their stations were also Christian, and whether the gospel would yield such.

530 We have told this so that even the strangers, enemies, and friends may understand that through this doctrine the authorities, land regiment, imperial law, and others are not cast down, but rather highly honored and protected. That also this doctrine first gives right instruction, how a glorious, great office, full of Christian good works, is the office of the regiment, 2c. which all before was held by the hypocritical monastic doctrine for sinful, worldly states, life and being, to unspeakable peril of the conscience. For the monks have invented such hypocrisy, praised and held their humility and poverty much higher than that of princes and lords, fathers, mothers, and fathers of households, even though these ranks have God's word and command, while monasticism has no command from God.

Article XVII. From the Second Coming of Christ to Judgment.

531 The XVII article is accepted by the adversaries, because we confess that Christ will come at the last day, raise the dead, give eternal life and joy to the pious, and condemn the wicked to eternal torment with the devil.

Article XVIII. Of free will.

532. The adversaries accept the XVIIIth Article, about free will, although they use several sayings of Scripture that do not rhyme with the matter. They also make a great clamor that free will should not be exalted too high, as the Pelagians do; so it should not be taken too much with the Manichees. Yes,

all well said. But what is the difference between the Pelagians and our adversaries? They both teach that without the Holy Spirit men can love God, keep God's commandments, and do works by natural reason, without the Holy Spirit, thereby earning the grace of God.

533 How many innumerable errors result from this Pelagian doctrine, which, nevertheless, they practice and preach very strongly in their schools. Augustine of Paul most vehemently refuted these errors, which opinion we have set forth above in *de justificatione.* And we also say that reason has a certain amount of free will. For in those things which can be grasped and understood by reason, we have a free will. There is in us a capacity to live outwardly honorably, to speak of God, to perform outward worship or sacred acts, to obey authorities and parents, not to steal, not to kill. For since, after Adam's fall, natural reason remains, that I know evil and good in things that can be understood by sense and reason, so also is to some extent the ability of our free will to live honorably or dishonorably. This is what the Scriptures call the righteousness of the flesh, which reason is able to do to some extent without the Holy Spirit, although the inherent evil desire is so powerful that men follow it more often than reason, and the devil, who, as Paul says, works powerfully in the ungodly, without ceasing provokes the poor, weak nature to all sins.

534 And this is the cause why few also lead an honourable life according to natural reason, as we see that even few philosophers, who nevertheless strive hard after it, have rightly led an honourable outward life. But this is false and fancied, that those should be without sin who do such works apart from grace, or that such good works should merit forgiveness of sins and grace. For such hearts as are without the Holy Spirit are without fear of God, without faith, without trust, not believing that God will hear them, that He will forgive their sins, that He will help them in trouble; therefore they are ungodly.

535 Now an evil tree cannot bear good fruit, and without faith no one can please God. Wherefore, though we concede that it is in our power to do such an outward work, yet we say that free will and reason are not able to do anything in spiritual things, that is, they are not able to do anything in spiritual things.

To truly believe in God, to rely on God to be with us, to hear us, to forgive our sins 2c. For these are the right, high, noblest good works of the first table in the Ten Commandments, which no human heart is able to do without the light and grace of the Holy Spirit, as Paul says to the Corinthians: "The natural man hears nothing of the Spirit of God," that is, a man who is not enlightened by the Spirit of God hears nothing of God's will or divine things from natural reason.

536 And this is what men feel when they ask their hearts how they are against God's will, whether they are certain that God is aware of them and hears them. For to believe this with certainty, and thus to dare and rely completely on an invisible God, and, as Peter says [1 Ep. 1:8], to love and esteem great the Christ whom we do not see, is difficult even for the saints; how then should it be easy for the ungodly? But then 1) we begin to believe aright, when first our hearts are troubled, and are raised up again by Christ, being born again by the Holy Ghost, as above said.

537 Therefore it is good that this be clearly distinguished, namely, that reason and free will are able to live outwardly honorably to some extent. But to be born again, to have a different heart, mind, and courage within, that is wrought by the Holy Spirit alone. Thus remains worldly outward discipline. For God does not want a clumsy, wild, impudent nature and life, and yet a proper distinction is made between outward worldly life and piety and the piety that is valid before God, which is not philosophically outward, but inwardly in the heart.

(538) And this difference we have not invented, but the holy Scriptures make it clear. Thus Augustine also acts, and recently Guilielmo Parisiensi also wrote and acted diligently. But those who invent and dream for themselves that men are able to keep God's law without the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit will give us grace in view of our merit, have shamefully suppressed this necessary teaching.

Article XIX, Of the Cause of Sins.

539. the XIX article the adversaries leave to them, since we teach that, although the one God created the whole world and the whole nature, and all hours created all creatures, the one God is the creator of all things.

1) "but" is missing in Müller. Latin: autsm.

yet he is not a cause of sin, but the evil will in devils and men, which turns away from God, he is a cause of sin, as Christ saith of the devil [John 8:44.], "When he speaketh lies, he speaketh of his own."

Article XX. Of Good Works.

(540) In the XX article they clearly put these words, that they reject and condemn our doctrine; because we say that men by good works deserve not forgiveness of sins. Let this be known to all. They condemn and reject this very article with clear words. Now what need is there to say much in this public matter? The great doctors and masters of the Confutation publicly show what kind of spirit speaks out of them. For in the Christian church this is no small article, but the very highest and chief article, that we obtain forgiveness of sins without our merit through Christ; and that not our works, but Christ is the propitiation for our sins, as Peter saith [Acts 10:43], "Unto JESUS do all the prophets bear witness, that we obtain forgiveness of sins, all they that believe on him."

541 Such a strong testimony of all the holy prophets may justly be called a resolution of the catholic Christian church. For even a single prophet is greatly esteemed by God, and is a world treasure to the same holy church. And we should believe the unanimous mouth of all the prophets more cheaply than the unholy, godless sophists who have made the confutation and blasphemed Christ so brazenly. For though some teachers have written that afterward, when our sins are forgiven us, we obtain grace not by faith but by our own works, yet they have not held that the forgiveness of sins in themselves comes to us because of our works, and not because of Christ.

542 Therefore it is an abominable blasphemy to give the glory of Christ thus to our works of men. And we pledge ourselves to the imperial majesty and to other princes of this imperial, princely virtue, that they would not in any way, if they were warned, have allowed such public untruth and falsehood, by which God and the gospel are blasphemed before all the world, to remain in the confutation. For that this article is certainly divine and true, and that this is the holy divine truth, we could here very nearly bring forward innumerable sayings of Scripture, even from the Fathers. And there is not a lyllabe, not a leaf, in the Bible, in the prelates.

The most beautiful books of the holy scriptures, because it is not clearly stated. We have also said much above about these things; and godly, pious hearts, who know why Christ is given, who would not forfeit all the world's goods and kingdoms, lest Christ should be our only treasure, our only mediator and reconciler, are appalled and terrified that God's holy word and truth should be so publicly despised and condemned by poor men. Isaias the prophet says [Cap. 53, 6.], "The LORD hath laid on him all our sin." But the adversaries lied to Isaiah, and to all the Bible and Scripture, saying, He hath laid on us our sin, and our works, and beggarly satisfaction. Nevertheless I will be silent here concerning childish works, rosaries, pilgrimages, 2c. and the like.

543 We are well aware of the serious mandates and the imperial edict that have gone out against us and our doctrine; we should be justly frightened if we had to deal with minor matters or matters that were in doubt. But since we are certain (praise God!) through God's Word in distant hearts and minds that the adversaries condemn the public, divine truth and the right Christian, blessed, holy doctrine, without which no Christian church can exist, which every Christian, as far as his body and life reach, is obliged to confess, save, and protect for the glory of God, we will not be deterred by such salutary doctrine. For who would not wish for him at his last end that he might die in the confession of the article, that we might obtain forgiveness of sin by faith, without our merit or works, through the blood of Christ?

544 There is experience, as the monks themselves confess, that consciences cannot be quieted nor brought to peace except by faith in Christ; and consciences cannot have a right constant consolation in the great anxieties at the hour of death, and in contestation against the great terror of death, of sin, unless they keep the promise of grace in Christ. Neither can they have constant comfort against the devil, who first presses strongly upon the hearts, distresses them, and provokes them to despair, and blows away all our works in a moment like dust, if they do not hold fast to the gospel, to this doctrine, that we obtain forgiveness of sins through the precious blood of Christ without any merit. For faith alone restoreth and upholdeth us in the

In the great agony, in the great anguish, when no creature can help, yes, when we are to pass away and die outside of this whole visible creature into another being and world.

545 For this reason it is a matter truly worthy of mention, for the sake of which every Christian should gladly dare and set all things in motion with all his heart. Therefore all those who adhere to this confession of ours must not be frightened or misled, but in all joyfulness in God and the Lord Christ may confidently and cheerfully dare to confess this public truth against all tyranny, wrath, anger, terror, and also against all tyrannical daily murder and persecution. For who would want to deprive him of such great, even eternal comfort, in which the whole Christian church has all its salvation?

Whoever takes the Bible in his hand and reads it with earnestness, will soon see that this doctrine is founded everywhere in the Scriptures. For Paul clearly says in Romans 3 and 4 that sins are forgiven without merit for Christ's sake; therefore he says, "We are justified by faith without merit, that the promise may stand fast," that is, if the promise were of our works, it would not be firm. And if grace or forgiveness of sin were given because of our works, when would we be sure that we had obtained grace? When would the conscience find such a work sufficient to propitiate God's wrath? We have said enough about this above; each one may search the sayings of the Scriptures that establish this doctrine. For in this place I have been moved to complain so vehemently of the abominable, insolent, overpowering, preconceived wickedness of the adversaries, when they set forth in plain words that they reject this article, that we obtain forgiveness of sin, not by our works, but without merit through faith in Christ.

547 The adversaries also introduce some sayings of Scripture, why they condemn this article; namely, they bring forth the saying of Peter [2 Ep. 1:10], "Make diligence to establish your profession by good works;" 2c. Then everyone sees that our adversaries have not invested their money badly, since they have studied Dialeeticam. For they may introduce the sayings of Scripture rhymed, unrhymed, finally, inconclusively, as they will and as they please. For thus they conclude, Peter saith, "Diligently make your profession firm by good works," therefore only by works merit forgiveness of sin. It is truly a fine argumentation, as if one should say.

In the case of a defendant in a trial court, whose life had been forfeited, the judge commanded that he should henceforth abstain from such wrongdoing; therefore, by such abstention, he deserved to have his life forfeited. Thus to argue, that is, to make *ex non causa causam.* For Peter speaks of good works and fruits which follow faith, and teaches why they should be done, namely, that we may make our profession firm, that is, that we may not again fall from the gospel if we sin again. That is to say, do good works, that ye may abide in the gospel, in your heavenly calling, that ye may not again fall away, become cold, lose the spirit and gifts which are given you by grace through Christ, not for the sake of the works that follow. For in the profession one remains firm through faith, and faith and the Holy Spirit do not remain in those who lead sinful lives.

548 They set more proverbs and testimonies, which rhyme just as well. They may say that this opinion was condemned a thousand years ago in Augustine's time. This is not true, but a lie. For the Christian church has always held that forgiveness of sin comes to us without merit, and the Pelagians are therefore condemned who said that grace is given to us because of our works.

549 We have said above enough, that we also teach, that where faith is, good fruits and good works shall follow. For "we do not put away the law, but establish it," as Paul saith, Rom. 3:31. For when we have received the Holy Ghost by faith, good fruits follow; wherefore we increase in love, in patience, in chastity, and other fruits of the Spirit.

Article XXI. (IX.) Of invocations of the saints.

(550) The adversaries utterly condemn the twenty-first article, because we teach nothing of calling upon the saints. And they do not act at all with such a wide talk, and yet they do not make any difference, except that they say that the saints are to be honored. They say that the living saints pray one for another, and from this they conclude that the dead saints should and must be called upon.

551 They refer to Cyprianum, who asked Cornelium, while he was still alive, that if he had died he would have interceded for the brethren. Thus they prove that one must invoke the dead saints. They also draw on Hieronymum against Vigilantium, and say: In this matter Hieronymus overcame Vigilantium a thousand years ago.

den. So they go on, thinking they have won by far, and do not see that in Jerome against Vigilantium there is no syllable about calling the saints. Jerome does not speak of invoking the saints, but of honoring the saints. Nor did the ancient teachers before the time of Gregory think of the invocation of the saints. And the invocation of the saints, as well as the applicatio of the merit of the saints, of which the adversaries teach, has no basis in Scripture.

552 In our confession we do not deny that the saints are to be honoured. For there are three kinds of honor in honoring the saints. For the first, that we give thanks to God, that he has shown us examples of his grace in the saints, that he has given teachers in the church and other gifts; and the gifts, because they are great, are to be highly praised, even the saints themselves, who have well used such gifts; as Christ in the Gospel praises the faithful servants of Matthew 25:21, 23.

553 The other glory which we may do to the saints, that we may strengthen our faith by their example. For when I see that by so abundant a grace Petro's sin is forgiven, because he denied Christ, my heart and conscience are strengthened, that I believe that grace is mightier than sin.

554 For the third, we honor the saints when we follow their examples of faith, love, and patience, each according to his profession.

555 Of this right honour of the saints the adversaries speak nothing at all, but of the calling of the saints, which, though it were without danger to the consciences, yet is not necessary. There they quarrel. So we yield to them, that the angels pray for us. For it is written in Zech. 1:12, that the angel prayeth, saying, O LORD of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem? And though we yield, that as the living saints pray for the whole church together, or in Mnsrs, so may the saints in heaven pray for the whole church together, in Asnsrs. But this hath no testimony in Scripture, but the dream only, which is taken out of the other book Nueeukusoruin s^Cap. 15,14.].

556 Further, though the saints pray for the church, yet it doth not follow that the saints should be called upon. Although our Confession alone says this, that there is nothing in Scripture about calling on the saints, or seeking help from the saints. If therefore neither commandment, nor promise, nor example, can be adduced from the Scriptures, it follows that neither heart nor conscience
can rely on it. For since every prayer is to be made by faith, how will I know that God will be pleased with the invocation of the saints, if I do not have God's word? How can I be sure that the saints will hear my prayer and the prayer of every one of them?

557 Some make bad gods of the saints, saying that they can know our thoughts and see into our hearts. They invent these things, not that they honor the saints, but that they defend their creeds and their fairs, which bring them money. We say, as before, that in the Word of God, in the Scriptures, it is not written that the saints understand our appeals; and if they understand that God will please them with such appeals, there is no reason for it. Against this the adversaries can raise nothing; therefore the adversaries should not compel or urge us to uncertain things, for a prayer without faith is not a prayer. For if they say that the church has it in use, it is certain that this is a new custom in the church. For the old congregations, though they remember the saints, do not call upon the saints.

558 The adversaries not only speak of calling upon the saints, but also say that God accepts the merit of the saints for our sins, and thus make of the saints not only intercessors, but mediators and propitiators. Now this is not to be suffered at all, for there they give the honor due to Christ alone to the saints. For they make them mediators and reconcilers.

559 And though they make a distinction between the mediators that pray for us, and the mediator that hath redeemed us, and reconciled us unto God, yet they make the saints mediators, that men may be reconciled. And that they say the saints are mediators to pray for us, they say this also without any Scripture. And though they speak of this in the most unobjectionable manner, yet Christ and his good deeds are suppressed by such teaching, and they trust in the saints when they ought to trust in Christ. For they invent a delusion for themselves, as if Christ were a severe judge, and the saints gracious, kind mediators; they therefore flee to the saints, shrink from Christ as from a tyrant, trust more in the goodness of the saints than in the goodness of Christ; run from Christ, and seek the help of the saints; thus, at bottom, they make reclsiuptüoniL of the saints.

560 Therefore let us prove that they make of the saints, not only intercessors, but

Reconciler and inoäiutorsL rsclsinptionis. We do not yet speak here of gross abuses, as the common rabble commits public idolatry with the saints and pilgrimages; we speak of what their scholars preach, write, and teach in their schools about this matter. Other than the gross abuses, even inexperienced, coarse people can judge and judge.

There are two parts to a mediator or reconciler. For the first, a certain, clear word and promise from God that God will hear through the mediator all who call upon him. Such a divine promise is found in the Scriptures concerning Christ: "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, that shall he give you." Nowhere in Scripture is there such a promise of the saints; therefore no one can be sure that he will be heard when he calls on the saints. Therefore such calling is not of faith. We have God's word and commandment concerning this, that we should call upon Christ, for He says [Matt. 11:28], "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you." Ps. 45: 13. "Before thy face shall all the rich of the people worship." And Ps. 72:11: "And shall worship him all the kings of the earth." And soon after [v. 19.], "They shall kneel before him daily," 2c. And John 5:23. says Christ, "That they all may honor the Son, as they honor the Father." Item, 2 Thess. 2:17. saith Paul, praying, "Our Lord JEsus Christ, and God our Father, admonish your hearts, and strengthen you." These are vain sayings of Christ. But of appeals to the saints the adversaries can bring forward no commandment of God, no example of Scripture.

562 For another thing, it pertaineth to a reconciler, that his merit pay for other men, that others be made partakers of his merit and payment, as if they had paid themselves. As when one good friend pays another's debt, the debtor is released from the debt by another's payment as by his own. So Christ's merit is given to us and imputed to us when we believe in him, just as if his merit were ours, so that his righteousness and merit are imputed to us, and his merit becomes our own.

(563) Christian prayer must be based on both the divine promise and the merit of Christ. Such faith in the divine promise and in the merit of Christ belongs to prayer. For we should certainly believe that we will be heard for Christ's sake, and that we have a gracious God for his sake.

564 Wherefore the adversaries teach that we ought to call upon the saints, when we have neither commandment, nor promise, nor example, in the scriptures; and yet they make it appear that more trust is put in the saints than in Christ, when Christ saith, Come unto me, and not unto the saints.

565. Secondly, they say that God accepts the merit of the saints for our sin, and thus teach trust in the merit of the saints, not in the merit of Christ. And this they teach clearly of indulgences, wherein they bestow the merit of the saints as *satisfaction for* our sin.

566. And Gabriel, who interprets the eunonsrn inibsus, may freely say: We are to flee to the saints according to the order that God has instituted, that we may be saved by their help and merit. These are the clear words of Gabriel. And now and then in the books of the adversaries one still finds much clumsy talk about the merit of the saints. Does this mean that the saints are not made propitiators? For then they become like Christ, if we are to trust that we will be saved through their merit.

567. But where is the ordinance of God instituted, when Gabriel speaketh that we should flee unto the saints? Let him bring one word, one example from the holy Scriptures. Perhaps they make the order of the custom that is in the courts of worldly princes, where the counsellors of the prince present things to poor people and promote them as mediators. But how if a prince or a king should appoint a single mediator, and would not hear things in grace through any other, or hear all requests through him alone? Therefore, if Christ alone is appointed high priest and mediator, why do we seek others? What then can the adversaries say against this?

(568) A common form of absolution has been used hitherto, which is thus: The passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the merits of the Mother of Mary, and of all the saints, shall be unto thee for the remission of sins. Then absolution is pronounced publicly, not only by the merit of Christ, but also by the merit of the other saints, that through the same merit we may obtain grace and forgiveness of sins.

569. some of us have seen a doctor of the holy scriptures in aMrw or at his

1) Wittenberger: as if the saints' merit had paid for our sin.

The monk was with him to comfort him. Now he called and shouted nothing else to the dying man, but only this prayer: Mary, thou mother of goodness and graces, keep us from the enemy, and in the hour of death receive us, Nnria down Arntine eto.

570 Although Mary, the Mother of God, prays for the Church, it is too much that she should overcome death, that she should protect us from the great power of Satan. For what would Christ need if Mary were able to do this? For though she is worthy of all the highest praise, yet she does not want to be held like Christ, but rather wants us to follow the example of her faith and humility. Now this is open to the public, that by such false teaching Mary came in Christ's stead. They have called upon her, they have trusted in her goodness, and through her they have sought to reconcile Christ, as though he were not a reconciler, but only a terrible, vengeful judge.

571 Now we say, that we ought not to be taught to trust in the saints, as if their merit made us blessed; but for Christ's merit alone we obtain forgiveness of sins, and blessedness, if we believe in him. Of the other saints it is said, "Each shall receive reward according to his work," 2c., that is, they among themselves cannot communicate their merit to one another, as the monks of their orders have brazenly sold merit to us. And Hilarius says of the foolish virgins, [Matthew 25:8,9] that because the foolish cannot go out to meet the bridegroom, because their lamps are out, they ask the wise to lend them oil. But they answer that they cannot lend it to them, for both of them would lack it, and it is not enough for all of them. 2c. Then he showeth that no man among us can help another by any strange work or merit.

572 If therefore the adversaries teach that we ought to trust in the calling of the saints, when they have no command from God, no word of God, nor example of the Old or New Testament; when they exalt the merit of the saints as high as the merit of Christ, and give the glory due to Christ to the saints, we cannot praise or accept their opinion and custom of worshipping or calling upon the saints. For we know that we ought to put our trust in Christ, since we have God's promise that he is to be the mediator.

1) In the old editions and in Müller: "die Exempel", because in Latin it is 6X6uax>la.

we know that Christ's merit alone is a propitiation for our sin. For Christ's sake we are reconciled if we believe in Him, as the text says: All who believe in Him shall not be put to shame. And we are not to be trusted that we are righteous before God on account of Mary's merit.

573 Their scholars also preach impudently that every one of the saints can give a special gift, as St. Anne protects against poverty, St. Sebastian against the pestilence, St. Valten for the falling pestilence, the holy knight St. Jörgen was called upon by the horsemen for stitches and womb and to protect all kinds of vehicles; and all this is basically of heathen origin.

574 And I will also say that the adversaries did not teach such impudent heathen lies about calling upon the saints, yet the example is dangerous. If they have neither the command nor the word of God, nor can they find anything certain from the ancient fathers, what need is there to defend such an unfounded argument?

575 First of all, however, it is quite dangerous, because if one seeks other mediators than Christ, he puts his trust in them, and thus Christ and the knowledge of Christ are completely suppressed, as we, unfortunately, have experience. For it may be that at first some have thought well of the saints in their prayers; soon afterward the invocation of the saints has followed; soon after the invocation the strange heathen abominations and abuses have broken in one by one, as that it was thought that the images had a secret power of their own, as the sorcerers and NnZL think that if one digs or forms some star signs at a certain time in gold or other metal, they should have a special secret power and effect. Some of us have seen an image of the Virgin Mary in a monastery, carved out of wood, which could be pulled inside with strings so that it appeared from the outside as if it were moving by itself, as if it were beckoning with its head to the worshippers whom it was hearing, and as if it were turning its face away from worshippers who were not offering much, whom it was not hearing.

576 And whether such abominations, such idolatry, pilgrimages and fraud with the images would not have been innumerable and unspeakable: but even more horrible and ugly were the many fables and lies of the legends of saints, which were preached publicly. As, of St. Barbara, they have preached that at her death she asked God to give jsihiJ the reward for her torture, whoever called upon her, that he could not be without

Sacrament die. St. Christopher, which in German is called Christbearer, was painted by a wise man to the children in such great length, and he wanted to indicate that a greater strength than human strength must be in those who are to carry Christ, who are to preach and confess the gospel. For they must wade through the great sea by night, 2c. that is, endure all manner of great trials and perils. Then the foolish, unlearned, hopeless monks came, and taught the people to call Christophorus, as if such a great giant had been bodily present, who had carried Christ through the sea.

(577) Now if God Almighty, through his saints, as peculiar men, wrought many great things in both governments, in the church and in temporal affairs, so find many great examples in the lives of the saints, which princes and lords, right pastors and pastors, both for the government of the world and the government of the church, and especially for the strengthening of faith against God, would have been wholly useful; which they have forsaken, and preached the least of the saints, of their hard camp, of hard shirts, (2c.) which are mostly lies, which, for the most part, are lies.

578. Now it would be useful and almost comforting to hear how some great holy men (as it is told in the holy scriptures about kings of Israel and Judah) ruled the country and the people in their regiment, how they taught and preached, what many a trial and challenge they endured; How also many learned men had been of counsel and comfort to kings, princes, and lords in great perilous courses; how they had taught and preached the gospel; what manner of battles they had endured with the heretics. So also the examples, where great special mercy of God is shown to the saints, are almost useful and comforting. As when we see that Peter, who denied Christ, obtained mercy, that Cyprian was forgiven fine NnZia. Item, we read that Augustine, having been deathly ill, first experienced the power of faith, and publicly confessed God with these words: Now only have I felt that God hears the sighs and prayers of the faithful. Such examples of faith, where one learns to fear God, to trust in God, from which one sees how God-fearing people in the Church, even in great matters of the high temporal regiments, fared, should have been written and preached diligently and clearly by the saints.

579. now some idle monks and loose boys (who did not know how great and
(For the saints, who are not concerned about governing churches or other people, have invented fables, partly from pagan books, since they are nothing but examples of how the saints wore their hair shirts, how they prayed their seven times, how they ate water and bread, and have made all this up out of their creeds, out of the pilgrimages to make money. How then are the miraculous signs which they boast of the rosary, and how the barefoot monks boast of their wooden grains. And there is no great need to show examples here; their false legends still exist, so that one cannot deny them.

580 And such abominations against Christ, such blasphemies, shameful, impudent lies and fables, such lying preachers, the bishops and theologians can suffer, and have suffered for a long time, to the great hurt of consciences, that it is terrible to remember, for such lies have borne money and interest. But they would gladly destroy us, who preach the gospel purely, if we would therefore challenge the calling of the saints, that Christ alone might remain the mediator, and that the great abuse might be done away. Just as long before this time, before Luther wrote, their theologians themselves, as well as all pious, God-fearing, respectable people, cried out against the bishops and preachers, that they were over punishing abuses for the sake of belly and money, so our adversaries in their confutation do not think of such abuses with a single word, that if we accepted the confutation, we would at the same time have to enter into all their public abuses.

581 So their whole confutation is full of deceit and dangerous deceit, not only in this place, but everywhere. They pretend to be pure as gold, as if they had never grieved a victim. For in no place do they distinguish the public abuses from their eoAiuntidus or doctrines, and yet many among them are so respectable and honest, confessing themselves that much error is in the cedolnstieoruin and canonists' books, that also much abuse is broken in the church by unlearned preachers, and by so great, shameful imprudence of the bishops.

582. Luther was not alone, nor the first, to cry out and complain about such innumerable abuses. There have been many learned, honest people before this time who have pitifully complained about the great abuse of the monks, about the abuse of monasticism, item, about such avarice and money market of the pilgrimages. And especially that the most necessary article, of the atonement of Christ, without which no Christian church can be or remain, which before all other things is the most important one.

that is to be taught purely and correctly, was so miserably suppressed.

583 Therefore the adversaries have not acted faithfully nor Christianly in this, that in their confutation they tacitly pass over the public abuses. And if they were really serious about helping the church and the poor consciences, and not rather about preserving splendor and avarice, they would have had right access and cause here; and especially in this place they should have most humbly petitioned the imperial majesty, our most gracious lord, to abolish such great, public, shameful abuses, which are also a mockery to us Christians among Turks, Jews, and all unbelievers.

For we note clearly enough in many things that the imperial majesty, our most gracious lord, undoubtedly researches and seeks the truth with all faithful diligence, and would like to see the Christian church rightly ordered and arranged. But the adversaries are not much interested in how they do enough for the imperial majesty's imperial Christian mind, will, and laudable concern, or how they help things, but how they only suppress the truth and us. For they do not lie much unslept, that the Christian doctrine and the gospel may be preached purely. They leave the preaching ministry quite desolate, defend public abuses, and still daily shed innocent blood out of unheard tyranny and desolation, only to defend their public lies.

585 Even so they will not tolerate pious Christian preachers. Where this finally wants to go out, people of understanding can well decrease. For they will not long rule churches with vain violence and tyranny. And although the adversaries seek to preserve nothing but the kingdom of the pope, this will not be the way, but a vain desolation of the kingdom and the church. For even if they had thus slain all pious Christian preachers, and the gospel were suppressed, after that there will come red spirits and fanatics, who will also fight seditiously with their fists, 1) who will afflict the congregation and the church with false doctrines, 1) and destroy all the church order, which we would gladly preserve.

586 Therefore, most gracious Lord Emperor, since we have no doubt that your Imperial Majesty's mind and heart are that the divine truth, the glory of Christ, and the Gospel may come to pass. Majesty's mind and heart that the divine truth, the glory of Christ, and the Gospel may prevail.

1) Müller: "would". In Latin the future tense is used.

and always increase abundantly, we most humbly ask your imperial majesty not to grant the unreasonable actions of the adversaries, but to graciously seek other ways of unity, so that the Christian consciences are not so burdened, so that divine truth is not so violently suppressed, or innocent people are strangled by vain tyranny, as has happened until now.

587 For Your Imperial Majesty knows without a doubt that this is especially true of Your Imperial Majesty. Your Majesty knows without doubt that this is especially true of Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Majesty is to preserve Christian doctrine, as much as humanly possible, so that it may be handed down to the descendants, and also to protect and manage pious, true preachers. For this is what God the Lord requires of all kings and princes, when he communicates his title to them, and calls them gods, saying [Ps. 82:6], "Ye are gods." For this reason he calls them gods, so that they may protect, save, and handle divine things, that is, the gospel of Christ and the pure divine doctrine on earth, as much as possible, and also have true Christian teachers and preachers, in God's stead, against unrighteous power, under their protection and protection.

Article XXII. (X.) Of both kinds in the Lord's Supper.

588 There is no doubt that it is divine and right, and according to the commandment of Christ and the words of Paul, to use both forms in the Lord's supper. For Christ instituted both forms, not only for one part of the church, but for the whole church. For not only the priests, but the whole church, need the sacrament by the command of Christ, and not by the command of men; and this the adversaries must confess.

589 If then Christ hath instituted the sacrament for the whole church, why take they the one form from the church? Why do they change the order of Christ, especially when he calls it his will? For if a man's testament be not broken, much less the testament of Christ. And Paul saith, "I received it of the Lord, which I gave unto you." Now he has given them both form, as the text clearly indicates 1 Cor. 11:23: "This do," says he, "in remembrance of me." There he speaks of the body; then he lifts up the same words from the blood of Christ, and soon after [v. 28.] says, "But let a man examine himself, and so eat of the bread, and so drink of the cup. "2c. There he calls them both. These are the plain words of the apostle Paul; and he makes a preface just before, that those who have need of the sacrament

shall use it at the same time in one supper. Therefore it is certain that it is not instituted for the priests alone, but for the whole church.

590 And such a custom is kept in the Greek church to this day; so also was it in the Latin or Roman church, as Cyprian and Jerome testify. For thus Jerome says of the prophet Sophoniam, The priests who administer the sacrament, and distribute the blood of Christ to the people 2c. The same is also testified by *Synodus Toletana*. And It would be easy to introduce many sayings and testimonies here, but for the sake of brevity we will refrain from doing so. For every Christian reader will be able to judge for himself whether it is proper to forbid and change the order and institution of Christ.

591 The adversaries do not think at all in their confutation how those consciences are to be comforted or excused from which a form is taken under the papacy. This would have been appropriate for learned and God-fearing doctors, who would have shown constant cause to comfort such consciences.

592 Now they insist that it is Christian and right to forbid both forms, and will not permit the use of both forms. As to the first, they invent from their heads that in the beginning of the church there was a practice of giving only one form to the laity, and yet they can give no certain example of the practice. They draw some sayings from the Evangelist Luke, concerning the breaking of bread, where it is written, that the disciples knew the Lord in the breaking of bread. They also refer to more sayings concerning the breaking of bread. Now, although we are not harshly opposed to the fact that some of the sayings about the sacrament are to be understood, it does not follow from this that only the one form was initially administered. For it is common to call one part and mean the whole. They also refer to the laiea eomwunio as if it were one form, which is not true. For when the canons enjoin the priests to use the luiou evwwuriio, they mean that they are not to consecrate a punishment themselves, but to receive it from another, although in both forms. And the adversaries themselves know this, but they make a pretense to the unlearned and inexperienced. For when they hear the word oornmunio Inioa, they think from the beginning that it was an eoiQinunio, as in our time, that the laity were fed with one form.

593 But let us see further, how impudently the adversaries write against Christ's institution and order. Gabriel, among other reasons why the laity are not given both forms, also puts this: there ought to have been a difference, he says, between priests and laity. And I think it is the greatest and noblest cause why they hold so firmly to-day, that the priesthood may seem holier than the laity. Now this is a man's thought; what it is based on is to be taken for granted. And in the confutation they refer to the children of Heli, 1 Sam. 2:36, where the text says, "He that is left of thy house shall come and worship him for a morsel of bread, and shall say, Let me to a priest's portion, that I may eat a morsel of bread. "2c. There, they say, is the one portion signified, and now say, So shall our laity also be satisfied with one priest's portion, that is, with one portion.

594 The masters of the Confutation are right impudent, coarse asses, they play and juggle with the Scriptures as they will, so the history of the children of Heli point to the Sacrament. For in that place is described the serious punishment of Heli and his children. Do they also say that a figure is given to the laymen for a punishment? They are foolish and mad.

595. The sacrament is instituted by Christ to comfort troubled consciences, and to strengthen their faith, when they believe that Christ's flesh is given for the life of the world, and that by meat we are united to Christ, and have grace and life. But the adversaries conclude that those who receive such a sacrament in one form are thus punished, and say: Let the laity suffice them, and let them suffice them. This is said proudly enough. How, sirs, may we ask why they should let them suffice? Or shall it be called the truth, what ye will, and what ye say?

But marvel how impudent and insolent the adversaries are, that they may set their words as the Lord's commandment, saying freely that the laity must suffice them. But how, if they must not? Are these now the reasons and causes by which those are to be excused before God's judgment who have hitherto kept people from both forms, and innocently strangled people for it? Shall they console themselves with this, that it is written of the children of Heli, They shall beg? That will be a poor excuse in the sight of God.

597. But they attract still more causes,

Why both forms should not be served, namely, for the sake of danger, lest a droplet be spilled from the cup. They have more such dreams, for which Christ's order should not be changed.

(598) But I will put it in the same way, that they might be free to use one or both forms. How then would they prove that they had power to forbid both forms? Neither is it the duty of men, or of the church, to make liberty itself, or to make it free on both sides out of Christ's order. The poor consciences, from whom the one form has been forcibly taken, and who have had to suffer such injustice, we will not judge here. But those who have forbidden both forms, and not only forbid them, but also teach them publicly, preach them, and see the people strangled because of them, invite upon themselves God's terrible judgment and wrath. And we do not know how to excuse them. Let them see how they will give account to God of their doings. And it is not so soon the church decides what the bishops and priests decide, especially as the Scriptures and the prophet Ezekiel [Cp.7,26.] say: Priests and bishops will come who know neither God's commandment nor law.

Article XXIII. (XI.) Of the marriage of priests.

599 Although the great unheard of fornication and adultery among priests and monks 2c. from high monasteries, other churches, and convents throughout the world is so reprehensible that it is sung and spoken of, yet the opponents of the confutation are so completely blinded and insolent that they defend the pope's law forbidding marriage, and do so with false pretenses, as if it were spirituality; though they should be ashamed in their hearts of the most shameful, lewd, free, loose lads in their monasteries and convents, and for the play's sake alone look not boldly at the sun; Though their evil, troubled hearts and consciences make them afraid to look up to such a praiseworthy, honor-loving emperor, yet they are bold, do like the devil himself, and all bold, wicked people, in their blind defiance, go away, forgetting all honor and shame. And the pure, chaste people may not let imperial. Majesty admonish the Electors and Princes that they should not suffer the marriage of priests uä iiMruium st iMominiamdas is to German, the
Roman Empire to shame and dishonor. For
These are her words. As if their shameful life of the church was very honest and praiseworthy.

How could the adversaries act and speak more clumsily, more insolently, and more publicly of their own disgrace and harm? Such impudent remonstrances before a Roman emperor will not be found in any history. If all the world did not know them, if many pious, honest people, their own concanonics among themselves, had not long ago complained of so shameful, lewd, dishonest a nature, if their dishonourable, disgraceful, ungodly, lewd, pagan, epicuric life, and the basic soup of all fornication at Rome were not so even in the day, which will neither be covered, nor dyed, nor adorned, one might think that their great purity and their unaltered virginal chastity would be a cause that they might not even hear a woman or marriage called, that they baptize holy matrimony, which the pope himself calls a sacrament of holy matrimony, inkurniurn irnpsrii.

(601) Well, we will relate their arguments and reasons hereafter. Let every Christian reader, every honorable, honor-loving, pious man, take this to heart, and consider how utterly without honor and shame people must be who call holy matrimony, which the Scriptures praise and commend to the highest degree, a stain, an infamy of the Roman Empire, as if it were such a great honor to the church and the empire to have its blasphemous, abominable fornication, as the Roman and the priests are known.

602 And, most gracious Lord Emperor, by your imperial Majesty, who in all writings is called a chaste prince and king, for indeed this saying is said by your imperial Majesty: kuäions kueis rsMndit yes, by your Majesty and the laudable estates such people may seek and impudently demand that your Majesty (God forbid!) should deal with such abominable fornication, should use their imperial power, which the Almighty has so far graciously bestowed upon your imperial majesty to be used victoriously and blessedly, to protect and defend shameful fornication and unheard-of vices, which are also considered abominable by the heathen. And as they are minded in their bloodthirsty, blinded hearts, that they would gladly, notwithstanding all divine and natural rights, notwithstanding the councils and their own canons, break up such priestly marriages by force at once, many poor, innocent people, for no other cause than the sake of matrimony alone, tyrannically with gallows and sword.

judge the priests themselves, who in greater cases have also spared the heathen, than strangle the great malefactors for the sake of marriage, drive so many pious, innocent women and children into misery, make them poor, abandoned widows and orphans, and avenge their diabolical hatred on innocent blood: to this they may admonish your imperial majesty.

603. Since God Almighty has graced Your Majesty with special innate goodness and discipline, that Your Majesty, out of a high, noble, Christian mind, should have such great fornication to handle, or such unheard-of tyranny to take care of, and should doubtless consider this act much more princely and Christian than the loose people, we hope Your Majesty will show Himself quite imperial and gracious in this, and consider that we have good reason and cause for this from the Holy Scriptures: We hope that your Majesty will show yourself to be quite imperial and gracious in this, and consider that we have good reason and cause from the holy Scriptures, whereas the adversaries bring forth vain lies and error.

604 Even so they are certainly not in earnest to advocate such celibacy and celibate state, for they know well how pure virgins they are, how few among them keep chastity. But they stick to their word of comfort, which they find in their Scripture: 8i nori eusts, turnen eauts, and know that to boast or call oneself chaste, and yet not to be, has a semblance of chastity in the world, so that even their prudery and parochialism seems all the more holy before the world. For Peter the apostle rightly warned that such false prophets would deceive the people with fictitious words [2 Pet. 2:1].

(605) The adversaries are not at all in earnest in the matter of religion, which is the principal thing. What they write, speak, and do, are vain words and unmeaning; there is no earnestness, no fidelity, no right heart for the common good, to help the poor consciences or the church. In the bottom of it they are concerned about the rule, they care for it, and support it finely with vain godless, hypocritical lies; so it will also stand like butter in the sun.

For this reason we cannot accept the law of celibacy, because it is contrary to divine and natural law, contrary to all sacred Scripture, and contrary to the Councils and Canons themselves. Moreover, it is pure hypocrisy and dangerous to the conscience and quite harmful, so that innumerable troubles, ugly, terrible sins and disgraces result from it, and, as can be seen in the right priestly cities and residences, as they call it, the destruction of all worldly honor and discipline.

607. the other articles of our confession, such as

But the truth of this article is so clear that it cannot be contested with any semblance of clarity. But this article is so clear that it needs no argument on either side. But he who is respectable and God-fearing can soon be a judge here. And even though we now have the public truth to ourselves, the adversaries are still trying to find some way to dispute our reasons.

608 First, it is written in Genesis 1:28 that man and woman were created by God to be fruitful, to beget children, and that the woman should be inclined toward the man, and the man toward the woman. And we do not speak here of the disorderly heat which followed after Adam's fall, but of the natural inclination between man and woman, which would also have been in nature if it had remained pure. And this is God's creation and order, that the male should be inclined toward the female, and the female toward the male. Therefore, since no one can or should change the divine order and the created nature except God Himself, it follows that the marriage state cannot be changed by any human statute or vow.

609. Against this strong reason the adversaries play with words, saying that in the beginning of creation the word was still true, "Grow and multiply, and fill the earth. But now that the earth is full, marriage is not commanded. But behold, how wise are the adversaries! By this divine word, "Increase and multiply," which still continues and does not cease, man and woman were created to be fruitful, not only at the beginning, but as long as this nature lasts. For as by the word of Genesis 1:11, when God said, "Let the earth bring forth grass and herbs," 2c., so the earth was created, that it should not bring forth fruit in the beginning only, but that it should bring forth grass, herbs, and other plants every year, as long as this nature endureth: so also man and woman were created to be fruitful, as long as this nature endureth. Now as the commandment and law of man cannot change that the earth should not become green, 2c. so also no monastic vow, no commandment of man, can change human nature, that a woman should not desire a man, a man a woman, without a special work of God.

610 Secondly, since the divine creature and God's order is naturally right and law, the jurisconsulti have rightly said that man and woman being together and belonging together is naturally right. But if no one can change the natural law, it must be changed.

marriage should be free for everyone. For where God does not change nature, the nature that God has implanted in nature must remain, and it cannot be changed by human laws.

006 For this cause it is very childish for the adversaries to say, In the beginning, when man was created, was marriage ordained, but now it is not. For it is as if they said: In the days of Adam and the patriarchs, when a man was born, he had a man's nature; when a woman was born, she had a woman's nature; but now it is different. In the old days a child born of a mother's womb had a natural nature, but now it does not.

(612) So now let us keep the saying, as the jurisconsulti have wisely and rightly said: That man and woman should be with each other is natural law. If it is natural law, then it is God's order, thus planted in nature, and is therefore also divine law. But since no one can change divine and natural law except God alone, the marriage state must be free to everyone, for the natural, innate inclination of woman toward man, of man toward woman, is God's creature and order. Therefore it is right, and no angel or man can change it. God the Lord did not create Adam alone, but also Evam, not only a man but also a woman, and blessed them to be fruitful.

613 And we speak, as I have said, not of the disorderly heat, which is sinful, but of the natural inclination which would also have existed between man and woman, if nature had remained pure. The evil desire after the fall has made such inclination even stronger, that we are now much more entitled to the marriage state, not only to beget children, but also to prevent more grievous sin. This is so clear that no one will overthrow it, but the devil and all the world will have to leave it alone.

614. As to the third, Paul saith, "To avoid fornication, have every man his own wife. This is a common command and precept, and concerns all those who are unable to remain without marriage. The adversaries demand that we show God's commandment, when he commanded that the priests should take wives, as if the priests were not men. What the Scriptures speak in general of the whole human race, that truly concerns the priests. Paul commanded that they should take wives who had not the gift of virginity, for he soon after interpreted himself, saying, "It is better to be married than to burn.
1, 9.]. And Christ clearly says: "They do not all grasp the word, but to whom it is given" Matth. 19, 11.].

006 Since then, after Adam's fall, there are in all of us both the natural inclination and the inherent evil desire, which makes the natural inclination stronger, so that there is more need of the marriage state than when nature was undecayed, Paul speaks of marriage in this way, that our weakness may be helped thereby. And to avoid such burning he commands that those who need it should become married, and this word, "It is better to become married than to burn," cannot be done away by any human law, by any monastic vow. For no law can make nature different from what it is made or designed to be. Therefore we have liberty and power to be married, all who feel the burning. And all who are not able to remain pure and chaste are bound to obey this commandment and word of Paul. Let every man have his own wife, to avoid fornication: in this every man must examine his own conscience.

616 For that the adversaries say that one should pray to God for chastity, and call upon him to mortify the body with fasting and labor, they ought to begin such mortification. But, as I said above, the adversaries are not serious about this matter; they play and joke to please themselves. If virginity were possible for everyone, no one would be able to have it but God's gift. Now the Lord Christ says, Matt. 19:11, that it is a special, high gift of God, and not everyone understands the word; but God wants the others to use the marriage state that God has instituted. For God does not want His creatures and ordination to be despised; nevertheless, He wants them also to be chaste, namely, to have need of the marriage state which He has instituted for the preservation of marital purity and chastity, just as He wants us to have need of the food and drink which He has created for us for the preservation of the body.

(617) And Gershon, who shows that there have been many pious, great men, who have sought to keep chastity through corporal mortification, and yet have not succeeded. Therefore St. Ambrose also says rightly: "Only virginity is such a thing as may be advised and not commanded.

00618 Whether any man then will say here: The Lord Christ praiseth them which have made themselves unclean for the kingdom of heaven's sake, let him also consider that Christ speaketh of them which have the gift of virginity. For therefore

he adds, "Let him who can grasp it grasp it." For the Lord Christ is not pleased with such impure chastity as is found in monasteries and convents. We also let right chastity be a fine, noble gift of God. But we speak here of the unrighteousness of such a law and prohibition of marriage, and of those who do not have God's gift. Therefore let it be free, and let not such cords be cast upon the poor consciences.

(619) Fourthly, this also is Pabst's law against the canons and ancient councils. For the old canons do not forbid marriage, nor do they destroy the marriage state, although they deprive those who enter into marriage of their ecclesiastical office, which, in time, was more of a grace than a punishment. But the new canons, which are not made in the conciliis, but by the popes, forbid marriage, and tear those to oontruotg, mutrinioniu, etc., to pieces. Now therefore it is in the day that such things are contrary to the Scriptures, and also contrary to Christ's commandment, for he saith Matt. 19:6], "Whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

620 The adversaries almost cry out that celibacy, or chastity of priests, is commanded in the Conciliis. We do not contest the Conciliæ in part, for they do not forbid marriage, but we contest the new law which the popes have made against the Conciliæ. Thus the popes themselves despise the Concilia, when they may command others to keep the Concilia in the face of God's wrath and eternal damnation. Therefore, the law that forbids the marriage of priests is quite Pabst's law of Roman tyranny. For the prophet Daniel foretold the kingdom of antichrist 1) that it should teach marriage and wives, even to despise the female sex [Dan. 11:37].

621 The fifth: Although they do not defend the ungodly law for the sake of holiness or out of ignorance, for they know well that they do not keep chastity, yet they give rise to innumerable hypocrisies, because they pretend to holiness. They say that therefore priests should keep chastity, because they must be holy and pure; as if the married state were impurity, as if one were made holy and righteous before God by celibacy rather than by the married state. And to this they refer to the priests in the law of Moses, for they say, When the priests ministered in the temple, they must abstain from their wives; wherefore, as in the new

1) So the Jenaer in agreement with the Latin. Müller lacks: "therefore".

The priests are to pray at all times, according to the will, and they are also to keep chastity at all times. They take such a clumsy, foolish rule as a very clear reason that priests are obligated to keep perpetual chastity, but even if the rule were true or rhymed, they would get nothing more out of it than that priests should abstain from their wives for a time only, namely, when they are about to do church service. Another thing is to pray, and another thing is to minister in the church. For many saints have prayed, even if they have not served in the temple, and their conjugal attendance has not prevented them from doing so.

622 But we will answer these dreams one by one. For the first, the adversaries must confess, and cannot deny, that the married state of believers in Christ is a purely holy state, for it is sanctified by the word of God. For it is instituted by God, and confirmed by the word of God, as the Scriptures abundantly testify. For Christ says [Matth. 19, 6.], "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder." Christ says that if God joins together husband and wife, it is a pure, holy, noble, and praiseworthy work of God. And Paul says of marriage, of food, and the like, "that they are sanctified by the word of GOD, and by prayer" [1 Tim. 4:5.] First, through the divine word, by which the heart is assured that the marriage state pleases the Lord. Secondly, by prayer, that is, by thanksgiving, which is done in faith, when we use the marriage state, food, drink, with thanksgiving. 1 Cor. 7, 14: "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife," that is, the marriage state is pure, good, Christian, and holy, because of faith in Christ, which we may use with thanksgiving, as we use meat, drink, 2c. Item, 1 Tim. 2:15: "But the woman shall be saved through childbearing, if she continue in the faith." 2c. If the adversaries of their chastity could bring forward such a saying, how should they triumph! St. Paul says that woman is saved through childbearing. What could the holy apostle have said against the shameful hypocrisy of impious, lying chastity, but that he says: they are blessed by conjugal works, by bearing, by suckling and bringing up children, by keeping house 2c.? Yes, how does Paul mean this? He adds in plain words, "If they continue in the faith," 2c. For the works and labor in the married state for themselves, without faith, are not commended here alone.

623 Therefore, first of all, he wants them to have the word of God and to believe, through which faith (as he says everywhere) they receive forgiveness of sin and are reconciled to God. After this he remembers the work of their female ministry and profession. Just as in all Christians good works are to follow from faith, that each one may do something according to his profession, so that he may be useful to his neighbor, and as these good works please God, so also such works as a believing woman does according to her profession please God. And such a woman will be blessed who thus does her feminine work according to her profession in married life.

These sayings indicate that the marriage state is a holy and Christian thing. Now if purity also means that which is holy and acceptable in the sight of God, then the married state is holy and acceptable, for it is confirmed by the word of God, and, as Paul says [Titus 1:15], "To the pure all things are pure," that is, to those who believe in Christ. Therefore, as virginity is unclean in the ungodly, so the marriage state is holy in believers, for the sake of the divine word and faith.

625 But if the adversaries call it purity, when there is no fornication; purity of heart is called, when the evil desire is slain. For God's law does not forbid marriage, but fornication, adultery, and fornication. Therefore to be without a wife outwardly is not right purity, but there can be greater purity of heart in a husband than in Abraham and Jacob, than in many who keep their chastity right after physical purity.

626 Finally, if they call chastity purity, that by it one should be justified before God before marriage, it is an error. For without merit, for Christ's sake alone, we obtain forgiveness of sin, if we believe that through Christ's blood and death we have a gracious God. But here the adversaries will cry out that we, like Jovinianus, regard the married state as equal to virginity. But for the sake of their clamor we will not deny the divine truth and the doctrine of Christ, of the righteousness of faith, which we have indicated above. Nevertheless we leave to virginity its praise and honour, and say that one gift is greater than another. For as wisdom to govern is a greater gift than other arts, so virginity or chastity is a greater gift than the married state. And yet again, just as the ruler is not more righteous in the sight of God because of his gift and wisdom, than another is from

because of his art, so the chaste is no more righteous before God on account of his gift than married people are on account of their status, but each one should serve faithfully with his gift, knowing that for Christ's sake he has forgiveness of sin through faith, and is justified before God.

627. The Lord Christ and Paul also praise virginity, not because it makes one righteous before God, but so that those who are single without a wife or without a husband may be all the freer, unhindered in keeping house, raising children, 2c. reading, praying, writing, serving. Wherefore Paul saith unto the Corinthians [1 Cor. 7:32.], For the cause that virginity is commended, that in that state there is more room to learn the word of God, and to teach others. So also Christ does not praise those who are made virgins, but adds, "for the kingdom of heaven's sake," that is, that they may the more easily learn and teach the gospel. He does not say that virginity deserves forgiveness of sin.

628 To the example of the Levitical priests we have answered, that it is not at all proved thereby that the priests should be without marital status. The law of Moses, with its ceremonies of purity or impurity, is of no concern to us Christians. In the law of Moses, if a man touched his wife, he was unclean for some time. Now a Christian husband is not unclean. For the New Testament saith [Tit. 1:5.], "Unto the pure all things are pure." For by the gospel we are freed from all the ceremonies of Moses, not alone from the laws of uncleanness. But if any one would advocate celibacy on the ground that he would oblige consciences to such Levitical purities, we must resist him as vehemently as the apostles resisted the Jews, Acts 15:10 ff. 15, 10. f., because they wanted to oblige the Christians to the law of Moses and to circumcision.

(629) Here, however, Christian, God-fearing spouses will know how to be moderate in their marital duties. For those who are in government or church offices and have to work will also have to be chaste in their marriages. For to be burdened with great things and great affairs, as they pertain to lands and people, to regencies and churches, is a good rsrnsäiurn, that the old Adam may not become lustful. So also the godly know that Paul saith, 1 Thess. 4:4, 5, "Let every one of you keep his barrel in sanctification and honour, and not in lust." But, on the other hand, what chastity can there be in so many thousands of monks and clergy, who without

Do they live in all pleasure, idle and full, having no word of God, not learning it, and not respecting it? All fornication must follow. Such people can keep neither Levitical nor eternal chastity.

(630) Many heretics, not understanding the law of Moses, or how it is to be applied, speak shamefully of the state of matrimony, which, for the sake of such hypocritical appearance, is held to be holy. And Epiphanius complains vehemently that the Encratites, with their hypocritical appearance, especially of chastity, have gained a reputation among the inexperienced. They drank no wine, not even in the Lord's Supper, and abstained from eating both fish and meat; they were even holier than the monks who eat fish. They also abstained from marriage. This had first a great appearance. And so they thought that by these works and imaginary holiness they were propitiating God, as our adversaries teach.

631 Against such hypocrisy and angel holiness Paul fiercely argues with the Colossians [Cap. 2, 18]. For by this Christ is suppressed, when people fall into such error that they hope to be pure and holy before God through such hypocrisy. So also such hypocrites do not know God's gift nor commandment; for God wants us to use His gifts with thanksgiving.

(632) And I could well give examples of how many a pious heart and poor conscience have been grieved, and have come into trouble, by not being taught that the married state, the duty of marriage, and all that pertains to marriage, is holy and Christian. The great misfortune resulted from the unskillful preaching of the monks, who practiced celibacy, or chastity, without moderation, and proclaimed the married state to be an impure life, so that it was a great hindrance to salvation and full of sins.

633 But our adversaries do not hold so hard against the celibate state, for the sake of the appearance of holiness; for they know that in Rome, even in all her churches, without hypocrisy, without appearance, is all fornication; so also their earnestness is not to live chastely, but knowingly they make hypocrisy before men. For this reason they are worse, and their hypocrisy is uglier, than the heretics, who were more serious. But these Lpioursis are not in earnest, but they mock God and the world, and use this pretense alone to preserve their free life.

634 Sixthly, if we have so many reasons why we cannot accept the pope's law of celibacy, yet there are innumerable dangers of conscience about it, unspeakably much vexation. Therefore, whether such Pabst's law be not
would be unjust, yet all respectable people should be justly deterred from such a burdening of consciences that so innumerable souls perish by it.

(635) Long before this time many honorable men, even among them their own bishops, canonici 2c. complained of the great, heavy burden of the celibacy, and found that they themselves and other men were greatly troubled in their consciences about it. But no one has taken up the complaint; it is in the day about how in many places, where there are priesthoods, common discipline is shattered by it, what horrible fornication, sin, and shame, what great unheard-of vice is caused by it. There are poets' writings and sat/ras available, in which Uornu may be reflected.

Thus God Almighty avenges the contempt of His gift and His commandments in those who forbid the marriage state. Now, if some necessary laws have often been changed for cause, when the common good requires it, why should not this law be changed, since there are so many excellent causes, so many innumerable grievances of conscience, for which it is expedient to change it?

We see that these are the last times, and as an old man is weaker than a young man, so also the whole world and all nature is in its last age and decline. Sin and vice are not diminishing, but daily increasing. Therefore, the more help God has given against fornication and vice, the more we should need it than the marriage state. We see in the 1st book of Moses that such vices of fornication had also prevailed before the flood. In Sodoma, in Sybari, in Rome, and in other cities, abominable fornication was committed before they were destroyed. These examples show how things will be in the last days, shortly before the end of the world. Therefore, if experience shows that in these last times fornication is more prevalent than ever, unfortunately, faithful bishops and authorities should rather make law and commandment to enjoin marriage than to forbid it, and also to exhort people to the state of marriage by words, deeds, and examples, which would be the office of the authorities. For they must be diligent to preserve honor and discipline.

638. Now God has blinded the world so that adultery and fornication are tolerated without punishment, but punishment is inflicted for the sake of matrimony. Is this not terrible to hear? The preachers should instruct both: those who have the gift of chastity should be admonished not to despise it, but to use it for the glory of God, and those who need the marital state should also be admonished.

Otherwise, the pope dispenses daily in many necessary laws that are of great benefit to the common good, since he should be reasonably firm. But in this law of celibacy, he shows himself to be as hard as stone and iron, although it is known that it is nothing but a human law. Many pious, honest, God-fearing people, who have done no harm to anyone, have been strangled usuriously and tyrannically, solely for the sake of matrimony, because they were married out of the necessity of their consciences. Therefore it is to be feared that the blood of Abel cries out to heaven so strongly that they will never get over it, but, like Cain, will have to tremble. And this Cainian murder of innocent blood shows that this doctrine of celibacy is the doctrine of the devil. For the Lord Christ calls the devil a murderer, who would gladly defend such a tyrannical law with blood and murder.

We know very well that some are crying out that we are making schisms. But our consciences are quite sure, after we have sought peace and unity with all faithful diligence, and do not want to let the adversaries suffice them, we then deny (God forbid!) the public divine truth, we then agree to accept with them the ugly papal law, to tear pious, innocent spouses from each other, to strangle the married priests, to drive innocent wives and children into misery, to shed innocent blood without any cause. For since it is certain that such things are not pleasing to God, let us be careful that we have no unity or fellowship, nor guilt in so much innocent blood with the adversaries.

641 We have shown cause why we cannot in good conscience hold with the adversaries who defend celibacy. For it is against all divine and natural rights, against the canons themselves; in addition, it is vain hypocrisy and driving. For they do not hold this pretended chastity to be so hard and holy, or that they do not understand it otherwise. They know well that everyone knows the nature of the high priests, whom we would name, but only to preserve their tyranny and rule. And no respectable man will have any objection to the strong and clear reasons given above. The gospel leaves the marriage state free to all those who need it, so it does not force those to the marriage state who have the gift of chastity, if it is only true chastity and not hypocrisy. We think that priests should also be granted this freedom, and we want them to be free.

not to force anyone into celibacy, nor to drive pious spouses away from each other, or to break up marriages.

642 We have now briefly indicated some of our reasons for this time, and we have also reported how the opponents have brought up such clumsy expedients and dreams against it. Now we will show with what strong reasons they defend their papal law. First, they say that such a law was revealed by God. Here we see how impudent these unholy people are. They may say that their prohibition of marriage is revealed by God, when it is publicly contrary to Scripture, contrary to Paul, who says: "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife" [1 Cor. 7:2]. Item, if the Scripture and Canons strongly forbid that marriage, when already consummated, should in no way be broken up: what may the boys say, and abuse the high, most holy name of the divine Majesty so insolently and impudently? St. Paul the Apostle says rightly who is the God that first instituted such a law, namely, the wretched Satan, for he calls it "the doctrine of devils" [2 Tim. 4:1]. And verily the fruit teacheth us to know the tree, when we see that so many dreadful and abominable vices are caused thereby, as is seen in Romans. Item, that also over this law of strangling and shedding of blood the devil makes no end.

643 The other reason of the adversaries is, that the priests should be pure, as the scripture saith [Isa. 52:11.], "Ye shall be pure, which bear the vessels of the LORD." The argument we have here above laid. For we have sufficiently indicated that chastity without faith is not purity before God, and the married state is holiness and purity for the sake of faith, as Paul says [Tit. 1:15]: "To the pure all things are pure." Thus we have said plainly enough that Moshi's ceremonies of purity and uncleanness are not to be drawn there, for the gospel wants to have purity of lifting. And there is no doubt that Abraham's, Isaac's, Jacob's, the archfathers' hearts, which had many wives, were purer than those of many virgins, who were pure virgins immediately after the purity of their bodies. But that Isaiah saith, Ye shall be clean, which bear the vessel of the Lord, is to be understood of entire Christian holiness, and not of virginity. And this very saying gives unclean priests who are not married to become pure priests who are married, for, as was said before, marriage is purity among Christians.

644 The third is first of all a terrible argument, that the priest's marriage should be heresy. Gna-

det our poor soul, dear sirs! go beautiful! this is quite a new thing, that the holy marriage state, which God created in paradise, should have become heresy. In that way, the whole world would be vain heretics.

645. It is a great impudent lie that the marriage of priests should be a heresy of Joviniani, or that such priestly marriages should at that time be condemned by the church. For in Joviniani's time the Church did not yet know of this papal law, by which priests are forbidden to marry altogether, and our adversaries know this well. But they often draw on old heresies, and rhyme our doctrine with them, against their own consciences, only to make the unlearned believe that our doctrine was condemned by the church of old, and therefore to be moved against us manfully. They use such methods, and that is why they did not want to deliver the Confutation to us. They were afraid that they would be publicly accused of lying, which would be an eternal disgrace to them among all their descendants. As for Joviniani's doctrine, however, we have said above what we think of chastity and what we think of the state of marriage. For we do not say that the married state is equal to virginity, although neither virginity nor marriage makes one righteous before God.

646 With such weak, loose reasons they protect and defend the pope's law of celibacy, which has given rise to so many vices and fornications. The princes and bishops who believe these teachers will see whether such reasons hold water when it comes to the hour of death, that they should give an account before God why they have broken up the marriages of pious people, why they have strangled and staked them, why they have strangled so many priests, and have shed innocent blood over all the lamentations, weeping, and weeping of so many widows and orphans. For this they must not take from their minds; the ears and tears of the poor widows, the blood of the innocent is unforgotten in heaven, it will cry out in its hour as strong as the holy, innocent blood over them in high heaven, and cry out before God, the rightful judge. When God will judge such tyranny, they will know that their arguments are straw and hay, and God is a consuming fire, before which nothing can remain except divine word, 1 Petr. 1, 24. 25.

647 Our princes and lords, be it as it may, have to comfort themselves that they have acted with a good conscience. For I will say that the priest's marriage may be contested, as it is not, but that is contrary to God's will.

The word and the will, that the adversaries thus tear up the marriages that have been consummated, and chase poor, innocent people into misery and strangle them. Our princes and rulers have no desire for innovation and discord, yet they are guilty of allowing the divine word and truth to be more valid in such just and certain matters than all other things. May God have mercy on them. Amen.

Article XXIV Of the Mass.

648] First, however, we must say this again here at the beginning, that we do not do away with the mass, for masses are held in our churches every Sunday and feast day, and the sacrament is administered to those who desire it, but in such a way that they are first interrogated and absolved. So also Christian ceremonies are held with reading, with songs, prayers, and the like 2c.

(649) The adversaries make a great noise about the Latin mass, and speak very clumsily and childishly of it, how even an unlearned man, who does not understand Latin, deserves great things by hearing mass in the faith of the church. Then they themselves invent to them that the bad work of hearing mass is a divine service, which is useful even if I do not hear or understand a word. I do not want to make such a point of it here as it would be worth; we want to let sensible people judge here. We therefore remember that we indicate that the Latin mass, lection and prayer are also held here.

650 If the ceremonies are to be held so that the people may learn the Scriptures and the Word of God, and thereby come to the fear of God and attain comfort, and thus pray rightly, for this is why ceremonies are instituted, we keep Latin for the sake of those who know Latin, and let German Christian chants go alongside it, so that the common people may also learn something and be taught the fear of God and knowledge. This custom is always considered praiseworthy in the church. For although in some places more, in some places fewer German songs are sung, yet in all churches something has ever been sung in German by the people, therefore it is not so new. But where is this Pharisaic doctrine written, that hearing mass without understanding *ex opere operato is* meritorious and blessed? Shame on you, you sophists, with such dreams.

651 But that we do not hold private masses, but only one public mass, when the people communicate, is nothing against the common Christian church. For in the Greek church no private masses are held on this day, but only one mass, and that same mass is held in public.

on Sundays and high feasts. This is all an indication of the old custom of the church. For the teachers who existed before the time of St. Gregory do not remember the private masses in any place. But how the individual masses or "private masses" had a beginning, we leave for the moment. This is certain, since the mendicant orders and monks thus gained the upper hand, the masses were founded more and more every day from the false teachings of the same and torn down for the sake of money and avarice, so that the theologians themselves complained about it all the time. And even though St. Francis, out of right good opinion, wanted things to happen, and decreed to his own that every monastery should be satisfied daily with a common mass, this same useful statute was subsequently changed by hypocrisy or for the sake of money. Thus they change the order of the old fathers when and where they desire, when it suits their kitchens, and then tell us: one must keep the order of the old fathers holy. Epiphanius writes that in Asia communion was held three times a week, and that mass was not said every day, and says that the custom was thus established by the apostles.

652 Although the adversaries in this place have boiled many words and sayings one into another, seeking to prove that the mass is a sacrifice, yet with this single answer the great clamor is soon quieted, and their mouths are soon shut, when we say, The sayings, the arguments, reasons, and all that have been brought forward, do not prove that the masses *ex opere operato* deserve forgiveness of sins, remission of chastisement, and guilt, to the priest or to others for whom they are applied. This few clear answers overthrow all that the opponents put forward, not only in the Confutation, but in all their books and writings which they have written about the Mass.

653 And this is the main question in this whole matter, of which we want to warn every Christian reader, that he should look carefully at the adversaries, whether they also remain with the main question. For they are wont to make much vain, unruly circumlocution out of the main matter. For if one sticks to the main question immediately and unvariedly, and does not add anything extraneous, it is all the easier to judge on both sides.

654 We have declared in our Confession that we hold that the Lord's Supper or the Mass makes no one pious sx opere operato, and that the Mass, if said for others, does not merit them forgiveness of sin, remission of chastisement, and guilt; and of the principal part we have wholly

strong, certain reason, namely this. It is impossible that we should obtain forgiveness of sins through our work sx opere operato, that is, through the work done in Himself, sins dono motu utentis, if the heart already has no good thought, but through faith in Christ the terror of sin, of death, must be overcome, if our hearts are raised up and comforted through the knowledge of Christ, as said above. When we feel that we have a gracious God for Christ's sake, that is, that His merit and righteousness are given to us, Rom. 5, v. 1: "If then we have been justified by faith, we have peace with God" 2c. This is such a strong and certain reason that all the gates of hell will not be able to oppose it. Of this we are certain.

655 And this would be just enough of the whole matter. For no reasonable man or man of understanding will praise the Pharisaic or pagan hypocrisy and the great abuse of the opere operato. And yet the same error has broken out all over the world. Hence so many innumerable masses have been instituted all over the world, in all monasteries, convents, churches, cloisters, in all corners. For for this purpose masses are held for money, to propitiate God's wrath, to obtain forgiveness of sins, redemption from torment and guilt, to redeem the dead from purgatory, to obtain health, wealth, happiness, and welfare in hand 2c. The hypocritical, pharisaical opinion was planted in the church by the monks and sophists. Although the error of the abuse of the Mass is sufficiently dispelled by the fact that one does not obtain forgiveness of sins through our work, but through faith in Christ, yet because the opponents introduce many sayings of Scripture quite clumsily to defend their error, we want to add something more here.

656 The adversaries speak much of sacrifice in their confutation, when we have diligently avoided the word sasriüsiirm in our confession for the sake of uncertain understanding, but have expressed their highest abuse in plain words, which they mean and do by the name saeriiieiurci. That we may now lay aside the sayings which they have unjustly and falsely introduced, we must first say what the word saerikieium or sacrifice means.

657 They have written many books for ten years that the mass is a sacrifice, and none of them has ever defined what sacrifice is or is not. They seek only the *vocabulum* or

word sacriüeium, where they find it in eoneoräantÜ8 the Biblien, and stretch it hither, it rhymes or not. So do they also in the old fathers' books. Then they invent their dreams to it, as if sacrificiuin must be called what they will.

What sacrifice is or is not, and how many kinds of sacrifice.

658 And lest any man fall blindly into the matter, we must first shew the difference between what is a sacrifice, and what is not a sacrifice. And this is useful and good for all Christians to know. The theologians are accustomed to distinguish snerikeiurü and 8aerainentirm, sacrifice and sacrament. Now the ZMU8 we will let be eererrrorüa or holy work. Sacramentum is an eeremoräa or outward sign or work, by which God gives us that which the divine promise attached to the same ceremony implies. Thus, baptism is a ceremony and a work, not that we give or offer to God, but in which God gives and offers to us, in which God baptizes us, or the servant in God's stead. There GOd appoints us and gives us forgiveness of sins according to His promise, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" [Marc. 16:16.]. Again, "aeriUeiurir or sacrifice is an eeremonia or work that we give to GOD so that we may honor Him.

659 But it is chiefly two kinds of sacrifice, and no more, among which all other sacrifices are comprehended. One is a propitiatory sacrifice, by which the sin and guilt are atoned for, God's wrath is quenched and propitiated, and forgiveness of sin is obtained for others. For another is a sacrifice of peace offerings, by which forgiveness of sin, or atonement, is not obtained, but is made by those who are already atoned for, that they may give thanks for the forgiveness of sin obtained, and for other graces and gifts.

(660) These two kinds of sacrifices must be diligently observed in this transaction, and in many other disputations, care must be taken that these two are not mixed together. And this difference of division has strong evidence from the epistle to the Hebrews, and in many places in the Scriptures. And all the sacrifices in the law of Moses, as diverse as they may be, are divided and comprehended under these two kinds of sacrifices, as under their genera. For some of the sacrifices in the law of Moses are called expiatory sacrifices, or sacrifices for sin, for the sake of their signification; not that forgiveness of sin should be merited thereby 1).

1) Müller: "will". Latin: msrsrsutur.

before God, but that they were outward atonements for the sake of their meaning; for those for whom they were offered were atoned for by such sacrifices, that they might not be cast out from among the people of Israel. Therefore they were called expiatory sacrifices; but the other sacrifices were peace offerings.

661 So in the law there were meanings of the right sacrifice, but there was only one true atonement, sacrifice for sin in the world, namely, the death of Christ, as the epistle to the Hebrews says [Cap. 10:4], "It was impossible that the blood of oxen and goats should take away sin." And soon after it is said of the obedience and will of Christ [v. 10.], "In which will we are sanctified by the sacrifice of the body of Christ once. "2c. And Isaias the prophet also before interpreted the law of Moses, indicating that the death of Christ is the payment for sin, and not the sacrifices in the law, since he says of Christ [Cap. 53, 11.], "If he hath given his life for a trespass offering, he shall have seed, and live unto length." For the Prophet has applied the word trespass offering to Christ's death, to indicate that the trespass offerings in the law were not the right sacrifice to pay for sin, but that another sacrifice must come, namely Christ's death, by which God's wrath was to be atoned for. The trespass offerings in the law had to cease when the gospel was revealed and the right sacrifice was offered. Therefore they were not true atonements before God, for they had to fall, and another had to come. For this reason, they alone have been meanings and examples of the right atonement. Therefore, it is certain that there was only one sacrifice, the death of Christ, which was to be applied to others to atone for God's wrath.

662. Now over and above this one atonement, which is the death of Christ, there are other sacrifices, all of which are only peace offerings, as all the sufferings, preaching, and good works of the saints. These are not the sacrifices by which we are atoned for, which may be done for others, or which merit *ex opere operato* forgiveness of sins or propitiation. For they are made by those who have already been atoned for through Christ. And such sacrifices are our sacrifices in the New Testament, as Peter the apostle saith, 1 Peter 2:5. "Ye are a holy priesthood, that ye offer spiritual sacrifices." And in the New Testament no sacrifice applies *ex opere operato* "ine dono motu utenti8, that is, the work without a good thought in the heart. For Christ saith John 4:23, "The right worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth."

that is, with heart, with heartfelt fear, and with heartfelt faith. Therefore it is a devilish, pharisaical, and antichristic doctrine and worship that our adversaries teach that their mass deserves forgiveness of sins and chastisement ox opere operato.

The Jews did not understand their ceremonies well either, and thought that they would be righteous before God if they had done the works ex opere operato. Against this the prophets cried out most earnestly, so that they might point the people from their own works to the promise of God, and bring them to faith and right worship. Jer. 7, v. 22 f.: "I did not speak to your fathers about sacrifices or burnt offerings when I brought them out of Egypt, but I commanded them this word: Hear my voice, and I will be your GOOD" 2c. What will the stiff-necked Jews have said to this sermon and teaching, which seems to be quite openly against the Law and against Moses? For it was ever public that GOD had commanded the fathers of sacrifices. Jeremiah could not deny this. But Jeremiah condemns their error concerning the sacrifices, of which there was no command from God, namely, that they thought that the sacrifices ox opere operato atoned for and pleased God. Therefore Jeremiah adds this to the faith that God has commanded: "Hear me," that is, believe me that I am your God, that I sustain you, have mercy on you, help you all hours, and may not your sacrifice; believe that I am your God, who justifies you and sanctifies you, not because of your merit, but because of my promise; therefore you shall wait for all comfort and help from me.

(664) Even so the 50th Psalm, v. 13, rejects the heathen opinion of the opere operato, saying, "Thinkest thou that I will eat the flesh of an ox, or drink the blood of a goat? Call upon me in the time of trouble," 2c. Then the opus oporaturu is rejected, saying, "Call upon me." There he indicates the highest service of God, when we call upon him from the heart. Item, in the 40th Psalm, v. 7. "Thou hast no pleasure in sacrifice and meat offering; but thou hast opened mine ears," that is, thou hast given me a word to hear, demanding that I should believe thy word, and thy promises to help me. Item, Ps. 51:18, 19: "Thou hast no desire to sacrifice, else I would give it to thee 2c. The sacrifices of GOD are a broken spirit" 2c. Item, in the 4th Psalm, v. 6. "Offer sacrifices of righteousness, and hope in the LORD." There he commands that we should hope in the Lord, and calls this a righteous sacrifice; there he indicates that the others are not righteous.

Sacrifices 2c. Item, Ps. 116, 17: "To you I will offer sacrifices of thanksgiving, and call on the name of the Lord" 2c.

(665) And all Scripture is full of such sayings, which indicate that no sacrifice, no work *ex opere operato,* propitiates God. Therefore it teaches that in the New Testament the sacrifices of the Law of Moses have been done away with, and are pure and without blemish, namely, faith toward God, thanksgiving, praise of God, the preaching of the Gospel, the cross, and the sufferings of the saints, and the like.

666. And of these sacrifices Malachias speaks, saying [Cap. 1:11.], "From the going forth of the sun even unto the going down thereof, my name is great among the heathen, and in every place a pure sacrifice shall be offered unto my name." The same saying the adversaries falsely and foolishly interpret to mean the mass, and attract the old fathers. But it is soon answered there: If Malachias spoke of the Mass when he did not, it does not follow that the Mass ox opere operato makes us pious before God, or that one can say Mass for others to obtain forgiveness of sin. This is not what the prophet says, but what the sophists and monks impudently invent from their own brains.

667 But the words of the prophet themselves bring right understanding. For first the prophet saith, Let the name of the Lord be magnified: which is done by the preaching of the gospel. For by this the name of Christ is confessed, and the grace promised in Christ is made known. Through the preaching of the gospel people come to faith, they call on God, they give thanks to God, they suffer persecution for God's sake, they do good works. Therefore the prophet calls it the pure sacrifice, not the ceremonies of the Mass alone *ex opere operato,* but all spiritual sacrifices by which God's name is magnified, namely a pure, holy sacrifice is the preaching of the Gospel, faith, calling, prayer, confessing the Gospel and Christ before the world 2c.

(668) And we do not greatly dispute whether anyone ever wants to apply it to the ceremonies of the Mass, if only he does not say that the bad *ceremonia ex opere operato* makes atonement for God. For as we call the sermon a sacrifice of praise, so the ceremony of the Lord's Supper may be in itself a sacrifice of praise; but not such a sacrifice as ex opere operato makes one righteous before God, or which one can do for others to obtain for them forgiveness of sin. But soon after this we will also say how the ceremony is a sacrifice. Because

But Malachias speaks of all the services and sacrifices of the New Testament, so he does not speak of the mass or the Lord's Supper alone. Item, because he refutes the same Pharisaic error of the *opere operato*, the saying does nothing against us, but rather for us, because it demands inwardly the heart to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving to God, through which the name of the Lord becomes truly great.

(669) There is also a saying drawn from Malachi, (Cap. 2:3), "And he shall make the sons of Levi to be as gold and as silver, and they shall offer unto God sacrifices of righteousness." There he says of sacrifices of righteousness, therefore the text is against the *opus oporatum*. But the sacrifices of the sons of Levi, that is, of those who preach in the New Testament, is the preaching of the gospel, and the good fruits of preaching, as Paul saith Rom. 15:16, "I am to be a minister of Christ among the Gentiles, to offer the gospel of GOD, that the Gentiles may become an offering acceptable to GOD through faith." For the slaughter of oxen and sheep in the law signifies the death of Christ and the preaching of the gospel, by which the old Adam is daily put to death, and the new and eternal life begins.

670 But the adversaries everywhere apply the word sacrifice or *sacrificium* only to the ceremonies of the mass. Of the preaching of the gospel, of faith, of thanksgiving, and of calling upon the name of God, they speak nothing at all, though the ceremony is instituted for this purpose, since the New Testament has only spiritual sacrifices within the heart, and not such sacrifices as the Levitical priesthood.

(671) Even so the adversaries draw to the *juge sacrificium,* that is, the daily sacrifice, and say, as in the law of Moses there was a daily sacrifice, so the mass is the *juge sacrificium of* the New Testament. If the thing were to be done with allegories, every one would find allegories to serve him. But all those of understanding know that in such highly important matters before God, one must have God's word, certain and clear, and not forcefully draw in obscure and strange sayings; such uncertain interpretations do not hold the sting before God's judgment.

672 Although we would have the opponents call the mass *juge sacrificium* or daily sacrifice, if they called the whole mass, that is, the ceremonies with thanksgiving, with faith in the heart, with the heartfelt invocation of divine grace, *juge sacrificium*, because all this together would like to be called *juge sacrificium.*

juge sacrificium of the New Testament. For the ceremonial of the Mass, or of the Lord's Supper, is instituted for the sake of all this; for it is instituted for the sake of preaching, as Paul says [1 Cor. 11:26], "As often as ye eat the bread, and drink the cup, ye shall proclaim the death of the Lord." But this does not at all follow from the figure of the daily sacrifice, that the Mass is such a sacrifice, which *ex opere operato atones for* God, or which one can keep or do for others, in order to obtain forgiveness of sin for them.

(673) And if the *sacrificium,* or daily sacrifice, be rightly considered, it signifieth not only the ceremonies, but also the preaching of the gospel. For in the fourth book of Moses, 28th verse, 3rd and following, there are three parts which belong to the same daily sacrifice. First, a lamb was sacrificed for a burnt offering, and wine was poured on it. Then there was also offered a dish, mixed with breadcrumbs and oil.

674 The whole law of Moses is a shadow and figure of Christ and of the new testament. That is why Christ is pictured in it. The lamb signifies the death of Christ; the pouring of wine upon it signifies that all believers in all the world should be sprinkled with the blood of the lamb through the gospel, that is, that they should be sanctified, as Peter says, 1 Peter 1:2: "Through sanctification of the Spirit, in obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ." The kuche signifies the calling and thanksgiving in all believers' hearts. Now as in the Old Testament is the shadow, and the signification of Christ, or of the gospel, so in the New Testament the same gospel and truth signified by the figure is to be looked for, and is not first to be looked for a new *type* or figure, which they would or would call *sacrificium.*

675 Therefore, although the mass or ceremonial in the Lord's Supper is a memorial of the death of Christ, yet the ceremonial alone is not the *juge sacrificium* or daily sacrifice, but the memorial of the death of Christ, together with the ceremonial, is the daily sacrifice, that is, the preaching of faith and of Christ, which faith truly believes that God was atoned for by the death of Christ. To the same *juge sacrificio* also belongs the fruit of the sermon, that we may be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, that is, be sanctified, that the old Adam may be put to death, and the Spirit increase, that is, be poured out. After this we should also give thanks and praise God, and confess the faith with suffering and good works, which is signified by flour and oils.

676 So, when the gross Pharisaical error of the opere operato is done away, it is found that by the joZo saeritreium is signified the spiritual sacrifice and daily oblation of the heart; for Paul saith, [Col. 2:17], "In the old testament is the shadow of things to come; but the body and the truth is in Christ." Now this is the knowledge of Christ, and the Holy Spirit in the heart, which worketh vain thanksgiving and daily spiritual sacrifices in the heart. Now from this it appears enough that the likeness of saerilieio or daily sacrifice is nothing against us, but rather for us. For we have clearly shown that all that belonged to the daily sacrifice in the law of Moses must mean a true hearty sacrifice, not opus oporatuiu. The opposer's dream is false, because they think it means only the bad outward work and ceremonies, when faith in the heart, preaching, confession, thanksgiving, and heartfelt invocation are the proper daily sacrifices, and the best part of the mass, they call it sacrifice or otherwise.

677 Now all godly, pious, honorable, Christian men can easily perceive that the adversary's accusation is unjust, since they say, we dismiss this to ao saeritioiuui. But experience shows that they are the true Antiochians, who show themselves to be raging tyrants in the church, with vain thirst and violence; who, under a semblance of spirituality, draw to themselves all the power of the world, and yet ask nothing of the preaching office, of Christ, or of the gospel. Above this, they are under the authority to set up new services of their own liking in the church, and to defend them with vain violence. For the adversaries keep only the ceremonies of the mass, but they abandon the proper custom of the mass, and use the mass only for avarice and shameful fairs, and then pretend that it is a work that benefits others, that earns others forgiveness of sins, torment, and guilt. In their sermons, however, they do not teach the gospel, nor do they comfort consciences, nor do they preach that sins are forgiven without merit for Christ's sake, but they preach about calling on the saints, about satiskaotionidus, about pardon, about the statutes of men, and say that through these things men become pious before God. And though these public blasphemous abuses are many, yet, because they bear money, they seek to preserve them by force. And the most learned preachers among them preach confused philosophical quarrels and questions, which neither they themselves nor the people understand. Finally, whether some among them are not
unlearned, they teach the law, and teach nothing of Christ or of faith.

678 The adversaries draw on Daniel, who says, [chap. 9:27], "There shall be abominations and desolations in the church;" and point this to our church, because the altars are not covered, neither are there lights burning therein, and the like. Although it is not true that we do away with all such outward ornaments. Nevertheless, if it were so, Daniel does not speak of such things, which are altogether outward, and do not belong to the Christian church, but rather means another more abominable desolation, which is strong in Pabstism, namely, the desolation of the most necessary and greatest service, the ministry of preaching, and the suppression of the gospel. For the adversaries preach the more part of the statutes of men, by which the consciences of Christ are led to their own works and trust. Thus it is certain that under the papacy no one has understood the preaching of repentance, or of the poonitontia, as the adversaries teach it, and yet this is the most necessary part of the whole Christian doctrine.

(679) The adversaries have tormented the poor consciences, and afflicted them with sins; and of faith in Christ, by which one obtains remission of sins, and of the right fight and temptation, which are the exercise of faith, they have taught nothing rightly, whereby the consciences might have consolation. All their books, all their sermons, have been of no more use than nothing, and have done untold harm. In addition to this, there is the terrible, horrible abuse of the mass by the opponents, the like of which has hardly ever been seen on earth, and countless other unchristian, foolish services; this is the real devastation of which Daniel says.

680. In our churches, however, the priests attend to their office, teach and preach the gospel, preach Christ, that we have forgiveness of sin and a gracious God, not because of our works, but because of Christ. This teaching gives the hearts a right, certain, constant comfort. They also teach the Ten Commandments, and of righteous good works, which God has commanded. They also teach about the proper Christian use of the holy sacraments.

681 And if the consecration feast or the mass should be called the daily sacrifice, then the mass would be called so with us. For in their churches their priests all say mass for the sake of their prebends and money. In our churches the holy sacraments are not abused in this way. For there is never-

For this purpose the people are instructed in the proper Christian use of the sacrament, namely, that it is instituted to be a seal and certainly a sign of the forgiveness of sins, by which the hearts are reminded and the faith is strengthened, so that they may certainly believe that their sins are forgiven. If then we keep the preaching of the gospel and the right use of the sacrament with us, we have without doubt the daily sacrifice.

682 And though it should be said of external well-being, our churches are better adorned than the contrary. For the proper outward adornment of the church is also the proper preaching, the proper use of the sacraments, and that the people may be accustomed to them in earnest, and come together, learn, and pray with diligence and modesty. Because, by the grace of God, Christian and wholesome things are taught in our churches, such as comfort in all disputes, the people gladly stay with good preaching. For there is no thing that keeps people more in the church than good preaching. But our adversaries preach their people out of the church, for they teach nothing of the necessary pieces of Christian doctrine, telling legends of the saints and other fables.

683 Above this, where our adversaries consider their candles, altar cloths, images, and such like ornaments, and worship with them, they are the servants of the Antichrist, of whom Daniel says that they honor their God with silver, gold, and such like ornaments.

684. even so they draw from the epistle to the Hebrews Cap. 5:1: "Every high priest that is taken from among men is set apart for men against GOD, that he may offer gifts and sacrifices for sin." There they conclude: Since in the New Testament there are bishops and priests, it follows that there must also be a sacrifice for sin. This would move the unlearned and inexperienced most of all, especially when they see the splendid splendor in temples and churches. And the clothing of Aaroni, since in the Old Testament there was also much adornment of gold, silver, and purple, they think that in the New Testament there must be the same worship, ceremonies, and sacrifices, sacrificing for other people's sins, as in the Old Testament. For the whole abuse of the masses and sacerdotal services is not a custom anywhere, because they have wanted to follow the ceremonies of Moses, and have not understood that the New Testament deals with other things, and that they have not understood that the New Testament deals with other things.

That such outward ceremonies, whether they be needed for the discipline of children, should keep their measure.

685. and although our cause is especially well founded in the epistle to the Hebrews, yet the adversaries draw from the same epistle some sayings garbled, as in the very place above mentioned, where the text saith, "Every high priest 2c. is set to sacrifice." 2c. The text soon refers this to Christ. The words which precede speak of the Levitical priesthood, and say that the Levitical priesthood is an interpretation of the priesthood of Christ. For the Levitical sacrifices for sin did not merit forgiveness of sin before God, but were only an image of Christ, who was the right, only, true sacrifice for sin, as I said above. And almost the entire epistle to the Hebrews deals with the fact that the Levitical priesthood and the sacrifices in the Law were not intended to merit forgiveness of sin or atonement before God, but only to signify the future true sacrifice, Christ. For the patriarchs and saints of the Old Testament were also justified and atoned for by God through faith in the promise of the future Christ, through whom salvation and grace were promised, just as we in the New Testament obtain grace through faith in Christ, who has been revealed. For all believers from the beginning have believed that a sacrifice and payment for sin would take place, namely Christ, who was future and promised, as Isaias Cap. 53, 10. says, "When he shall give his soul for a trespass offering for sin" 2c.

686 If therefore in the old testament by the sacrifices no man obtained remission of sins, because they only signified the one sacrifice of Christ, it follows that there is only one sacrifice, even Christ, who hath paid for all the sins of the world, and hath been sufficient. For this cause there is no other sacrifice in the New Testament to pay for sins, but the one death of Christ, which was once offered on the cross.

687 Therefore, when they thus say, that in the new testament there must be a priest that offereth, this only is to be yielded and understood by Christ. And to this the whole epistle to the Hebrews urges and strongly agrees. And this would also be to represent and to admit other mediators besides Christ, if we would admit any other satisfaction for sin and propitiation than the death of Christ.

688. and because the priesthood of the new

For if the Holy Testament is an office by which the Holy Spirit works, it cannot be a sacrifice which *ex opere operato* helps others. For if my own faith and life be not wrought by the Holy Ghost, another's *opus operatum* cannot make me devout and blessed. Therefore the mass cannot be for others; this is clear and certain.

689 We have now shown the reason why the mass does not justify anyone before God ox opere operato, and why masses cannot be held for others. For both of these things are contrary to faith and the doctrine of Christ. For it is impossible that sins should be forgiven, or that the terrors of death and hell should be overcome by another's work, but only by faith in Christ; as the saying is Rom. 5:1: "If we have been justified, we have peace with God. To this we have shown that the sayings of Scripture, which are accused against us, prove nothing for the heathen and antichrist doctrine of the adversaries concerning the opere operato; and all godly, respectable people in all the world, in all nations, can now notice and judge of this. Therefore the error of St. Thomas is to be rejected, who writes that the body of the Lord was sacrificed once on the cross for original sin, and is sacrificed daily on the altar for daily sins, so that the church has a sacrifice to reconcile God daily. The other errors are also to be rejected, that the mass is granted *ex opere operato to* him who says it; item, if one says mass for others who do not say *obicem, even* if they are ungodly, that the same obtain forgiveness of sin and redemption from pain and guilt. All these things are vain errors and false, and invented by vain unlearned, unholy monks, who know nothing at all of the gospel, of Christ, and of the faith.

690 From this error, from such abuses of the masses, countless others have arisen, namely, that they dispute whether a mass, when it is said for many, is also [as] powerful as when each person has a mass said for himself. From this disputation the masses have grown and been sold higher and higher.

691 Further, they still say mass for the dead, to deliver souls from purgatory (which is a shameful fair), when the sacrament is useful neither to the living nor to the dead without faith. And the adversaries cannot produce one letter, not one syllable, from the Scriptures, to confirm the dreams and fables, which they have unashamedly and unashamedly, with great clamor, in great adulation.

They preach the truth when they have neither the testimony of the church nor the testimony of the fathers. Therefore, they are hopeless, blinded people who knowingly despise the public truth of God and trample it underfoot.

What the old teachers or fathers from the victim write.

692 Having rightly interpreted and accounted for the sayings which the adversaries draw from the Scriptures, we must also answer the sayings of the fathers of old which they draw. We know well that the fathers call the mass a sacrifice. But the opinion of the Fathers is not that by saying Mass ox opere operato one obtains forgiveness of sin, or that one should say Mass for the living and the dead in order to obtain for them forgiveness of sin, indulgence from chastisement, and guilt. For they will never prove that the fathers taught anything of such an abomination contrary to all Scripture, but the books of the fathers speak of thanksgiving and the sacrifice of thanksgiving; therefore they call the mass *eucharistiam*. But we have already said that the sacrifices of thanksgiving do not obtain forgiveness of sin for us, but are offered by those who have already been atoned for through faith in Christ. Just as the cross and tribulation do not merit atonement against God, but are thank-offerings when those who are atoned for bear and suffer such tribulation.

693 And these brief words are answer enough against the sayings of the fathers, and also protect us enough against our adversaries. For it is certain that the dreams of the *opere operato* are nowhere found in the books or writings of the fathers. But in order that this whole matter and business of the Mass may be the more clearly understood, let us also speak of the proper use of the Sacrament, and so, as is also found in the holy Scriptures and in all the writings of the Fathers.

Of the right custom of the sacrament and of the sacrifice.

(694) Some bold scholars invent for themselves that the Lord's supper is instituted for two reasons. First, that it is the motto and sign of a religious order, as the caps of their monks are a distinction and sign. Then they think that Christ was particularly pleased to give or set forth the same motto by means of a meal or supper, in order to show the friendship of brotherly relations that should exist among Christians. For to eat and drink with one another is a sign of friendship. But this is a human thought, and

does not indicate the proper use of the sacrament. It speaks only of love and friendship, which worldly men also understand. But there is no mention of faith, or of the promise of God, which is the greatest thing; which faith is a much higher and greater thing than is thought.

695 But the sacraments are signs of the divine will toward us, and are not merely slogans or signs by which men know themselves. And those are right who say that the sacraments are *signus gratiae*, that is, the sacraments are signs of grace. And because in the sacrament there are two things, the outward sign and the word, so in the New Testament the word is the promise of grace which is attached to the sign. And the same promise in the New Testament is a promise of the forgiveness of sin, as the text says, "This is my body given for you. This is the cup of the new testament in my blood, which is poured out for many for the remission of sins." The word beuts us to forgiveness of sin. The outward sign is like a seal and confirmation of the words and promise, as Paul also calls it. Therefore, as the promise is vain, if it be not made by faith; so also the ceremony or outward sign is not profitable, except there be faith, which verily believeth that we are forgiven of sins. And the same faith comforts the frightened conscience. And as God gives the promise to awaken such faith, so also the outward sign is given beside it and set before the eyes, that it may move the hearts to believe and strengthen the faith. For by these two, the word and the outward signs, the Holy Spirit works.

696 And this is the right use of the holy Sacrament, when by faith in the divine promise the terrified consciences are restored. And this is the right service in the New Testament. For in the New Testament the highest divine service takes place inwardly in the heart, that after the old Adam we should be put to death, and be born again by the Holy Spirit. And to this end Christ also instituted the sacrament, saying, "Do these things in remembrance of me." For to do these things in remembrance of Christ is not such a thing as is done only with gifts and works, only for a remembrance and an example, as is remembered in the Histories of Alexandria and the like, 2c. but is called rightly knowing Christ, seeking and desiring Christ's good pleasure. Faith, then, which recognizes the abundant grace of God, makes alive.

(697) And this is the noblest use of the sacrament, that it may be well remembered which are rightly sent unto the sacrament, namely, the affrighted consciences, which feel their sin, are terrified at the wrath and judgment of God, and long for consolation. Therefore the Psalm says: "He hath made a memorial of his wonders, the gracious and merciful Lord; he hath given meat to them that fear him." And faith, knowing such mercy, quickeneth. And this is the right use of the sacrament.

698 There also is, and is found, the sacrifice of thanksgiving or thanksgiving. For when the heart and conscience feel the great hardship, fear, and terror from which it has been delivered, it gives thanks from the heart for such great, unspeakable treasure, and also needs ceremonies or outward signs to praise God, and shows that it accepts such God's grace with gratitude, and esteems it great and high. Thus, the Mass becomes a sacrifice of thanksgiving or praise.

699 And thus the fathers speak of two effects or benefits of the sacrament. First, that thereby the consciences are comforted. Second, that praise and thanksgiving be given to God. The first actually belongs to the proper use of the sacrament, the other to the sacrifice. Of consolation Ambrose says: "Go to him, that is, to Christ, and receive grace, 2c. for he is the forgiveness of sin. But ask ye who he is? Hear him himself say, I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger; and he that believeth on me shall not thirst." There he indicates that with the sacrament forgiveness of sin is offered. He also says that one should grasp this with faith. There are innumerable sayings in the Fathers' books, which the adversaries all point to the *opus operatum* and to the keeping of the Mass, which is done for others, while the Fathers speak of faith in the promise of God, and of the consolation which consciences receive, and say nothing at all about uxpllontions.

700. There are sayings in the Fathers about thanksgiving, as Cyprian speaks almost sweetly of Christian communication: "A Christian heart (he says) divides its thanks in one part for the treasure given; in another part for the sins forgiven, and gives thanks for such abundant grace, that is: A Christian heart looks at what has been given to it in Christ, and what has been forgiven it for great sins out of grace; holds our sorrow and the great mercy of God against each other, and gives thanks to God 2c. And

Therefore it is called Eucharistia in the church. Therefore the mass is not such a thanksgiving as should be done or held *ex opere operato* for others, to obtain forgiveness of sin for them. For this would be contrary to faith, just as if the mass or the outward ceremony without faith made someone pious and blessed.

From the word Mass.

701 Here we see what gross asses our adversaries are. They say that the word *missa* comes from the word *misbeach*, which means an altar; from which it is supposed to follow that the mass is a sacrifice, because on the altar one sacrifices. Item, the word *liturgia*, as the Greeks call the mass, is also said to mean a sacrifice. To this we will briefly reply. All the world sees that for these reasons this pagan and antichristic error need not follow, that the Mass helps *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis*. Therefore they are asses, that in such a great matter they bring up such an inconsistent thing. Even so the asses know no grammatica. For *missa* and *liturgia do* not mean sacrifice. *Missa* is Hebrew for a tax gathered together. For this was the way that Christians brought food and drink to the poor in the assembly. And such a manner was the custom of the Jews, who had to bring such a tax to their feasts, and they called it *missa*. So *liturgia in* Greek is actually called an office, where one serves the congregation. This fits in well with our doctrine, that the priest serves as a common minister to those who want to communicate, and administers the holy sacrament.

702 Some think that *missa does* not come from the Hebrew, but is much the same as *remissio*, forgiveness of sin. For when one communicated, one spoke: *Ite, missa est,* Go, ye have forgiveness of sins. And that it be so, they suppose that it was said among the Greeks, Lais aphesis"--?), that is also so much: they are forgiven. If so, this would be a fine understanding, for forgiveness of sin is always to be preached and proclaimed at this ceremony. But this trade is of little avail, for the word *Missa means* whatever it wants.

Of masses for the dead.

703 But that the adversaries still want to defend this, that the mass helps the dead, whereof they have made a fair of their own, and special unspeakable cretinism, of which they have no
testimony nor command of God in the Scriptures. Now it is an unspeakable, great abomination, and not a small sin, that they may worship in the church without God's word, without all Scripture, and may take the Lord's supper, which Christ instituted, to preach the word, and at the same time to commemorate his death, to strengthen the faith of those who need the ceremony, and impudently draw it upon the dead. For this is rightly taking God's name in vain against the other commandment.

704 For first of all, it is the greatest dishonor and blasphemy of the gospel and of Christ, that the evil work of the mass *ex opere operato should be* a sacrifice that atones for God, and is sufficient for sin. It is a rather terrible, ugly sermon and doctrine, and a great, unspeakable abomination, that the bad work done by a priest should be counted as much as the death of Christ. It is certain that sin and death cannot be overcome except through faith in Christ alone, as Paul says in Romans 5:1. Therefore masses cannot help the dead in any way by means of *surgery.*

(705) We will not here relate how weak are the reasons of the opponents of purgatory. We do not wish to tell them how weak are the reasons given by the opponents of purgatory, or how the doctrine of pardon and satisfaction first arose, as we have said above, that it is a vain dream and a fanciful man. But this we will tell them, that it is certain that the Lord's Supper really belongs to the forgiveness of sins. For what consolation would we have, if forgiveness should be offered to us, and yet it should not be forgiveness of sins? Now if the ceremonies imply forgiveness of sins, it follows that it is impossible that they should be a satisfaction *ex opere operato*, or that they should help the dead. For if it belongs to the forgiveness of sins, it must serve only to comfort consciences, so that they may believe that their sins are truly forgiven.

706 And truly it would be no wonder that all pious Christian people would think themselves bloody with fear and sorrow, if they thought rightly how unspeakable, atrocious, and terrible is the abuse of the masses under the papacy, namely, that the mass is used for no other purpose than for the dead, and to relieve the chastisement of purgatory.

707 They cry, we do *juge sacrificium,* or the daily sacrifice. This is called right z'uZo saorilloiriin, the daily sacrifice taken away from the church, this is a right tyranny and despotism of the godless Antiochi, so the whole gospel, the whole doctrine of faith, of Christ under-.

and on such dreams of *satisfactionibus* preach such lies of the *opere operato instead.* That is, to trample the gospel underfoot, to shamefully pervert the use of the sacraments. These are the true blasphemers, as Paul says of them that they are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, who suppress the doctrine of Christ, of the faith, and abuse the mass and the Lord's Supper to a shameful, impudent, public avarice, to a fair and cretinism. And all this under a hypocritical appearance of satisfaction. And precisely because of this great, unspeakable blasphemy, the bishops will have to await severe punishment from God. One day God will make the other commandment truly true, and pour out a great, fierce wrath upon them. For this reason, we and all of us must take care that we do not allow ourselves to be subjected to the abuse of the adversaries.

708 But let us return to the matter in hand. If, then, the mass is not a satisfaction, either for punishment or for guilt *ex opere operato, it* follows that the mass said for the dead is useless and nothing. And there must not be a long disputation. For it is certain that there is no reason in Scripture for such a mass to be said for the dead. Now it is an abomination to worship in the church without all God's word, without all Scripture. And if it is necessary, let us speak of this matter more abundantly, more and according to all necessity. For why should we now quarrel much with the adversaries, if they do not understand what sacrifice, what sacrament, what forgiveness of sin, what faith is?

709 Nor does the Greek Canon apply the mass as a satisfaction for the dead, for it applies it at the same time to all the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. From this it appears that the Greeks also sacrifice as a thanksgiving, but not as a satisfaction for the chastisement of the purgatory. For it will not be their opinion to deliver the prophets and apostles out of purgatory, but only to offer thanksgiving, beside and with them, for the high, eternal goods, which are given to them and to us.

710 The adversaries contend that it should be condemned for heresy that one man, called Aerius, should have held that the mass is not a sacrifice for the dead. But here they make do with their usual devices, that they invent that our doctrine has been rejected from time immemorial. But the asses are not ashamed of lies. Thus they do not know who Aerius was, or what he taught. Epiphanius writes that Aerius held
that prayer for the dead is useless. Now we do not speak of prayer, but of the supper of Christ, whether that *ex opere operato* is a sacrifice to help the dead? This business of ours concerns Aerium nothing.

711 Whatever else the fathers may have said in favor of the mass, none of it concerns this matter. For the good, pious fathers did not teach this abominable, blasphemous, antichristic error, that the mass *ex opere operato* merits forgiveness of sins and trespasses for the living and the dead. For this error of the opere operato is a public heresy against all Scripture, against all the prophets and apostles. And all Christians should learn that such papist masses are vile and terrible idolatry.

712 But such idolatry remains in the world as long as the Antichrist reigns and remains. For as in Israel a false worship was established with Baal, even unrighteous worship was established under the appearance of the worship which God had ordained, so also in the church the Antichrist has made a false worship out of the supper of Christ. And yet, just as God nevertheless preserved His Church, that is, some saints, among Israel and Judah, so God nevertheless preserved His Church, that is, some saints, among the papacy, so that the Christian Church has not completely perished. Although the Antichrist will remain in part with his false worship until Christ the Lord comes in public and judges, all Christians should be warned to beware of such idolatry, and should learn how to serve God rightly and obtain forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ, so that they may honor God rightly and have constant comfort against sin. For this is why God graciously made His gospel shine, that we might be warned and saved.

713 We have briefly said this about the mass, so that all God-fearing, pious, respectable people in all nations may understand that we have with all faithful diligence preserved the right honor and the right custom of the mass, and that we have great, highly important reasons why we do not keep it with the adversaries. And we want to warn all pious, respectable people that they do not share the great abomination and abuse of the Mass with the adversaries, so that they do not burden themselves with other people's sins. It is a great bargain and a very important thing. For this abuse is no less than the matter was in Elijah's day with the false worship of Baal. We have looked upon

But if the adversaries will not cease from blasphemy, let them know that we also will be more severe to them.

Article XXVII. (XIII.) Of the monastic vows.

714 In the city of Eisenach, in the country of Thuringia, there was about thirty years ago a Barefoot monk, called Johannes Hilten, who was thrown into a dungeon by his brothers, because he had challenged some public abuses in the monastic life. We have also seen some of his writings, from which it is evident that he preached in a Christian manner and according to the Holy Scriptures; and those who knew him say today that he was a pious, quiet, old man, of an entirely honest and honorable nature and conduct. He had prophesied much of these times, and had said beforehand that things had already happened, and also some things that were yet to happen, which we do not wish to relate here, lest anyone should think that we were doing this out of envy or to please someone. Finally, when he had fallen into an illness because of his age and also because the prison had ruined his health, he asked the guardian to come to him and told him of his weakness; and when the guardian, out of Pharisaic bitterness and envy, attacked him with harsh words, because such preaching would not be useful in the kitchen, he refrained from complaining of his body's weakness, sighed deeply, and said with earnest gestures: he would gladly bear and suffer such injustice for Christ's sake, even though he had neither written nor taught anything detrimental to the monks' standing, but had only attacked gross abuses. Finally he said: "Another man will come when it is written in 1516, who will destroy you monks, and he will remain before you, and you will not be able to resist him. The same word, how monasticism would fall, and the same year, were found afterwards in other of his books, and especially in the Commentariis on the Danielem. But what to think of this man's speech, we leave to each his own judgment. But there are other signs that the monk's being could not last long.

715 It is a fact that the monasteries are nothing but impudent hypocrisy and deceit, full of avarice and pride, and the more unlearned asses the monks are, the more stiff-necked, fierce, and bitter, the more poisonous vipers they are, to pursue the truth and God's word. Thus their sermons and writings are all childish, unrational, foolish things, and all their being is directed to fill their belly and their avarice.

716 In the beginning the monasteries were not such dungeons or eternal prisons, but schools, where the youth and others were educated in the holy Scriptures. Now such noble gold has become dung, and wine has become water. Almost all the greatest monasteries and convents are full of lazy, useless, idle monks, who, under the appearance of holiness, live on common alms in all splendor and pleasure. Christ says that the dead salt is of no use except to be thrown away and trampled under foot. Therefore, if the monks lead such an ungodly life, they are in fact singing their own *requiem*, and they will soon be finished.

717 There is another sign that the monks will perish, that they are the originators, founders, and instigators, that many learned, honest men will be innocently slain and judged, that Abel's blood will cry out over them, and God will avenge it. We do not say of all of them; there may be some in monasteries who know the holy gospel of Christ, and do not put holiness on their traditions, who are also not guilty of the blood which the hypocrites shed among them.

718 But we speak here of the doctrine which the masters of the Confutation praise and defend. We do not dispute whether one should keep vows to God. For we also hold that one is obliged to keep true vows; but of this we speak, whether by the vows and such monasticism one obtains forgiveness of sin before God; whether they are satisfaction for sin; whether they are equal to baptism; whether they are perfection, by which the prasespta and consilia, that is, not only the commandments, but also the counsels are kept; Whether they are evangelical perfection; whether the monks have *merita supererogationis, that is,* so much remaining merit and holy works that they cannot do all of them; whether their merits, if they communicate them to others, make them blessed; whether the monastic vows are Christian, according to the opinion thus done? Whether the vows of monasteries, which are forced upon the unwilling, and upon those who, being young, have not understood what they do, whom parents or friends have thrust into monasteries, for the sake of their belly, to save their paternal inheritance alone, are Christian and divine; whether the vows of monasteries, which certainly give rise to sins, are Christian,

namely, that the religious must praise and accept the ugly abuse of the mass, the invocation and adoration of the saints, and make themselves partakers of the innocent blood that has been shed until now? Item, since the vows are not kept because of weakness, whether these are true vows and Christian?

719 Of these questions is our controversy and disputation. And as we have also said in our Confession of many unfit vows, which the canons of the popes themselves reject, neither do the adversaries wish all that we have put forward to be rejected. For thus they say in plain words, that all things which we have put forward are to be rejected.

020 But it is necessary here to show how they dispute our reasons, and what they plead to maintain their cause. Therefore, we will briefly describe what the opponents have to say. And since this matter has been diligently and abundantly dealt with in the Book of Doctoris Martini of Monastic Vows, let us consider that same book to be renewed and raised here.

721 For the first thing is certain, that such vows are not divine nor Christian, when I thus make my monastic vow, that I think thereby to obtain forgiveness of sins against God, or to do enough for sin. For this is error, which is openly contrary to the gospel, and is blasphemy against Christ. For the gospel teaches that we obtain forgiveness of sins through Christ without merit, as we have abundantly said above. Wherefore we have rightly introduced St. Paul's saying to the Galatians in the 5th, v. 4: "If ye would be justified by the law, ye are fallen from Christ and from grace." For they that seek forgiveness of sins, not by faith in Christ, but by monastic vows and monasticism, rob Christ of his glory, and crucify him anew. But hear this. Hear, beloved, how the masters of the Confutation would gladly seek a remedy here, saying that Paul is to be understood only from the law of Moses; but the monks do and keep all things for Christ's sake, and take pains to live most closely according to the gospel, that they may merit eternal life, and add a terrible word to it: Therefore it is (they say) unchristian and heretical what is brought against the monastic life. O Lord Jesus Christ, how long wilt thou suffer and endure such public reproach of thy holy gospel, when our enemies blaspheme thy word and truth?

722. we have said in our confession,

That one must obtain forgiveness of sins without merit through faith in Christ. If this be not the pure and upright gospel preached by the apostles, and if this be not the voice of the gospel of the everlasting Father, which thou, O Lord, who sittest in the bosom of the Father, hast revealed unto the world, we shall be justly punished. But thy bitter death on the cross, thy Holy Spirit, which thou hast abundantly given, thy whole holy Christian church, strongly, powerfully, and assuredly testifieth, which is as bright and manifest as the sun, that this is the summa, the core of the gospel, that we obtain forgiveness of sins, not for our own merit, but through faith in Christ.

723 If Paul may say that we do not merit forgiveness of sins by the holy divine law of Moses and its works, he intends that we do much less so by human statutes; and this he indicates clearly enough to the Colossians. For if the works of the law of Moses, which was revealed by God, do not merit forgiveness of sins, how much less do the foolish works, monasticism, rosaries, and the like, which are neither necessary nor useful for worldly life, much less do they give eternal life to the sea?

724 The adversaries invent a dream of their own, that Christ hath done away with the law of Moses, and is come after Moses, and hath brought a new good law, whereby one must obtain forgiveness of sins. By this fanciful, foolish thought they put down Christ and his good deeds. Then they go on to invent that among those who keep the new laws of Christ, the monks live and walk in the closest likeness to Christ and the apostles by their obedience, poverty, and chastity, when all monasticism is vain, shameful hypocrisy. They speak of poverty, when they have never been able to experience, before great abundance, what a true poor man's heart is like. They boast of their obedience, that no people on earth are freer than the monks, who have made a master of their obedience to bishops and princes. Of their holy, great, dangerous chastity I cannot say; I will let Gerson say it, who also says of those who earnestly strive to live chastely, truly not much purity and holiness; although this is more hypocrisy and not one in a thousand who earnestly intends to live purely and chastely, that we inwardly keep silent the thoughts of our hearts.

725 Is this then the great holiness? Is this what Christ and the gospel mean?

lives? Christ did not come after Moses to bring new laws to forgive sins because of our works, but he set his own works against God's wrath for us, so that we might receive grace without merit. But whosoever, without the atonement of Christ, sets his own works against the wrath of God, and for his own merit would obtain forgiveness of sins, bringing the works of the law of Moses, the ten commandments, the rules of Benedict, Augustine, or other 1) rules, casts away the promise of Christ, and falls away from Christ and his grace.

(726) Now here let imperial majesty, all princes and estates of the realm, notice how exceedingly insolent the adversaries are, that they are allowed to say, in spite of themselves, that all that we have brought forward against monasticism is ungodly, when we have taken up quite certain and clear sayings of Paul, and there is nothing clearer, more certain, in the whole Bible, than that we obtain forgiveness of sins through faith alone in Christ alone. And this 2) certain divine truth the masters of confutation, the desperate evildoers and unholy knaves, may call ungodly doctrine. But we have no doubt, where imperial. Majesty and the princes will be warned of this, they will have such a public blasphemy eradicated and torn out of the Confutation.

727 But since we have above abundantly shown that it is an error that we should obtain forgiveness of sin for our own merit, let us here speak the more briefly. For any intelligent reader can easily understand that we cannot be delivered from death and the devil's power and earn forgiveness of sin through the wretched works of the monks. Therefore also the blasphemous, ugly word, which Thomas writes, is in no way to be suffered, that going into a monastery should be a new baptism, or be like baptism. For it is a devilish madness and error that one should compare an unholy human statute and commandment, which has neither God's commandment nor promise, to holy baptism, which is a promise and promise of God.

728 Secondly, these things, willing poverty, obedience, chastity, if they be not otherwise unclean, are mere adiaphora and bodily exercise, wherein neither sin nor righteousness is to be sought. Therefore the saints used it much differently than St. Bernard,

1) Müller: "other", but according to the Latin (aliarura reAularuin) it must be "other".
2) Müller: "the". Latin: 1ia,oe.

Franciscus and others, than now the monks. For these have used such things for the exercise of the body, that they might the more easily wait for teaching, preaching, and other such things, not that such works should be the service of God, to make them righteous before God, or to merit eternal life; but Paul quite disparages the works, saying [1 Tim. 4:8], "Physical exercise is of little use." And it is possible that in some monasteries there are still some pious people who read and study, who need such rules and statutes without hypocrisy, and with this report that they do not consider their monasticism to be holiness. But to hold that these works are a service of God, whereby we become godly before God, and merit eternal life, is contrary to the gospel, and contrary to Christ. For the gospel teaches that through faith in Christ we are justified and obtain eternal life. So also it is contrary to the word of Christ [Matt. 15:9], "They serve me in vain with the commandments of men." So it is against this saying of Paul [Rom. 14:23.], "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." But how can they say that they are services which please God and are pleasing in His sight, if they have neither the word of God nor the command?

729 But here it is to be noted how impudent hypocrites and knaves they are. They may say that their monastic vows and orders are not only divine services that make them righteous and pious before God, but add to this that they are states of perfection; that is, more holy and higher states than others, such as the married state and the regency state. And so, in their monkish hypocrisy and pharisaical nature, there are countless other horrible, heretical errors. For they boast of being the most holy people, who keep not only the commandments or prusespta, but also the eorisilia, that is, the high counsels, which the Scripture gives of high gifts not a commandment, but a counsel. Whereupon, if they themselves invent that they are so rich in merit and holiness that they still have left over, yet the pious saints are so mild that they offer their insrita kuxersroZutioriis, their other merits, to others, and let them be due for an equal penny, for money. All this is vile, abominable, lying, hypocritical holiness, and vain Pharisaical hypocrisy and glitter.

730. for since the first commandment of GOD, "Thou shalt love GOD thy Lord with all thy heart, with all thy soul," 2c. is higher than a

1333
It is the highest theology, from which all the prophets and all the apostles have drawn their best and highest teachings as from the well; Indeed, if it is such a high commandment, then all worship, all honor to God, all sacrifices, all thanksgiving in heaven and on earth must be regulated and judged according to it alone, so that all worship, no matter how high, delicious, and holy it may seem, if it is outside the commandment, is vain shells and husks without a core, even vain filth and abomination before God; which high commandment no saint has ever perfectly fulfilled, so that Noah and Abraham, David, Peter and Paul still confess themselves to be imperfect, sinners, and must remain here below: It is outrageous Pharisaic, even diabolical pride, that a lousy barefoot monk or such a wicked hypocrite should say, even preach and teach, that he has thus fully kept and fulfilled the holy high commandment, and has done so many good works according to the requirement and will of God, that he still has merits left over. Yes, dear hypocrites, if the holy ten commandments and the high first commandment of God could be fulfilled in this way, as bread and parcels can be put into sacks! They are impudent hypocrites, so that the world is afflicted in these last times.

The Prophet David says [Ps. 116:11]: "All men are liars," that is, no man on earth, not even the saints, esteem or fear God as highly and greatly as they should. No man on earth believes and trusts God as fully as he should 2c. Therefore, it is lies and hypocritical imaginary dreams that the monks boast that they live according to the perfection of the Gospel and the commandments of God, or that they do more than they owe, so that good works and several cents of remaining, superfluous holiness remain in store for them.

732 And so it is false and untruthful, that the monastic life should be a fulfillment of the counsels in the Gospel. For nowhere in the Gospel did it advise such a distinction of clothing and food, or to suck the goods of the people by such a begging rod. For they are vain ordinances of men, of which Paul says [1 Cor. 8:8.], "Food doth not make us holier in the sight of God. "2c. Therefore they are not divine services that make us godly before God, nor are they evangelical perfection; but when they are taught, preached, and expounded with magnificent titles, they are, as Paul calls them, true doctrines of the devil [1 Tim. 4:1].

733 Paul commendeth virginity, and preacheth it as good counsel unto them that have the
have the same gift, as I have said here above. Therefore it is a shameful, infernal error to teach and hold that evangelical perfection stands in human statutes. For in this way the Mahometists and Turks would also boast (for they also have hermits and monks, as there are credible histories) that they hold evangelical perfection. So also evangelical perfection is not in things that are adiaphora, but because this is the kingdom of God, that inwardly the Holy Spirit enlightens, cleanses, strengthens our hearts, and that he works a new light and life in the hearts, so the right evangelical Christian perfection is that we daily increase in faith, in the fear of God, in faithful diligence of the profession and office that is commanded us, as Paul also describes perfection, since he says 2 Cor. 3:18, "We are being transfigured into the same image, from one glory to another, as of the Spirit of the Lord." He does not say, we pass from one order to another, we put on nowand this, then those caps, nowand this belt, then that cord 2c. It is wretched that in the Christian church such Pharisaic, even Turkish and Mahometan doctrine has prevailed, that they teach that evangelical perfection and the kingdom of Christ, by which eternal goods and eternal life are here raised up, are to be found in caps, in garments, in food, and such childish things.

734 But here let us hear further the excellent teachers, how in their confutation they have set up such a public blasphemy and ugly word. They may impudently say that it is written in Holy Scripture that the monastic life and holy orders deserve eternal life, and that Christ has promised the same especially to the monks, who thus leave house, court, brethren, and sister; these are the clear words of the adversaries. But is not this a very impudent, ugly lie, that it is written in the holy Scriptures that one can earn eternal life through the monastic life? How bold you are! Where does the Scripture speak of monasticism? So the adversaries do these great and excellent things, and so they introduce the Scriptures. The whole world knows, the histories are before their eyes, that orders and monasticism are an entirely new thing, nor may they boast that the holy Scriptures speak of their monasticism.

735 Thus they blaspheme and revile Christ, saying that one can earn eternal life through monastic life. God does not honor His own law, that by works one may earn eternal life.

of the law should merit eternal life, as he clearly says Ezekielis on the 20th, v. 25: I have given them law, by which they cannot have life. For the first thing is certain, that by monasticism no one can merit eternal life, but for the sake of Christ's merit, through pure mercy, eternal life is given to those who through faith obtain forgiveness of sin, and hold the same against God's judgment, not their poor merit. As St. Bernard also spoke a fine word, that we cannot have forgiveness of sin, but only through God's grace and goodness. Item, that we can have nothing at all of good works, if he does not give it. Item, that we cannot earn eternal life by works, but that it is also given to us by grace; and St. Bernard speaks much of the same opinion, as we have told above. And at the end St. Bernard adds: Therefore let no man deceive himself therein, nor deceive; for, if he will consider it himself aright, he will certainly find that with ten thousand he cannot meet him (that is, God) who with twenty thousand is pressing towards him. If then we do not merit forgiveness of sin or eternal life by the works of the divine law, but must seek the mercy promised in Christ, we merit it much less by monastic life, monasticism, which are vain statutes of men, and the honor should be given much less to mendicant statutes.

736. Those who teach that by monasticism we can merit forgiveness of sin, and so put the trust which belongs to Christ alone in wretched statutes, tread badly under foot the holy gospel and the promise of Christ. And for the Savior Christ they honor their shameful caps, their monkish works. And if they themselves still lack grace, they do as the wicked, unholy people, that they still invent their *merita supererogationis,* and sell to other people the rest of the portion of heaven.

(737) We speak here the more briefly of this matter, for from what has been said above of repentance, as zn8t16outi0ii6, of the ordinances of men 2c., it is enough to note that the monastic vows are not the treasure by which we are redeemed, and obtain eternal life 2c. And if Christ calls these statutes vain services of God [Matt. 15:9], they are in no way an evangelical perfection. Yet some sensible monks have been shy of praising their monasticism so highly that it should be called Christian perfection,

They who have moderated this high glory have said: it is not Christian perfection, but it is a state which is to serve to seek Christian perfection. Gerson also remembers such moderation, and rejects the unchristian speech that monasticism is Christian perfection.

738. Now where monasticism is only a state of seeking perfection, it is no more a state of seeking perfection than it is of farmers and husbandmen, of tailors and bakers Life 2c. For all these are also states of seeking Christian perfection. For all men, be they in whatsoever estate they will, each according to his profession, ought to strive after perfection as long as this life endureth, and always to increase in the fear of God, in faith, in love toward their neighbor, and such spiritual gifts.

739 One reads in *vitis patrum of* St. Anthony and several other great saintly hermits who, through experience, have finally come to realize that their works do not make them more pious before God than the works of others. For St. Anthony at one time asked God to show him how far he had come in the life of perfection. A shoemaker in Alexandria was shown to him, and he was told that he was like a craftsman in holiness. Soon the next day Antonius set out, went to Alexandria, spoke to the same shoemaker, and asked with diligence what kind of holy life and conduct he was leading. Then the shoemaker answered him, I do nothing in particular; for in the morning I say my prayers for the whole city, and after that I work my trade, and wait on my house 2c. Then Antonius soon understood what God had meant by the revelation. For one is not justified before God by this or that life, but only by faith in Christ.

740 But the adversaries, though they are now ashamed to call monasticism perfection, yet in reason they think it so, for they sell their works and merits, and pretend that they keep not only the commandments, but also the counsels and counsels, and think that they still retain merit. Does this not mean that they boast of perfection and holiness in deed, even if they moderate the matter a little in word? It is also clearly stated in the Confutation that the monks live more closely and exactly according to the Gospel than other worldly men. Now if it is their opinion that one lives closer to the Gospel by not having anything of one's own, by living outside of marriage, by wearing special clothing or a cap, by fasting and praying in this way, then it is true that they do not live more closely to the Gospel.

their opinion that their monasticism is Christian perfection, because it is supposed to be closer to the Gospel than common life.

741 It is written in the Confutation, that the monks obtain eternal life more abundantly than others, and they refer to the scripture Matt. 19:29, "He that leaveth house and home" 2c. There they also praise a perfection which should be in monasticism. But the saying speaks nothing of monasticism. For Christ does not mean that leaving father, mother, wife, child, house, and farm should be such a work as to merit forgiveness of sin and eternal life, but that leaving father and mother in this way is not pleasing to God at all, and is condemned to hell. For if anyone forsakes parents, house, and farm to earn forgiveness of sin and eternal life, he blasphemes Christ.

742 But there are two kinds of abandonment. One is by profession and God's commandment. The forsaking that is done without a calling and God's commandment is not acceptable to the Lord Christ. For the works that we ourselves choose, the Lord Christ calls useless, futile service. But from this it is seen more clearly that Christ does not mean such a fleeing of wife and child. He says: "He who leaves wife, child, house and farm" 2c. Now we know that God commanded not to leave wife and child. But it is another forsaking if we forsake parents, wife, child 2c. out of God's commandment, and if we do it ourselves. For if tyrants would force me to deny the gospel, or drive me out, we have God's command that we should suffer injustice before we are driven out, not only from wife and children, house and farm, but also that our life and limb should be taken from us. Christ speaks of abandonment; therefore he adds to it, "for the sake of the gospel," indicating sufficiently that he speaks of those who suffer for the sake of the gospel, not abandoning wife and child of their own accord. For we also are guilty of laying down our own lives for the sake of the gospel. It would be foolish, and quite absurd, if I were to kill myself without God's command. It is also foolish to consider it holy and a service to God that I should leave my wife and child of my own accord without God's command.

743 Therefore the saying of Christ is evil interpreted of monasticism. But it would seem to apply to the monks, that they received a hundredfold things in this life. For monks are much
for the sake of the belly, and that they have idleness and soapy kitchens, since they nevertheless come to rich monasteries as beggars. But as all monasticism is full of hypocrisy and deceit, so they also put on the Scriptures falsely. So they commit two terrible sins. One, that they deceive the world with idolatry; the other, that they put on the name and word of God falsely to adorn their idolatry.

744. There is also a saying used in this way [Matt. 19:21], "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and follow me." The saying has troubled many, that they think to have is the highest holiness and perfection, not to have things of their own, not to have house, farm, goods. But the Cynici, as Diogenes, who would have no house, but lay in a barrel, may boast of such heathen holiness; Christian holiness stands much on higher things than on such hypocrisy. For having goods, house and farm, are worldly regiment ordinances, which are confirmed by God, as in the seventh commandment: "Thou shalt not steal" 2c. Therefore to leave goods, house and farm is not commanded or advised in Scripture. For evangelical Christian poverty does not consist in leaving goods, but in not trusting in them, even as David was poor, with a great power and kingdom.

745 Therefore, since such abandonment of goods is nothing but a human statute, it is a useless service of God. And the pope's extravagant praises and extols far too highly such monkish hypocritical poverty, saying, Not to have one's own for God's sake is a meritoriously holy thing and a way of perfection. When inexperienced people hear such a boast, they think it is unchristian to sit in goods. From this follows much error and rebellion. By such boasting Muenzer was deceived, and by it many Anabaptists are seduced.

746 But they say, Christ himself hath called it perfection. I say no to this, for they do violence to the text, that they do not put it on altogether. Perfection is found in this passage, where Christ says, "Follow me." And therein is the perfection of every Christian, that he should follow Christ, every man according to his calling; and yet the callings are unequal. One is called to be a ruler, another to be a householder, and the third to be a preacher. Therefore, although that young man is called to sell, his calling does not concern others, as David's calling to be a king does not concern all; Abraham's calling to sacrifice his son is not the same.

does not concern others. So the professions are unequal, but obedience should be equal; and in this is perfection, if I am obedient in my profession, not if I take upon myself a strange profession, not having commandment or God's commandment from it.

747 For the third, one of the substantive monastic vows, is chastity. Now we have said above of priestly marriage that by no law or monastic vows can natural or divine law be changed, and if all men have not the gift of chastity, they also keep the same, that [it] may be charged to God; so also no monastic vows nor law can change the Holy Spirit's commandment, since Paul says [1 Cor. 7:2], "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife." Therefore monastic vows are not Christian in those who have not the gift of chastity, but fall and make it worse from weakness. Of this article we have here above said. And truly it is a wonder, when the adversaries see before their eyes so many innumerable dangers of conscience and vexations, that they nevertheless, as foolish, furious men, press on to such statutes of men, contrary to the public commandment of God, and do not see that the Lord Christ so severely punishes the Pharisees, who taught statutes contrary to God's commandment.

(748) Fourthly, the abominable and dreadful abuse of the masses, which are said for the living and for the dead, ought to deter every man from the monastic life. Item, the invocation of the saints, which is all directed to avarice, to vain abominations of the devil. For there are two abominations in the calling of the saints. The first is that the service of the saints is based on avarice. The other is that the saints are set up in the place of Christ, and that they are idolatrously worshipped and taken for mediators against God. How alone the preacher monks (let alone the innumerable mad dreams of the other monks), with the brotherhood of the Rosary, have wrought a quite impudent idolatry, which now both enemy and friend mock. Item, the Gospel, which preaches forgiveness of sin for Christ's sake, of right repentance, of right good works, which have God's command, they do not hear, nor do they teach it, but teach from their sermons fables of saints, and their own false works, by which Christ is suppressed. The bishops have suffered all this.

749 Let us here be silent of the innumerable childish ceremonies and foolish services with lessons, with songs and the like, which in part might be tolerated if they had a

They say that these ceremonies are of a certain measure, and are used for good training, as lessons in school and sermons are used to make the hearers better. But now they themselves invent that such various ceremonies are to be the service of God, to merit forgiveness of sin thereby for themselves and others; therefore they also make new ceremonies without ceasing. For if they directed such church services and ceremonies to the end that the youth and the common man might be exercised in the word of God, then short and diligent lessons would be much more useful than their babbling in the choir, which has neither measure nor end. Thus the whole monastic life is full of idolatry and hypocritical errors against the first and other commandments, against Christ. In addition, there is the danger that those who are in monasteries or convents must knowingly help to persecute the truth. For this reason there are many great causes why pious, honest people may flee or even leave the monastic life.

(750) The canons themselves absolve those who are persuaded with good words before they have reached their proper age, or whom their friends have cast into a monastery against their will. From all this it appears that there are many causes which indicate that the monastic vows which have hitherto been made are not truly Christian, consistent vows. Therefore one may leave monastic life with a good conscience, after it is full of hypocrisy and all manner of abominations.

751 Here the adversaries accuse us of the Nazarenes in the law of Moses. But they did not take their vows in order to obtain forgiveness of sin, as we have said above about the monks' vows. The Nazarene order was a bodily exercise with fasting, with certain food, by which they confessed their faith; not that they thereby obtained forgiveness of sins, or were thereby delivered from eternal death; for this they sought elsewhere, namely, in the promise of the blessed Seed. As circumcision in the law of Moses, or the slaughter of sacrifices, is not now to be set up for a divine service, so the fasting or ceremonies of the Nazarenes are not to be set up or put on as a divine service, but are to be kept for a mean thing and bodily exercise. For this reason, they cannot compare their monastic state, which is ordained without the word of God, as a divine service by which God is propitiated, with the Nazarene state, which God had commanded; and it was not intended that the Nazarene should thereby obtain a gracious God, but that it should be a divine service.

An outward discipline and exercise of the body, like other ceremonies in the law of Moses. The same is true of other vows of various kinds that are made in the Law of Moses.

752 Even so the adversaries draw upon the example of the Rechabites, who had no goods, neither did they drink wine, as Jeremiah saith, Cap. 35, 6. f. Yea, verily the example of the Rechabites rhymeth with our monks, when their monasteries are more magnificently built than the palaces of kings, when they live in all abundance. Even so the Rechabites, though they were poor, were husbands and wives; our monks, when they have all splendor, all abundance, pretend to chastity in their hypocrisy.

753 Now the wise and learned know well that all examples are to be interpreted or instituted according to the rule, that is, according to the clear Scriptures, and not contrary to the rule or Scriptures. Therefore, if the Rechabites are praised in Scripture, it is certain that they did not keep their ways and ceremonies in order to merit forgiveness of sin or eternal life, or that their works in themselves could atone for them before God, but that they believed as pious, God-fearing children in the blessed, blessed Seed, in the future Christ. And because they had the commandment and the commandment of their parents, their obedience is commended in the Scriptures, of which the fourth commandment speaks: "You shall honor your father and your mother."

0754 For the manner of the Rechabites hath another cause. When they were among the heathen, their father distinguished them from the heathen by some signs, that they should not fall again into ungodliness and idolatry. For this reason their father wanted to remind them of the fear of God, of faith, and of the resurrection of the dead, and this is a good reason. But the monks have many other causes. They invent that monasticism is a service of God, by which one earns forgiveness of sin and is propitiated to God. Therefore it is no comparison at all with the example of the Rechabites, that I, to say nothing of the innumerable mischiefs and vexations which are still in the monastic life.

755. Even so they bring forward from the first epistle to Timothy, 5 Timothy, v. 11, 12, of the widows that served the churches, and were fed of the common church goods, Paul saying, "For if they have been lewd against Christ, they desire to be free, and have their judgment that they have transgressed the first faith." I will set it at once, that since the apostle speaks of the vows...

But if he speak, as he does not, the saying does nothing to make the vows of the monastery Christian. For the vows of the monastery are made for this purpose, that they should be a service of God, whereby a man may merit forgiveness of sin. But Paul rejects all laws, all works, all services of God, which are thus kept and accepted, in order to merit forgiveness of sin and eternal life, which we obtain through Christ alone. Therefore it is certain, though the widows had made some vows, yet they were unlike the present monastic vows.

756 Moreover, if the adversaries would ever draw and stretch the saying of Paul upon the vows of the monastery, they must also suppose that Paul saith, Let no widow be taken that is younger than threescore years. So then all monastic vows, which were made before the time of old age by younger people, will be unbinding and nothing. But the church has not known anything about monastic vows for a long time. Paul therefore rejects widows, not because they become married (for he calls the young married), but because they let themselves be fed out of the common church treasury, abused it for their lust and lustfulness, and thus broke the first faith. That is, he means that they abandoned their first faith, not their monastic vows, but their baptism, their Christian duty, and their Christianity. And so he also speaks of faith in the same chapter, v. 8: "If any man provide not for his household, he hath denied his faith." For he speaks differently of faith from the sophists. Therefore he says that they deny the faith who do not provide for their householders. So also he says of the forward women, that they forsake the faith.

757 We have shown some causes, and have set forth what the adversaries have brought forward. This we have told, not only for the sake of the adversaries, but much more for the sake of some Christian hearts and consciences, that they may have it clearly before their eyes why monastic vows and all manner of monasticism are not right or Christian, which also all together may cast down to the ground the one word of Christ, when he says, "They serve me in vain with the commandments of men." For from the word alone one has briefly that all monasticism, caps, ropes, girdles, and all one's own fictitious holiness before God are useless, vain services of God. And let all Christian pious hearts consider this quite certain, that this is certainly a Pharisaic, damnable, ugly error, that we should by such monasticism forfeit forgiveness of sin or eternal life.

rather than to obtain them through faith in Christ.

Therefore, pious men who have been saved and preserved in the monastic life must at last have come to the point of despairing of all their monastic life, despising all their works like dung, condemning all their hypocritical services, and holding fast to the promise of grace in Christ, as there is an example of St. Bernard, who said, *Perdite vixi,* I have lived sinfully. For God does not want any other worship than that which He Himself has established through His Word.

Article XXVIII. (XIV.) Of the could *Ecclesiastica*.

The adversaries here make a great clamor about the liberties and privileges of the clergy (as they call them), and then make such a resolution: "It is (they say) all nothing and incompetent what is brought forward in this article against the liberties and privileges of the churches and priests. But here the masters of the Confutation act^once again^as knaves to denigrate us. For in our Confutation nothing is said against the liberties of churches or priests, that they may be graced by temporal authorities, emperors, kings, and princes. For we teach that secular order and law are to be observed.

But, God willed, that the adversaries would also hear the unspeakable, miserable great lamentation of all the churches, the great cries and groans of so many pious hearts and consciences. The adversaries do not forget the freedom of the churches, and what concerns money and goods. But as to the most necessary and useful offices in the church, they care nothing; they ask nothing at all how one teaches or preaches; they do not ask how the Christian custom of the sacraments is preserved; they ordain coarse asses; thus Christian doctrine has perished, that the churches are not staffed with competent preachers. They make traditions and infallible burdens to corrupt souls. And because of their traditions they hold much tighter than because of God's commandments. Many poor souls are now in doubt and do not know what to hold. Then it behooves the prelates to hear what is right and what is wrong, and to change the abuses, to help the poor people out of doubt, and to take the burden from their burdened consciences. But what they do is in the daylight; they make edicts against public truth, show outrageous tyranny against pious people for the preservation of some of their traditions, which are publicly against God. So they now boast of their privileges, they should also consider their office, and listen to the sighs and lamentations of many pious Christians, which God undoubtedly hears, and will one day demand an account from the prelates.

(761) Nor does the Confutation answer our reasons, but takes a rather papal position, and says of the great power of the bishops, and does not prove it; saying, therefore, that the bishops have power to rule, to judge, to punish, to compel, to make law, conducive to eternal life. Thus the consutatio of the bishops boasts of power, and yet does not prove it. Now from this article the controversy is, whether the bishops have power to make laws apart from the gospel, and to command that the same should be kept as a divine service, thereby earning eternal life.

762. Whereupon we make this report: This doctrine must be kept in the church, that without merit we obtain forgiveness of sins through faith for Christ's sake; so also must the doctrine be kept, that all the ordinances of men are of no use to make an atonement for God. Therefore neither sin nor righteousness is to be put into food, drink, clothing, and the like. For Paul says [Rom. 14:17.], "The kingdom of GOD is not eating and drinking." Wherefore the bishops have no power to make statutes apart from the gospel, so as to obtain forgiveness of sin by them, or that they should be divine services, for the sake of which God justifies us, and to which they oblige the consciences in case of mortal sin. All this is taught by some of the sayings in the Acts of the Apostles in the 15th chapter, v. 9, 10, where Peter says, "that hearts are purified by faith." And after this they forbid to put a yoke or burden on the disciples, saying how dangerous it was. They also state that those who sin terribly and act against God and tempt God, who thus burden the church, sin terribly and act against God. For they say, "Why do you tempt God? "This hard and serious word of the apostles, which should have frightened them as a thunderclap, the adversaries do not let them go to their hearts, but still want to defend their imaginary church services with all tyranny and violence.

763. Article, wherein we have set forth that we do not merit forgiveness of sin through the ordinances of men, they condemn, saying here, "The ordinances of men are useful and profitable to merit eternal life. But it is a public fact that they do not comfort the heart inwardly, so they do not bring any new light or life into the heart, as Paul says to Colossians (Cap. 2:8), that therefore the statutes do not help,

To obtain eternal righteousness or eternal life. For the statutes teach of the difference of meat, and of raiment, and of things that consume themselves with the hands. But eternal life, which begins inwardly by faith in this life, is wrought in the heart by the Holy Spirit through the gospel. Therefore the adversaries will never prove that eternal life is earned by the deeds of men.

764 If then the gospel clearly affirms that the church and conscience are not to be burdened with such statutes, that is, that one must thereby obtain forgiveness of sins, or must hold them as necessary divine services, without which Christian holiness cannot be, or that one is to be obliged to hold them in case of mortal sin, then the adversaries will never prove that the bishops have power to establish such divine services.

765 But what office or power the bishops have in the church, we have said in the Confession. The bishops who now bear the name of bishop in the church do not do their episcopal office according to the Gospel. But let them be bishops at once, according to the "anoniea politia, which we leave in its value, but we speak of true Christian bishops. And I do not dislike the old division or partition, that they have said: Episcopal power stands in these two, "Potestat" ordinis and "Potestat" surisäletlonis, that is, in the administration of the sacraments and spiritual jurisdiction. Thus every Christian bishop has potsstatsrn oräinis, that is, to preach the gospel, to administer sacraments. Also he has power of a spiritual judicial compulsion in the church, that is. He has the power and authority to exclude from the Christian congregation those who are found in public vices, and, if they are converted, to receive them back, and to give them absolution. But they have not a tyrannical power, that is, to judge without certain laws; neither have they a royal power, that is, to establish over the given laws; but have a certain commandment of God, and a measured command, under which they are, according to which they are to use their spiritual power and judicial compulsion. Although they have such jurisdiction over public vices, it does not follow that they have power to establish new services. For jurisprudence and the making of new services are far apart. Neither does the backsliding extend to sins against their new laws, but only to those sins which are against God's commandment. For the gospel doth not judge them a re
giment apart from the gospel, that is clear and certain.

766 Although in the Confession we have set forth how far the bishops may make statutes, namely, that they should not establish and teach them as necessary services, but that they should be quiet and orderly in the church. But let not the consciences be entrapped thereby, as if they were necessary services. For Paul saith unto the Galatians in the 5th chapter, v. 1: "Stand ye therefore in liberty, as Christ hath made you free, and be not brought again under the yoke of bondage." So then one must leave free to need, or not to need, such outward statutes, that they be not thought of or kept for such divine services as should be necessary to salvation. But one is obliged to avoid trouble. So the apostles ordained many things in the church for the sake of good discipline, which have been changed in time. They did not make ordinances so that they should be necessary or remain forever, for they did not act contrary to their own Scripture and doctrine, in which they argued vehemently that the church should not be burdened or bound with ordinances as if they were necessary for salvation.

767 This is a simple and clear teaching of the ordinances of men, namely, that we know that they are not necessary services, and yet that they ought to be kept according to opportunity, to avoid offence. And thus many learned, great men have held and taught in the church, and it is certain that the adversaries can raise nothing against it; so it is also certain that this word of Christ's Lord, "He that heareth you heareth me," does not speak of the ordinances of men, but is flatly against them. For the apostles did not receive a rnanäaturn "urn lidsra, that is, an entirely free, appropriate command and authority, but have a measured command, namely, not to preach their own words, but God's word and the gospel. And the Lord Christ, in the words, "He who hears you hears me," wants to strengthen all the world, just as it was necessary that we should be quite sure that the bodily word was God's power, and that no one from heaven should seek or wait for another word. Therefore this word, "He that heareth you heareth me," cannot be understood of statutes. For Christ's intention is that they should teach in this way, so that Christ himself may be heard through their mouths. They do not have to preach their own words, but his word, his voice, and his gospel are to be heard. This comforting word, which is most powerfully un-

The rude asses point to their foolish statutes, to their food, drink, clothing, and such childish works as confirm our doctrine, and have much needed teaching and consolation for the Christian conscience.

768 They also use this saying to the Hebrews, Cap. 13, 17: "Obey them that go before you" 2c. This saying requires that one should be obedient to the Gospel, for it does not give the bishops a dominion of their own, or lordship apart from the Gospel. So also the bishops are not to make statutes contrary to the gospel, nor to interpret their statutes contrary to the gospel. For if they do, the gospel bequeaths us to be obedient to them, as Paul saith to the Galatians [Cap. 1:3], "If any man preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed."

769. we answer the same to the saying of Matt. 23:2, v. 3: "In Moses' seat sit the scribes, 2c. all things therefore whatsoever they tell you to observe, observe and do it:" which is certain, that it is not commanded univsrsnlitsr, in general, that we should observe all things whatsoever they command, even contrary to the commandment and word of God. For in another place the Scripture says [Acts 5:29], "One must obey God more than men." Therefore if they teach unchristianly and contrary to the Scriptures, they are not to be heard. Neither does this saying set up a government apart from the gospel; therefore they cannot prove their authority, which they have set up apart from the gospel, by the gospel. For the gospel speaketh not äs traäitionidus, but of God's word to teach.

770 But that the adversaries, at the end of the confutation, revile us, and complain that this doctrine is a cause of disobedience and other more grievances, such is unreasonably laid to the charge of this doctrine of ours. For it is public that authority is highly praised by this doctrine. Thus it is known that in the places where this doctrine is preached, by the grace of God, the authorities have hitherto been held in all honor by their subjects.

771 But that there is disunity and division in the church is known, how these quarrels first took place, and who gave cause for division, namely the Jndulgenzkrämer, who preached insolent lies impudently, and afterwards condemned Luther, that he did not approve of the same lies, for this caused for and for more quarrels, that Luther was caused to challenge other more errors. But because our antitype did not want to tolerate the truth, and was under

If you are still able to handle public error by force, it is easy to judge who is guilty of the separation. All the world, all wisdom, and all power should give way to Christ and his holy word. But the devil is God's enemy, therefore he exerts all his power against Christ to suppress and oppress God's word. So the devil with his members, who opposes God's word, is the cause of division and disunity. For we have sought the highest peace, of which we still desire the highest, so far that we are not urged to blaspheme and deny Christ. For God knows, who is the judge of all hearts, that we have no pleasure or joy in this terrible disunity; so the opposite has not wished to make peace until now, lest we should, through no fault of our own, abandon the wholesome doctrine of the forgiveness of sins through Christ, thereby blaspheming Christ to the highest degree.

772 And though it is not unknown that, as the world is wont to do, some offence has occurred in this division through iniquity and unskilful men, for the devil causes such offence to the dishonour of the gospel, yet all these are not to be esteemed against the high consolation which this doctrine has brought with it, which teaches that for Christ's sake, without our merit, we have forgiveness of sins, and a gracious God. It also teaches that worship is not the abandonment of worldly statuses and authorities, but that such statuses and authorities please God and are truly holy works and worship.

773. If we were to tell the opposite story, which we truly do not want to do, it would be a terrible record of how the mass has been turned into a shameful, blasphemous fair by the opposite party, and how a lewd life has been caused by their celibacy, how the popes have been in war with the emperors for more than four hundred years, and have forgotten the Gospel, and have sought only to be emperors themselves, and to bring all Italy under them; how they have played with the "goods of the church," and how, through their carelessness, much false doctrine and false worship have been set up by the monks. Their worship of the saints is a public pagan idolatry. All their scribes say not a word about this faith in Christ, by which one obtains forgiveness of sins; they place the highest holiness in the statutes of men, of which they write and preach chiefly. It is therefore to be counted among their vexations, that they publicly show what spirit they have, that they have so much innocent piety.

Some people are now murdering for the sake of Christian doctrine. But we do not want to talk about this now, because these things should be judged according to God's word, and the anger of both sides should not be considered in the meantime.
774. we hope that all godly men will see sufficiently in this scripture of ours, that our
teaching be Christian and comforting and salutary to all the pious. Therefore we ask God to grant grace that His holy Gospel may be known and honored by all to His praise, and to the peace, unity and blessedness of all of us, and we hereby request, where necessary, to report further on all articles.

Section seven of chapter thirteen.

Of the further committee ordered for amicable settlement of the religious affairs, and of Landgrave Philip's deductions from the Diet.

1031 List of the persons who belonged to the further committee.

From Müller's History of the Protestant Estates Protest..,
lib. III, eap. 26, S. 706.

1st Elector Albrecht of Mainz.
2nd Elector Joachim of Brandenburg.
3. churtrierian embassy.
4th Churkölnian Embassy.
5th Chur Palatine Embassy.
6. the Archbishop of Salzburg.
7th Mr. Georg Truchsess, by reason of the House of Austria.
8. theBishopofWorms .
9. the bishop of Strasbourg .
10. thebishopofAugsburg .
11th Duke George of Saxony.
12th Duke Henry of Brunswick.
13th Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg.
14th Margrave Philip of Baden Skilled.
15 The abbot of Weingarten, on account of the prelates.
16th Count Martin of Oettingen, by reason of the counts.

1032 Speech of the Elector of Brandenburg on behalf of the Committee to the Protestant Estates, Aug. 7, 1530.

From Müller's Hist. 2c., p. 714.

The Lutheran princes would know from what faithful diligence was obtained from the imperial majesty that first of all friendly and amicable dealings should be held with them, whether ways of unity could be found.
could; For this reason he also wanted to admonish them to consider how the opinion they had recently adopted was so publicly against the gospel and all apostolic writings, how great the destruction of souls, bloodshed and other harm to the whole German nation would result from it, if they did not obey the imperial majesty's search and commandment, and were lacking in themselves, so that that which should be acted upon and decided at the Imperial Diet for the welfare of Christendom and the peace of the common German nation could not be carried out. Therefore, his admonition and request would be that they grant the request of so many of their lords, dear friends, and relatives, that they refrain from their false opinion, and that they no longer be separated from the Christian church; for although some abuses have occurred in the Christian church, the Imperial Majesty is of the opinion that they should be stopped in Germania with the Pope's assistance, and that unity should be established in the empire.

1033: Answer handed over to the Protestant Estates Aug. 9, 1530, to the presentation made to them by Churbrandenburg.

In Chyträus, p. 322 and Müller, p. 714.

Although we, Your Lordships and Princely Graces, next reproach, so that Your Lordships and Princely Graces may kindly and graciously warn us of our, and the German nation's, harm and disadvantage, Your Lordships and Princely Graces will not receive us in any other way than kindly and humbly.

it is to us to hear and to hear, as your Lordships and Your Royal and Princely Graces themselves can consider. Your Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has had the articles presented to him, we would not compare ourselves to them. For Your Lordships and Princely Graces know that His Imperial Majesty's invitation to this Imperial Diet is clearly intended to ensure that every opinion and good opinion is heard between ourselves in love and kindness, and that what would not have been rightly interpreted and acted upon by both parties is to be done away with, and that we all adopt a single true religion. Thus, at the beginning of this Imperial Diet, the Imperial Majesty requested in her Majesty's speech that such an opinion and view be expressed in writings. With this we have, for our part, made up our minds, as much as was possible in a hurry, and in the time determined for us, we have presented our opinion, and that of our pastors and preachers, by means of double writings and languages, with strong reasons from the Holy Scriptures, to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty humbly. Thus we have also presented to the Imperial. Majesty, as Your Honors, Electors and Princes know. After we have been informed of our opinion and that of ours concerning the interpretation of the disputed articles, we have also humbly appealed to Her Majesty to have her gracious understanding, so that henceforth her Majesty's letters, as mentioned above, may be complied with. And in the preface to our submitted articles and opinions, we have requested that, in order to arrive at such a discussion, we should be pleased to compare notes with your dearest and most gracious, and to unite in everything that may be done with God and conscience according to His holy Word and its strong interpretation. But there is next a writing before the imperial majesty, in the form of a transposition and confutation of our articles, with some attracted. However, it has been publicly read before the Imperial Majesty in the form of a transfer and confutation of our articles, with some related writings, sayings of the fathers, and the decree of some conciliation. Gn. know, because it has been difficult for us for the aforementioned reasons, they should not have been delivered to us. Therefore, Your Lordships, the Electors and the Princes. Your Grace, how we have to respond to the articles that the Imperial Majesty has presented to us. Majesty has had presented to us, which have been considered by Your Grace and Grace to be founded in Scripture and the Holy Gospel, as well as in the sayings of the Fathers, we can unite and compare ourselves in this way. For Our Lord, the Church and the

Your Royal Highnesses have to consider that we have indicated so much from the Holy Scriptures in our submitted articles, and have also offered to indicate upon request that we will refrain from it with a sure conscience and peace of heart, because we find such a transfer based on God's Word and truth that we would like to guide our conscience peacefully and safely. Although we are also graciously and kindly served by Your Lordship and Prince. If it were ever thought among us that the abuses of the clergy were the cause of this error, they would be obliged to advise us of it, and to let us be instructed in that which has been done improperly. Majesty's decree no otherwise than that, after each part has presented its opinion and opinion, it should be discussed between us in love and kindness what has not been rightly interpreted or acted upon on either side, and that therefore abuses of the clergy and churches should be acted upon. Nor could we judge how the reported abuses of the clergy and churches might be fruitfully dealt with in another way. Thus, Your Lordships and Prince and Electors know Gn. know that they, we, and all the estates have spoken of a common, free, Christian council for the sake of this most important matter at almost all the imperial congresses held, and that it has been unanimously decided that the Emperor and his Majesty are to be humbled by it. Majesty, so that this may be done in a beneficial manner in the German nation; and the Imperial Majesty is more than once requested by the German people. Majesty more than once by writs, so that Her Majesty's Governors and decreed Commissars, E. Liebden and Chur- und F. Gn., also we and other estates, have been made known to Her Majesty the farewells and actions of the Imperial Diet held, have been most humbly requested to do so. Thereupon Her Majesty, according to the Instruction issued a year ago at the Imperial Diet against Speier, has graciously consented to the same, as we mentioned in the preface to our confession, with the indication that Her Majesty has also obtained approval from the Pope. Thus, the next Speierian farewell gives the time between which such a common, free, Christian concilium should be announced and begun. For all this, after the reported Diet of Speier, we have appealed to the Imperial Majesty for these matters. Maj. and a common council, as is proper. Therefore we do not hope that Imperial Majesty, as a right loving Majesty, as a right-loving Emperor, our most gracious Lord, will blame us for this, or allow himself to be moved to be ungracious, that we, out of persistent

Causes cannot deviate from it, that in such cases the proper way is also already granted, and that we need legal means of rights, so in many lesser and worldly matters no one is deprived of. For Imperial Majesty Majesty, together with Your Honour, Lord and Grace, can well accept where these matters would have a different form, and that we, without such a noticeable danger to our salvation and consciences, as Imperial Majesty desires, and that we have the right to take legal action. Majesty desires, and E. Dearest and Grace have also sought from us, that we would much rather dispense with such unrest. It would also be terrible that such complaints should be made and carried out, as indicated and reproached to us by E. L., the Electors and the F. Gn., when these matters can be dealt with in other Christian and proper ways; we would also, as E. L., the Electors and the F. Gn. themselves can consider, have given no cause or reason for this. And since E. L. and the Elector and F. G. understand sufficiently from this that E. Liebden and Gn. We would like to provide ourselves to Your Lordship and Your Grace, and have also kindly and humbly reminded them that they will allow themselves to be heard in other possible ways of their offered friendly and amicable negotiation, in which we do not want to let anything happen to us in all that we may always do with God and a good conscience.

By the Grace of God, John, Duke of Saxony and Elector,
Georg, Margrave of Brandenburg, Ernst, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, Franz, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg,
"Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Albrecht, Count and Lord of Mansfeld.

And the cities:

Nuremberg.	Winsheim.
Reutlingen.	Heilbronn.
Kempten.	Weißenburg.

1034. of the further committee the 11th of August was counter-answered.

At Chyträus and Müller at the places indicated at the previous number.

After they, of the committee, and other estates of the realm, more kind, faithful, and gracious Opinion undertake to be friendly and faithful mediators in honour of Imperial Majesty. Majesty, for the welfare of the Holy Empire, and for our friendship and grace, to be friendly and faithful mediators, and to use all diligence so that the discord of faith between Imperial Majesty, the estates of the Empire, and us may be amicably settled. Majesty, the estates of the empire and us, be settled and amicably reconciled, as they have therefore recently done their faithful reminder and exhortation, and have also proposed to us as a means of helping Imperial Majesty and the estates of Christianity. Majesty and the estates' Christian and faithful goodwill, as this was understood and read out in the answer to our submitted confession, to be accepted and accepted once again; they had also provided that such their friendly and Christian goodwill should have produced more and better fruit with us than they still feel. And when we complained about four articles, among others, in our document that was read out to them, the Committee: Firstly, as if no satisfaction had been given to His Majesty's invitation to this Imperial Diet, in which His Imperial Majesty mentions that the Imperial Diet is to be held. Majesty mentions that the parties are to be heard against each other according to necessity; item, that the answer of the Estates to our Confession may not be copied for us; item, that for the sake of our conscience we could not consent to their proposal, and that Imperial Majesty has often refused to accept it. They then said and asked that we would not understand their loyal action otherwise than in good opinion, and that we would never regard them as a party, but rather as friendly conciliators and mediators. They could not, however, refrain from calling upon Imperial Maj. Maj., our most gracious Lord, and the estates for the sake of the above-mentioned articles. And in the first place, Imperial Majesty Majesty that she has not, in accordance with her invitation to this Imperial Diet, graciously given all parties sufficient and also superfluous hearings. For we would have presented our confession in writings according to length, and thereupon the confutation and rebuttal of the estates, as they were heard, would have taken place according to necessity, with such a request from the Emperor. Majesty's request, whether we or the other party think of or want to add anything further: that it may also be graciously granted by Imperial Majesty. Majesty also wished to hear it graciously and according to necessity, but neither party made any further complaint, as then Imperial Majesty reportedly wishes. Maj. might be accused of this.

But that we should have been refused the Confutationschrift Copia, would not have been without important honest

1) "of length" put by us instead of "lengthwise" in the old edition.

For we and our counsellors, experienced in the law, would have to remember in good measure that the imperial laws expressly forbid, in case of loss of life and limb, to discuss or ponder anything in the articles of faith. Thus we would know that the Imperial. Majesty's edict and serious commandment and prohibition in this matter of faith, which not only have not been lived up to, but which have been held in complete contempt, mocked, ridiculed, and ridiculed, to noticeable imperial disgrace and disgrace. Maj. disgrace and ignominy. Should they now issue their Confutation again into the community and send it to us, such scorn, ridicule, 2c., as well as all kinds of disputation and ineptitude would be to be expected, which, as has been heard, is forbidden. As it is, they would not be opposed, but would be obliged to send us a copy of the Confutation of the Estates, with the condition and difference that was held out to us before, or, if we did not want to have it, to have their Confutation read out to us as often as we wanted, at which we would also be satisfied, and would not ask for anything more from them.

As for the excuse of our consciences, they considered (but we should forgive them) that we made consciences when there were none to be made, and when we should have consciences, we would have none. For it would not be known to us that our preachers, contrary to the holy Scriptures and the Christian church, have made their own unchristian laws and ordinances, have seduced the common man, and have caused all kinds of trouble: This one would be an iconoclast, this one a desecrator of the sacraments, this one an Anabaptist, and another one a garden friar, and thus no one would compare himself with the other, and all would be inclined to seduction in general; whether they, the preachers, were now such persons, on whom we ought to found and build more than on the holy whole Christian church, they held that our conscience should show us otherwise, and namely, that we would rather be obliged to adhere to the common church than to these seducers.

That Imperial Majesty also offered to promote a free Concilio with Papal Holiness would be true, and Imperial Majesty would still be inclined to do so. Maj. would still be inclined to do so. But the fact that it has not yet been done would have been prevented by the great wars and uprisings in German and French lands, for which reason such a thing could not have been done.

But they were concerned, whether a concilium was gathered in a short or long time, that it would be very little. We do not believe that the Concilium of the past would have any place or fruit among us, because our preachers let themselves be heard to say that the old Conciliation had erred, and that the future Conciliation would also err, and therefore it is probable that much more ridicule, insult, and scorn than salvation would result from it; therefore we do not want to accuse ourselves of any Concilium, or that the Imperial Majesty has not yet instituted such a thing, with the request that we still find ways and means by which the matter might be remedied and come to unity. And although they would not consider any other means than as they have proposed before, they still want to hear us speak and propose it. And if it were something that might have a standing with the Imperial Majesty, they would faithfully bring it up and promote it; but if it were not to be done, they would return it to us together with their discretion.

1035 The other answer of the Protestants to the committee's counter-answer, read on August 13 and handed over on August 14.

In Chyträus, p. 229 and in Müller, p. 727. Further in the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 447; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 104; in the Altenburg, vol. 230; and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 213. From a copy in the common archive at Weimar in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 201. According to the latter we have improved our copy.

Dear Sirs, Grandparents, Cousins, Brothers and Friends in Law, and especially dear, gracious, gracious and favorable Sirs. We have heard your most recent presentation at length, and have retained the following opinion:

(2) First, how and in what manner Your Lordship and Grace have heard our next written and oral reply to Your Honour and Grace's faithful, friendly admonition that we wish to settle with Imperial Majesty, and also with the Princes and Estates of the Empire, by means of the document read next. Majesty, as well as Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, by means of the document read out next, and that Your Majesty's diligent, faithful diligence should have produced more fruit than has happened, which they are truly sorry for. However, in order that they might be flushed into all ways as faithful and well-meaning negotiators, they have diligently inspected the document, considered it, and found that our complaint as to why we could not settle with E. L. and G. would be safely based on four articles.

(3) Firstly, as if we had not been sufficiently informed by Imperial Majesty. Majesty's invitation not enough or according to necessity.

nor would not comply with the same imperial majesty's request with friendly action in love and kindness.

(4) Secondly, that we have considered how the next writing, Imperial Answer, or, as we call it, Confutation, would have been denied us. Maj. answer, or, as we call it, Confutation, would have been denied and rejected something of our oversight.

005 For the third thing, that we may further draw upon our conscience, even beside this, and the fourth thing, that we may press upon the concilium, and therefore the promise made. 1)

(6) And because E. L. and Gn. wanted to use their next reproaches, as touched, friendly good opinion done, and what they still knew, which would serve or promote Christian common unity, gladly possible diligence, and then found that in our answer we attributed something unequal to Imperial Majesty, and in which we err ourselves, so that we would be led into other ways, E. L. and Gn. would have decided that it was necessary for us to take care of the matter, as they did. Majesty, and in which we ourselves are mistaken, so that we might be led into other ways, the E. L. and G. have decided and deemed it necessary to give us the following notice of the matters as they are everywhere; however, not at all in the opinion that they would thereby make themselves parties, but only to show themselves to be the friends and negotiators, so that we ourselves might not be mistaken or misled.

(7) And first of all, as far as the summons to this Diet is concerned, E. L. and G. deem with them that Imperial Majesty may not be summoned to it as if Her Majesty had not complied or had sufficiently complied. Majesty may not be imposed in the same, as [if] her Majesty had not complied with it, or had sufficiently obeyed it. For Her Majesty had quite graciously heard us in writings and orally, and had indicated whether we had anything further to present, which we also wished to do, so that one thing might go with another. So we would have left it at that, and [let ourselves] be heard that we wanted to stand and remain with the confession that was handed over. And as to the other part of this article, Imperial Majesty would have granted and permitted amicable negotiations; accordingly, E. L. and G., as a committee of the other Princes, Princes, and Estates, would have agreed to such action. From this it can be sufficiently judged that Her Imperial Majesty is not obliged to do anything in this matter. Majesty in this, as if she had not sufficiently obeyed the summons, or had refused to act in love and kindness.

008 Secondly, let it not be laid to her majesty's charge, that the scripture read in her name hath been denied us. For her majesty

1) What is written in square brackets is mostly the reading of Chyträus, partly also still in the Brandenburg copy and in Müller.

We would have been obliged to send such a document, albeit with a measure; which we complain of, but Her Imperial Majesty cannot grant in any other form. Majesty could not grant it in any other form; and we respect that nevertheless Her Imperial Majesty had cause for it. Majesty has had cause for this. For we would know in what way the imperial edict and commandment issued at Worms would have been scorned, disgraced, and struck out, to the noticeable disgrace, scorn, and derision of the imperial majesty and all the estates, and would have to inquire from our scholars that in imperial law it is highly forbidden to dispute about the articles of faith under penalty of life. If now her imperial majesty Majesty should have handed over the said document to the Confutation, as it would have been called, without a preface, the same might, as the imperial edict before it, have been crossed out, perverted, and falsified by some unstable people, preachers, and others. Majesty, the Estates and common Christendom to noticeable disadvantage; that then Imperial Majesty and the Estates do not unreasonably bear the burden, nor do Princes, Princes and Estates therein mean honor to Imperial Majesty. Majesty's honor and to preserve it. However, the fact that such a document of the Confutation was not promoted would not have been due to Imperial Majesty 2c. but to us.

009 Thirdly, if we were to draw upon consciences, E. L. and Gn. could not so understand the same, but consider that we would have consciences made for us, when we ought not to have them; and again, when we ought to have them, we would not have them. For we let our preachers, as individual persons, lead us away from the holy common Christian church, even from the faith of our forefathers and ancient fathers, founded in Scripture, and also confirmed by the holy fathers' conciliarities and doctrine, and thus from the unanimity of the whole realm and Christendom, which teachers or preachers made their own law, Scripture, and order, and interpreted and perverted everything to their liking. But how the same Scripture and doctrine were founded was evident by day, and as plain as the bright sun, namely, that they were not one among themselves in matters, but repugnant, one black, the other white, writing today yes, tomorrow no, and could nowhere compare themselves in matters; From this, then, and from such ambiguous doctrine, so many and grievous sects and ineptitudes would have arisen with rebaptizers, sacrament abusers, iconoclasts, and garden brethren and sisters, and in other ways [that it would be frightening to hear].

(10) Thus it would be sufficiently evident what life, respectability, and conduct these preachers and teachers had. And whether they were the ones in whom we should trust our souls and consciences, and in whom we should place more faith than in the whole of Christendom, the imperial majesty, the princes and rulers of the holy empire, as their born friends and relatives; without doubt, if ours thought rightly, we would refrain from this, and compare ourselves with common Christendom.

(11) Fourthly, let us [now] go to a council, and let the same way be the nearest and most convenient, for the putting away of this error.

(12) Now they would not have us behave as Luther did at the Diet of Worms, when he stood before the imperial majesty and was heard, and his doctrine was then acted upon, and the council was proposed. Now if they did not want us to behave as Luther did at the Diet of Worms, when he stood before the imperial majesty and was heard, and his doctrine had been acted upon at that time, and the council had been proposed, he would have destroyed and ridiculed it, and he would also have allowed himself to be heard in the presence of the imperial majesty. His books would also have gone out in such a way that he would have despised the concilia and their authority, and would have stated that, if they were to do something, one would not be obliged to keep them; as such would be indicated by his treatises, if necessary.

013 And though we would gladly have held a council, yet we have good knowledge that the wars in German and French lands, and also the grievous affliction with our and all Christendom's hereditary enemy, the Turk, have been such as would have prevented them.

(14) After all this, while things were thus going on, we should go into ourselves and remember better. And thereupon E. L. and G. would again make a friendly, diligent request, also a faithful and high exhortation, that we compare ourselves with the imperial majesty, also with the princes, princes and estates of the empire, and with the holy common Christian church, according to the Scriptures, which are founded in the Word of God, so that our confession would also be sufficiently established.

(15) Whether we also need such writings as were read out next, so that there would be no lack of them everywhere, E. L. and G. promised that Imperial Majesty would let them come to our hands again with the measure as indicated next. Majesty would let them come to our hands again with the measure as indicated next, without complaint, so that we would have to see all necessity therein.

016 But if we have any doubt or complaint about it, so that we have nothing to complain about, the articles in which we are in dispute with each other should be read to us as often as is necessary.

(17) If, however, all this should be considered and regarded by us as burdensome [or unhelpful and unserviceable], E. L. and G. would kindly request and ask that we be at ease to indicate to us the ways and means by which we believe that amicable negotiations and Christian unity might be achieved. If then the same ways were thus proposed by us, that they might provide themselves with fruitful action and elevation at the Imperial Majesty, we would ask that they be made known to us. Majesty, they would gladly let them reach Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and in part use all possible diligence to this end. If, however, they were regarded as unprofitable and unhelpful by His Majesty and His Grace, they would inform us of this and would be happy to help in other ways, so that the matter would be brought to a beneficial and Christian unity; and that we would like to receive and understand it from His Majesty and His Grace in such a way that they meant it kindly, faithfully and quite well for us, and would not like to see some confusion in the Empire, as we have noted in the above opinion.

(18) Nevertheless, we would not have provided ourselves with such a report and reminder. For the fact that E. L. and Gn. The fact that E. L. and Gn.'s negotiation has hitherto been irrevocable is not due to us, but because E. L. and Gn. and proposal have hitherto been based solely on the fact that we have renounced our Christian confession in those articles in which the opposing party does not agree with us, and that we have agreed with Imperial Majesty, E. L., that we will not be bound by the Christian confession in the articles in which the opposing party does not agree with us. Majesty, E. L. and Gn. in those. Which, however, for the aforementioned reasons, we cannot accept without burdening our consciences, but have asked that, since E. L. and G. have agreed to negotiate, they indicate to us other, more convenient means, we would listen to them, and not allow anything to happen to us on our account that might happen with God and conscience.

(19) In like manner, (1) we again find from E. L. and G.'s recent reproaches that they are once again of the opinion to lead us away from our Christian confession, as much as we do not agree with them, and to induce us to compare read writings, and that for this reason they are trying our causes, which we have constantly and with good reason objected to, by many and various means.

1) "In likeness" - Similarly.

Reasons to reject are subject, which however with us again the effect are not, but much other form, for which we hold it and do not have doubts.

20 For as far as Imperial Majesty's We are of the opinion that, as far as Your Majesty's invitation to this Imperial Diet is concerned, we did not use it to cause Your Majesty any displeasure. Majesty's displeasure, we are also blameless, since we know that Her Majesty has graciously offered to act in accordance with the same invitation. We still bear the same hope and trust in her Majesty. But we have taken up such a tender in the opinion that the proposals, matters or opinions made by your Grace and Grace are somewhat far-reaching. Proposals, matters, or opinions are somewhat more extensive than those of Your Imperial Majesty. Maj. because this clearly implies that every part's opinion and opinion should be heard, that it should be spoken of in love and kindness, and that what is not rightly interpreted on either side should be dismissed; and then this opinion alone and straightforwardly leads to the conclusion that we should renounce our confession as stated above, and yet at the same time the other part, which has not been rightly interpreted, is not thought of, so that our doctrine and our confession may be judged as if we should have separated ourselves from the common Christian church in this, or thought to do so, which we should be heartily and faithfully sorry for, and, if God wills, shall never be found among us; and if we want to understand this, with God's help we would not like to remain in it for a moment. For the more we have read the writings of His Imperial Majesty and the articles of the same. Majesty and its articles, which we have not received until now, the same does not conclude against us on the basis of the Holy Scriptures. For we hold and believe that our opinion and confession, as we have recently handed it over, is founded in Holy Scripture, and again, if it is necessary, and if there is further negotiation, we have offered to declare the same in Holy Scripture.

(21) Secondly, concerning the refusal of the writ of Imperial Majesty. Majesty, for what causes the same with a measure, and otherwise not, should be delivered to us, we can ever not consider that such writing should behave to us for the causes mentioned, or to be delivered to us with such measure, be ordered 1); for we ever never mocked or ridiculed Imperial Majesty's edict. Majesty's edict never mocked or ridiculed, we shall also be faithfully sorry for it.

1) With Förstemann: "forbidden".

be. For this reason, we have never given cause for such delusions or suspicions as that something has been changed or reversed, or may yet be.

22 Because E. L. and Gn. have entered into an amicable agreement, we had hoped that E. L. and Gn. would have promoted this with the Imperial Majesty for many just causes indicated. Majesty that we had received such a writing in accordance with our request, and had not allowed ourselves to be compensated for it, whether someone had acted unskilfully on account of such an edict, for which we were not to blame.

(23) In the same way, the other reason does not exclude this, although in imperial law it is forbidden to argue about faith, as we still cannot find the same thing among the jurists in the above-mentioned form, that they should or may refuse to give us a copy of the submitted document other than with a burdensome measure. For ever our need to have such a writing and to actually consider how much would have required to be reported. Thus, by the grace of God, we know quite well how far one should or should not dispute articles of faith. Moreover, we do not put any article [of faith] in doubt, and we are not forbidden by law to confess our Christian faith, and to denounce in a friendly, amicable, and Christian manner whatever abuses have been introduced against it, even to abolish it in our principalities, provinces, and cities. But we shall not take into account the attitude of other people in this matter, nor shall this cause us any harm.

24th And when E. L. and Gn. again requested to deliver [and] to obtain the writing with the indicated condition, we have beforehand notified Imperial Majesty, also E. L. and Gn. our complaint, namely, because we have heard many times before that things negotiated among few people have been brought out 2) and come into print; if such should happen in this case, though not by us, also in the same way, E. L. and G. would have to consider themselves how burdensome it would be for us to take over the copy of the desired measure, and to burden such suspicion on us.

(25) However, the fact that they intended to read out the writing to us as much as we wanted may not be of any service to this matter. For we do not doubt, E. L. and G. can consider, how it would have been possible for the other part to actually grasp our articles from mere reading out into the air.

2) Förstemann: "außgebrochenn".

and to give an answer to it; if it had been in our hands for many weeks, if it had sought to do so, and if it had thus written its counter-report, however unfinished: how then would it be possible for us to advise or assume such a thing, or in such a great matter, touching soul and conscience, that we should join together without a copy of this writing for a quite thorough refutation of it? And whether it would be possible for us to do so, or to assume that it is not, we do not know what would be helped by this, since no other means or way than we have so far heard from E. L. and Gn. will be proposed. But that the burden of our consciences has been so deceived, we, together with what is further attached to it, affecting our souls, honor and duty, are due an answer and instruction to our need.

(26) For although we confess that we are human beings and sinners, in matters concerning God's glory and the holy Christian faith, we do not like to knowingly act against God's word and burden our conscience with persecution of the truth. For this reason, we do not doubt that our consciences are calmer, by the grace of God, than those who have persecuted this doctrine, driven out the preachers, and refused to accept the truth, since this matter has never been interrogated or acted upon as it should have been.

027 But let not our consciences be upon the person of our preachers, but, finding that their doctrine is founded in the word of God, we have shunned to oppose it, and do so still, because we acknowledge ourselves guilty of honoring and promoting the word of God to the highest degree, and anything that is preached or acted contrary to it, or not conformably, we are conscience-stricken about, most of all, if it should be confirmed, approved, or admitted by us. And it would be highly contrary to our conscience that we should hold or allow to be preached any article of faith contrary to the holy Scriptures or the Christian conciliarities of the fathers. And so we have not turned away from the unity of the kingdom and of holy Christendom, because we have faithfully and firmly held to all the articles of the holy Christian faith, and have diligently promoted them to the right understanding of the apostles and fathers, and thus to maintain the right and true unity of the church, by admitting the word of God. And it is public that they have been

1) Förstemann: "furgezogenn".

We are taught that even the opponents now compare themselves in many things to the same doctrine, and are taught 2) more properly than ever before.

028 But that sects have arisen in other places is not the fault of this doctrine, which the princes allow in their countries, but ours have fought most fiercely against such errors; and if they had not been, the others would have endured little, as everyone must confess. For this reason these errors have not broken out in our country, which in other places, when they attempted to defend themselves by force alone, have done greater harm, so that the pure doctrine cannot be blamed, but the devil, as the gospel says, while the tiller sleepeth, he soweth tares among the wheat. What were the apostles able to do, that some accepted their doctrine commanded by Christ, and thereafter, by inspiration of the devil, separated themselves from them in one or more articles, and practiced false doctrine and preaching; wherefore their preaching, the apostles', was not unjust, nor condemned as unchristian.

029 It is also known that it is proper to keep conciliarities and synods for the good of the doctrine, and always to have understanding in the doctrine. Without this being seen, monks and other preachers, out of carelessness and neglect on the part of those to whom it was due, have taught and done what everyone likes about these things, and so many abuses have resulted from them that they have finally ceased to be sound, and have thus given rise to a great change; as is known, then, that the matter of indulgences, indulgences, pilgrimages, sanctuaries, and other innumerable things has come to pass.

(30) Now if this had been done properly, and the bishops had then had an understanding of Christian doctrine and preaching, as they are guilty before God and the world, peace and unity might easily have been obtained. Now they only complain about ours, as if the bishops and other clergymen had never acted criminally, but had always waited for their office, as Achab complains about Heliam, as if he had confused 4) the kingdom of Israel; but the prophet Helias said to Achab, he is the one who confuses Israel [1 Kings 18:17, 18].

31: As then Pope Hadrianus himself said in the

2) Förstemann: "schickerlich".

3) In the Wittenberg and in the Jena in the text: "den Ratten" ^die Rade^, with the marginal gloss: "Unkraut". In Förstemann: "Ratenn". Chyträus: "den Raden".

4) Instead of the preceding words Förstemann offers: "als ob der konig verwirret".

Reichstag at Nuremberg in the 22nd year has let present and confess that all this complaint from the court of Rome and other ecclesiastical prelates Herkommen 2c.

32. Therefore, although we have had cause to report in our confession further abuses, vexations, and unmistakable grievances, which for a long time and many years have manifoldly occurred and still exist in the Roman church, we have nevertheless bypassed the same, for the sake of more peace and unity, in the hope that Christian and reasonable means would be thought of to bring about Christian and necessary improvement in all parts of the holy church, for the sake of more peace and unity, in the hope that Christian and reasonable means would have been thought of, so that we might come to Christian and necessary improvement in the holy faith, and otherwise also to peaceful unity, so much more quickly and kindly; Therefore, in our opinion, our and the wholesome Christian doctrine should be spared with the unwarranted impositions and burdens mentioned.

(33) But when the life and conduct of our preachers is also considered, we report that we do not knowingly tolerate, or are inclined to tolerate, any priests in the service of the Church and of the Word of God who live in public levity.

(34) But what good examples are to be seen in the clergy of the opposite part, knowing only how they keep house with lewd persons, contrary to the canons. How they treat the mass carelessly, how they practice simony, and many other vices, of which there is no need to speak.

35 We have always been obliged, and still are, to help maintain the bishops' proper obedience and obedience, as much as is founded in the Word of God, and to compare ourselves in all things with others, as far as we can with God and a good conscience.

036 But that we do not approve all abuses, we are compelled by the word of God, which we must set higher than the obedience of men.

037 Now that we have come to a council, it is in the opinion that there are no other more lawful ways in matters concerning the faith than this way, and we hope that we have not sought anything contrary to law here.

038 Moreover, we have given notice thereof, signifying our obedience, that it may be known that we do not intend to disunite ourselves from the holy Christian church 1).

39) So it is also to be hoped, where the treatise of these things, as we for our part did not like to do, should now come into being 2) that the same be-

1) "Church" is missing in Förstemann.

2) "arise" here will have the meaning of "break down". In Luther it does not occur in this meaning.

quemlicher shall be heard in a Concilio, than otherwise done.

(40) And although there would be something difficult in a concilium, this is nevertheless the only lawful way of dealing with such matters. For this reason, we have deemed it necessary to convene a council, just as such a council was deemed necessary a year ago at the Imperial Diet held at Speier, and, in view of the agreement made and established there, was concluded with the Emperor's gracious permission. Majesty's gracious permission, and a considerable time has also been fixed, as indicated in the next of our answers to our need.

041 And what some of the conciliis have written or taught, we leave to every man's charge; for we give to the Christian conciliis their due honor, as the ancient canons hold of them.

(42) And let us therefore take care that E. L. and G. will be of service to the common Christianity, in case they do not want to compare or unite here in goodness, to promote the Concilium granted and promised before more than to be inclined to hinder it by such their report.

But we hope to God that such a willing and requested common free Christian council, where we finally do not want to unite here, as, as often indicated, should not happen to us, would be promoted by Imperial Majesty and many learned and brave people would speak of the negotiations and move them to God's almighty mercy, so that, after the announcement of the Emperor, they would be able to take part in it. Majesty, and many learned and brave people will speak of the trades, and move them that God Almighty will bestow His divine grace, so that, after notification of Imperial Majesty, the present call for tenders will be granted. Majesty, everything that has not been rightly interpreted or acted upon will be brought to a unified, right, Christian truth.

44 From all of this, E. L. and G. can easily conclude and judge for themselves how their presentation could have had such an effect on us as they had intended.

(45) Where, however, other and more possible ways, which lead to a complete amicable settlement of these differences, or, at least, to a convenient handling of them in love and kindness, by virtue of Imperial Majesty, are open to us. Majest. The fact that the Imperial Majesty has issued a letter to this effect, and that it has been proposed or will be proposed again by E. L. and G. in the course of their official duties, should not meet with any justification on our part.

(46) For our part, however, we have thought that it would not be an inconvenient way and means, even according to the Emperor's decree. Maj.'s request that an equal, but small number of special persons from both parts be appointed who understand the matter and are inclined to peace and unity.

who, of the articles in dispute, and especially of those which are in the use of the Church, acted in love, kindness, and friendliness among themselves; in the consoling hope that the same would endeavor to bring matters to good agreement, of which we, on our part, according to our oft-made request, shall not be lacking in all that we may always do with God and a good conscience.

1036 Letter of Landgrave Philip to the Elector of Saxony left behind, in which he indicates the causes of his departure.

August 6, 1530

From Müller's History 2c., p. 713.

Reverend Prince, kind dear uncle, brother-in-law and godfather! I cannot reproach E. L. for the fact that my wife has now written to me twice about how she is afflicted with illness, which has caused me to ride to her and visit her; I also have other reasons that move me to do so, as my Chancellor will report to E. L., but I have ordered my advisors to stand by E. L. and keep watch. If my friendly request is that E. L. keep his guard up and not deviate from God's word in any way and not be frightened, for there is nothing behind it, then E. L. should provide for me that I will leave my body and goods, land and people with E. L. and God's word. On the other hand, my friendly request is that E. L. do the best in Duke Ulrich's cause, which I will kindly earn. My chancellor will tell E. L. something in secret, and E. L. will believe it, so that E. L. may command God. Date Saturday after the Feast of the Chains of Peter [August 6], Anno Domini 1530.

Philipps, L. of Hesse.

1037 Answer of the protesting estates to the emperor's inquiry about the landgrave's departure, and about the gate guard ordered by the emperor for that reason.

From Müller's History 2c., p. 711.

That they may credibly report to Imperial Maj. Maj. that they would like to report that they received no knowledge of the Landgrave Philip's departure before it happened. When they heard about it in the morning, they would not have liked to have heard it; and although it was

their Lordships and their Imperial Highnesses, as well as the cities, for the fact that such a thing had not happened for the Landgrave's sake without important causes; but where he had sought the advice of their Lordships and their Imperial Highnesses, as friends, they wanted to have advised his Highnesses as they themselves would still be willing to do at present, namely to persevere with the action; they also did not want to leave without Imperial Majesty's prior knowledge. Maj. prior knowledge. They knew, however, that Imperial Maj. Maj. for their necessity in subservience, what reaches their Electoral and Princely Graces, that is to say, that they would not leave without their Imperial Majesty's prior knowledge. They would not let go undisclosed to their Imperial and Princely Graces what happened this morning with the closing and order of the gates, and how it reached their Imperial and Princely Graces should have been decreed for them. Where it has now been her Majesty's knowledge and command, it serves them, as their Majesties may graciously respect. Her Majesty also knows that such a thing was not customary with Her Majesty's ancestors, nor did it happen before at Her Majesty's Imperial Diet, especially the first one held by Her Majesty's own person in the Empire of the German Nation, that the Princes, Princes and Estates required to attend the Imperial Diet should be hindered and delayed in such a way; with most humbly request to have a gracious understanding that it would be stopped, considered what disadvantage and danger, since such order of the gates and equal from due causes occur, if no one knew what it should be, or where Elector and Princes should hold themselves in the cases, her Majesty would carry such on him. ...even for her Majesty's sake, would bear such a thing upon him. For with her Majesty's ancestors it would have been held in such a way, if the Guard or Thor had been specially ordered, that it would have been announced by her Majesty's Marshals of the Realm 2c.

1038 Spalatin's historical news about the serious speech of the bishop of Augsburg, Christoph von Stadion, held right at the beginning of this above-mentioned action, and the fierce dispute that arose between him on the one side and the bishop of Salzburg and Churbrandenburg on the other; as well as about the landgrave's uncouraged departure and its consequences.

This document is the continuation of the report given in No. 1023. The same is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 423d; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 98; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 224 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 232.

1. sexta Augusti the negotiation was made, the bishop of Augsburg, vir xruä6Q8 6t 60Q8taii8, as diocesan of the place, stood up, gave him cause to speak, and admonished the princes and bishops that they should see to it, and not do anything against the law; for it is true that the Lutherans do not hold against any article of faith; therefore one should seek ways and means for the peace of the church.

002 Whereupon the bishop of Salzburg said, how he was now so holy; he had known him otherwise. To which the bishop of Augsburg answered: unfortunately, he knows well that he has done much wrong up to now, and of that, he says, it is time to stop; and, dear lord of Salzburg, you are also like me in evil, and want me to help protect against that wrong; God shall protect me for that.

After this, Brandenburg clumsily cried out that it is not true that the Lutherans do not hold to any article of faith. The bishop of Augsburg, it is true. Margrave Joachim, it is not true. Augsburg: What are the articles called? Margrave Joachim: eatkolieam, Kurielorum invoeuiionenv they have.

not. Augsburg: *Invocatlo Sactorurn* is not an article of faith; so the Lutherans hold of the true Christian church. Their dispute is only against the abuses of the Roman church; so no one can deny that the Roman church has many abuses.

The bishop of Mainz asked them to refrain from such bickering, and to help everyone to improve matters and to make peace, and in the morning nothing was done. In the afternoon, they again told each other lies, and they were almost at each other's throats.

5th In the evening, the 6th of August, the landgrave went out to the city and became quiet about it, the king and others.

6th Septima Augusti, the Imperial Majesty demanded of our princes and chieftains, and asked for the reason why the landgrave rode away. Our people answered that it had happened without their knowledge and advice, and placed it at his responsibility. His Imperial Majesty requested that they not hurry, but wait for the matter to be resolved, and advise them to help make peace; his Majesty would not like to have it said that his Majesty wanted to hurry someone and act differently than graciously with him.

The eighth section of the thirteenth chapter.

Of the narrower committee of the fourteen and its acts ordered with the emperor's approval.

A. From the first longer conversation which started 16 August 1630 and lasted until 21.

1039. of D. Joh. Eck by order of the Cardinal of Mainz and Duke George of Saxony, before the beginning of the discussion, concerning the articles of the Augsburg Confession, in which one agrees, which on the other hand are disputed, and how the latter are to be compared.

This writing is found in Latin in Cölestin, torn. III, x>. 36; German by Chyträus, p. 346.

The first article, of the one divine being and three persons, is in agreement with the Christian church.

The other article, that there is original sin, agrees with the church. But as to the explanation of original sin, he does not agree with the church. The middle way would be for them to say that inherent evil desire was sin before baptism, and after baptism it was a consequence or punishment of original sin, and not sin in itself.

In the third article, of Christ JEsu, one is equal.

The fourth article, in which he says that we cannot be saved by our own efforts, agrees with the church. But in this he disagrees, that he assigns righteousness to faith, and excludes our merit altogether. The middle way to unity would be, that they should ascribe righteousness to faith, which is active through love, which St. Paul teaches to the Galatians in the 5th verse. But they are to omit this word *SOLA*; for the one word *SOLA is* the one word *SOLA.*

Those who are falsely led to believe that faith alone, without the grace of God and good works, makes them righteous.

As to merit, they would agree with us if they declared that works are not merited by their nature and by themselves, but only by the mercy of God, by the grace of God, which assists us, precedes us, and works with us. Thus the Lord gives His saints reward for their work.

The fifth article agrees with us that the Holy Spirit is given through the word and sacraments, as ordained means. But faith and the merit of works are to be held as stated in the fourth article.

The sixth article, that faith with love bringeth good works, agrees with the church. Faith is to be held as reported above.

The seventh article does not agree, because they say that the Christian church is an assembly of the pious alone, since there are both the wicked and the pious in it. It could be compared if they said that the Christian church is an assembly of the saints, just as we also call the Christian church holy because of the holiness of faith, sacraments, graces, and gifts. For of the most excellent thing a thing has its name, so they themselves allow that ministers of the church may be who are not pious.

The eighth article, of priests who are not pious, concurs.

Likewise the ninth.

The tenth article agrees with us as to the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, but that it should not be interpreted to mean that the laity should receive both.

The eleventh article compares itself with the church as far as absolution is concerned; but does not compare itself as far as confession is concerned, of which in the other part, in the fourth article.

The twelfth article, that those who have sinned after baptism may repent, agrees with the church. But as far as the pieces of repentance are concerned, it does not agree. But it might be compared in this way, because they put repentance and sorrow for the first part, but we put faith for both parts, and here they put faith for a part of repentance; we say that faith is not a part of repentance, but that faith precedes it, as the ground of repentance. Therefore it is more a quarrel about words than about the matter itself. And because they admit confession, they should set the same with the church for the whole part of repentance. For this we set the sufficiency
thuung for the third part of repentance. But they confess that the fruits of good works shall follow. This is more a quarrel about words than about the matter itself.

The thirteenth article agrees with the church.

The fourteenth article agrees with the church as far as the words are concerned. But in fact they hold it differently, because they do not appoint pastors and preachers according to the common rights or order of the ordinary bishops, which would be a legitimate profession.

The fifteenth article agrees on the most important point. The statutes of men are dealt with below in the last article.

The sixteenth article, of secular authority, agrees with us.

The seventeenth article, of Christ's future, agrees with us.

The eighteenth article, of free will, is the same.

The nineteenth article, of cause of sin, agrees with the church.

The twentieth article, of faith and good works, excuses only the preachers; therefore it is not to be respected, only that it is taught, as is stated in the fourth article.

The first and twentieth articles, of the service of the saints, do not agree with us. For here are three parts, the honor of the saints, the invocation of the saints, and the intercession of the saints, which they do for us. The Lutherans give way to the honor, but deny the other two parts. The intercession of the saints is admitted by the Sacramentarians. 1)

Here no agreement can be reached, for they confess with the Church that since a living man can call upon the living, a dying man upon a mortal, a sinner upon a sinner, a poor man upon a poor man for intercession, why then should he not be able to call upon one who is immortal, righteous, pure from sins, rich in graces, goodness, and mercy, and who zealously takes care of us in perfect love.

The other part, of the abuses.

The first article does not agree with our doctrine. But it should be compared in this way. Since communion under both forms is not contrary to the faith, and since it has been held in this way in many churches from time immemorial, communion under both forms could be allowed freely, as is permitted to the Bohemians in the Concilio of Basel, but with three conditionibus attached.

1) Here we seem to have corrupted the text.

First, that one would not let the little children communicate.

On the other hand, if it were held that both forms were not necessary.

Third, that under one form no less than under both is received by those who communicate in the Christian church. But whether it be of use that communion should thus be tolerated until the future Council, let those of understanding judge.

The other article argues with the Christian church. For such a marriage, if a priest is free in the priesthood, can never exist by right. It could be compared, because from the time of the apostles until the Cyricium, almost four hundred years ago, married people were required to be priests. But whether this is of any use now, I doubt. As for the priests who now take wives, a settlement could be made if they were not tolerated otherwise than common fornicators until the future Council, since they no longer preach or serve in the church, nor would they be allowed in secular offices.

The third article, of the Mass, is not agreed with the Christian Church. But it could be compared that there was no more bloody sacrifice in the Lord's Supper than there was on the altar of the cross, if only they did not deny that, as Christ's body was figuratively sacrificed in the Old Testament, and truly sacrificed on the cross in suffering, so it was sacrificed in secret in the mass. This secret sacrifice is a memorial of the sacrifice made on the cross. But private masses should not be abolished for this reason.

The fourth article, of confession, does not agree with us; but might be compared according to their adopted saying from the 18th Psalm [19:13.], "Who can perceive how often he faileth?" For the church also bindeth no man to tell sin, which he himself knoweth not, nor understandeth. For this reason they should give way to confessing the sin that one understands, so that they will be in agreement with the Christian church.

The fifth article is judged from the seventh.

The sixth article, concerning monastic vows, is not the same as the church, nor can it be compared. For although vowing, or making vows, is free, it is necessary by God's commandment to pay the vow, by divine right. Now those who consent to this article are guilty of all breaches of vows that occur; nor could the whole general church admit this article.

The seventh article does not agree with the church, for it takes from her the rule and authority to make statutes for her subjects, that they may come to eternal life. Which authority has always been in the church, as may be seen from St. Paul's statutes and commandments, and from the decrees in the first Concilio of the Apostles, and subsequent holy Conciliis. This article would also abolish church discipline, and cut up all good order, and strengthen all disobedience and wantonness. But this article could be compared to the toleration or alleviation of some church ordinances, but that no carnal liberty would arise from it.

In sum, these are articles that can hardly be tolerated and accepted by the church:

From the Holy Service.

Of the Communion under both forms.

Of the priestly marriage.

Of the monastic vows.

From the victim in the Mess.

Of human statutes.

These six articles I consider to be the most burdensome; but in other articles, if two princes and two scholars on both sides were to come together, agreement would easily be reached.

1040 Philipp Melanchthon's and the other theologians' misgivings, in which it is advised to use all means for peace.

15 Aug. 1530.

German in Spalatin's Annals, p. 229; in Chyträus, p. 350, and in the 6orx." Lei. , vol. II, 281; Latin in Cölestin, tom. Ill, p. 31.

(1) We humbly consider that the princes are obliged to diligently seek and try all ways and means that are not contrary to the word of God, to make peace, to prevent their own harm and corruption of country and people.

(2) Thus, it is not acceptable before God to persist in unnecessary division. For God has commanded nothing higher than to keep the peace.

(3) We also see what has happened in this division, how the mob has become wicked, what errors, sects, and factions are daily arising, and to be concerned that God will graciously prevent, where there would be war, that more sects and errors would break in, so that the church would be torn apart by irretrievable errors, and the temporal government destroyed by war, both of which would be the result of the war.

spiritual and temporal government have fallen to the ground, and will never be raised up again until the end of the world.

004 Now it behoveth the princes in particular to prevent in all their ways such an abominable outrage and destruction of the government: as Isaias saith, Let the princes consider the things of the princes, and let not the government that is established fall.

005 Jteyr, because the division standeth, there can be no discipline in the schools and churches. Everyone is afraid to teach their children, and not unreasonably so. For no man would willingly put his child in danger, where they that have studied must come, as long as this dissension standeth.

006 Neither can such things be kept in the churches. What is not tolerated in one place is suffered in another. And it is not possible to establish obedience.

007 Therefore we humbly beseech the princes to work for God's sake, and for their own good, that peace may be made. And though it is to be feared that our adversary is too hard, and will not yield in any matter, yet our consciences are safer, and our rejoicing before the world greater, if the lack of us were not.

008 In such an action it is necessary that we yield a little to the opposite, and, as much as can be done with God and conscience, escape. For without this there is no action. Therefore it is necessary to consider in what things we can give way, even what parts cannot suffer any action.

009 And these are the following, from which it is impossible to depart in any way, because we deny God and his gospel.

010 First, that the doctrine, as heretofore taught among us, of the articles of faith, of good works, and of Christian liberty, according to our confession and confessed creed, may be freely kept and preached.

011 Secondly, that after the institution of Christ our Lord, both forms of the sacrament may be administered and given.

(12) Thirdly, it cannot be granted in any way that the Missa privata, the angular masses, as they have been held by the opposite party until now, should be permitted and held henceforth as a sacrifice to obtain grace and forgiveness of sins before God for the living and the dead, in order to diminish the death of Christ.

013 Fourthly, the marital state shall and must be left free to all men who are not specially endowed by God with chastity, whether they be priests or other ministers.

(14) We think that it is not necessary to speak of convents. For when marriage is free,
and the sacrificial measure have fallen, then the answer to this question has already been given that one cannot, with God, again erect the monasteries as a blasphemy, as has been the case up to now.

015 On the other hand, let the princes in general offer to yield to the opposite in those things in which one can yield with God and a good conscience.

(16) Namely, that in common public and unpleasant ceremonies in churches one compare oneself harmlessly; as, with the singing in churches and public form of the mass 2c. But that for the betterment of the people German songs are not forbidden.

017 For there must be order in the church, for the children's sake, and for the sake of the simple people: and it is not good that any man should make any particular thing.

(18) Secondly, the bishops may be given their authority over the pastors in the church government, as with ordinances 2c., if they do not follow our doctrine, and do not bind the priests with ungodly oaths and burdens.

019 For the ordinance that the bishops are set over the priests as superintendents, hath doubtless had many just causes. For the priests must have superintendents. In this way the temporal princes of the church government will not wait, nor is it possible for them. In addition, it costs them a great deal, while the bishops have their goods to carry out such an office.

020 Neither is it fitting for us to break up this order, that bishops should be over priests, which have been in the church from the beginning, without great and pressing cause. For though the pope be antichrist, yet may we be under him, as the Jews were under Pharaoh in Egypt 2c., and afterward under Caipha 2c., if yet right doctrine be left us free.

021 Thirdly, the bishops may be granted their jurisdiction, as, in matrimonial matters; item, the excommunication for the punishment of public sins, and not in matters belonging to secular courts.

(22) But that the princes complain that many worldly things are brought into the bishops' court, is perhaps the fault of the princes, usAiAsutia prinoiMm auxit xotsutlam Lxi86ox>orum. Where also the princes punished public vices with seriousness, the Officials would not get much money 2c.

(23) Neither is it necessary to dispute how far the oUsckisntia and juri8ckiotio shall extend. For these things may be spoken of in dealings, if God would have mercy that they should come to that.

024 From difference of meat, fasting, and such like, it is to be sought that it may be left free; but where it would not, it may be further considered.

025 Christ rebuketh the Pharisees, because they consented unto them concerning small matters, and let go the great, saying, They cowardly flies, and swallow up a camel.

026 Now outward peace is much more excellent and good than outward liberty. Item, if one were to prevent the gospel from coming to others, it would also be burdensome. But of this we may speak further. Of monastery estates and other church estates, where such are thought of, it is due to offer what Imperial Majesty has granted to the church. Majesty 2c. will order for the good of the church to follow the same 2c.

1041 List of the persons appointed to the select committee from both sides.

From Müller's History, lib. III, 29, x>. 742. Compare Spalatin's Annals, p. 153 and Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 220.

I. On the papist side.

1. to princes.

Christoph, Bishop of Augsburg.
Duke Henry of Brunswick, but after his departure Duke George of Saxony.

Two. To lawyers.

Bernhard Hagen, Chancellor of Cologne. Hieronymus Vehus, Chancellor of Baden.

3. to clergy.

D. Johann Eck, Ordinarius at Ingolstadt.
D. Conrad Wimpina, Ordinarius at Frankfurt.
D. Johann Cochläus, provost of St. Severi in Erfurt.

II. on the protesting side.

1. to princes.

Duke Johann Friedrich, son of the Elector of Saxony.
Margrave George of Brandenburg.

Two. To lawyers.

D. Gregorius Brück, chursächsifcher chancellor.
D. Sebastian Heller, Chancellor of Brandenburg.

3. to clergy.

Philipp Melanchthon, professor at Wittenberg.
Erhard Schnepf, Hessian preacher.
N. Johann Brentius, preacher at Hall in Swabia.

1042 Spalatin, who attended this act as notary, recorded the minutes of the first session of the committee.

This and the next number belong together. Here the preliminaries are offered to us, there the report on the action itself. From Müller's History, trans. III, eap. 29. compare Hiezu the papist report no. 1063; likewise Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 220 and Spalatin's Annals, p. 154.

1. lecture of the chancellor of Baden because of the papist part.

This was done in an unobjectionable manner, asking 1) that the matters be conducted without bickering; 2) that he compare himself with the person who had made the complaint in the council, but that if one or the other complaint was lost, he should indicate sufficient causes; 3) that if some things were thought to be abuses, he should think of ways to remedy them; and finally 4) that all actions should be kept secret until the end.

2nd Reply of the Chancellor of the Church of Saxony, on behalf of the Protestants.

The Electors, Princes, and Estates would doubtless know how they, the Protestants, had hitherto always sought not to enter into the matter otherwise than amicably; but that a settlement would afterwards be requested, their Electoral and Princely Graces would know how they had always complained that the Confutation would not be communicated to them. They complained that the confutation would not be communicated to them; in which case, and since they had not seen such a document, it was not possible for them to settle. But because they noted that Imperial Majesty's opinion and command. Majesty's opinion and command to put an end to the abuses, they had indeed attracted some in their confession, and had already put an end to the same in their principalities out of distress to their consciences; however, they did not want to be without sufficient reason to accomplish this, and in doing so to prove themselves Christian in all respects; they were also requested not to let the action reach any

further than their relatives.

3. other lecture of the chancellor of Baden.

Their princes and lords thanked them for their offer to act kindly (as they also offered to do), and also not to let the things get further than to the relatives. Now one could resort to the act itself, but as far as it is not contrary to faith and the Christian common church.

against. Why the Confutation had not been communicated, however, had already been reported earlier, and they again left it at that, as they also considered that the communication would only be a hindrance to the matter. It was also known that in the confession that had been handed over, several abuses had been reported, which were to be changed, but meanwhile there were two distinctions in this confession, namely 21 articles as a confession of faith and 7 or 8 articles of abuses. Grace considered that one must first know how the confession of faith, as the most important, is constituted: so one wanted to deal with the same first, whereupon the other 7 or 8 articles could also be made, since they wanted to help faithfully, where possible, to improve it.

4. another reply from the Chancellor of the Church of Saxony.

Because the settlement cannot take place without a confession, the confession and the confession should be made and considered from article to article.

5. third lecture of the chancellor of Baden.

They would be inclined to take up the matter, but they were certain that it would only lead to disputation and bickering if the Confutation were to be considered along with the Confession; rather, it would be more advisable to consider only the Confession from article to article, and to deliberate on each one in particular, whether it could be settled for the sake of it, but if there were conflicting opinions, to let it go to the Emperor's Majesty. Majesty.

6. the third reply of the Chancellor of the Church of Saxony.

To avoid the disputation, one would put up with this way, and would also be obliged to follow it willingly.

043 Spalatin's news of what was discussed in the first session.

See the previous number. We give the text of this number according to Förstemann from Spalatin's handwriting.

As the Confession is made to be read from article to article.

I. From God.

The first article has had no challenge.

II. of original sin.

As to the other article, D. Eck says: the main article is according to the Christian church, but in the definition they have one defect, and that is, that he calls covetousness an original sin, that it remains a sin before and after baptism, because one speaks of it as St. Augustine speaks, so it would be more [1]) a battle of words, than that they are far from each other. That the words, Lins Mueiu st tiinors [etc.]. Mr. Ph. Melanchthon has offered to speak peaceably; has two challenges: 1) of the words "without fear and confidence," 2) of the Fomes. He did not want to speak of it as in the school, for they call it eurentiurn rsetituäiriis oriZinalis, which he had called "without fear and confidence"; D. Eck said to this that it was a new form of speaking, otherwise one was already concordirt of the article, only that one had not used the common words, otherwise it was the same in their opinion. On the other hand, D. Eck has also confessed that the inatsriuls remains pseeati, and one is thus compared to the article.

III. of the person of Christ.

Of the third article, of Christ, both parts and parties have also been agreed.

IV. From justification.

V. Of the Word and the Sacraments.

VI Of good works.

As to the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, D. Eck says that there should be an explanation, for the main article is not inappropriate to the Christian faith. He also says that faith, which works through love, justifies, and makes righteous, *De meritis*, or of merits, he also considers it a fighting word. So Christ said, If ye do all that ye ought, say, We are unprofitable servants. St. Paul adds, Romans 8: "We do not believe that the sufferings of this world are worthy of the glory to come, which will be revealed to us. Item Solomon and Peter: Love covers the multitude of sins. Ecclesiastes 9: Man knows not whether he is in grace or in disgrace. Besides, hath also drawn from the apostles' histories Cornelius the man of war, with his good works. They call it *merita,* that the most gracious Father would reward works, and that *meritum is* nothing but gratia *Dei*. Saying that no work was meritorious in himself, but the grace of God was to be regarded.

1) Förstemann: only.

Then Doctor Wimpina says: If our works are done by our will without divine grace, they are unmeritorious, otherwise they would be meritorious for the sake of Christ's communion with the Church, for he has ever said: vis inZrodi vitam, 86rva mandata, that is, if you want to enter into life, keep the commandments.

On this the Lord Philip Melanchthon said: You know how the disputation *de merito* and *de congruo* would have been aroused; likewise also in^) the repentance of satisfaction, and that one would have spoken nothing at all of faith in the repentance, the word *meritum* he had bypassed.

Philip Melanchthon also said that he believed that they could suffer the definition of faith, namely, when the heart concludes that God has forgiven its sin for Christ's sake, as the ancients, as well as Thomas Aquinas, interpreted it.

Since it now comes to this proposition and speech that *sola fides* justificire, that is, that faith alone and heartfelt trust in God's grace for Christ's sake make one pious and righteous before God, then D. Eck of Ingolstadt said, first, that one could not suffer such speech, for it causes annoyance, and crude, wicked, insolent people; second, he said that no old holy doctor, teacher, and father ever spoke in this way; third, he said that faith alone does not make one righteous, but love does, and more love than faith, and he also pointed out the following sayings: St. Paul to the Ephesians says, "I am righteous in the sight of God. Paul says to the Ephesians that love is a bond of perfection; item, to the Corinthians, that faith without love is nothing; item, also to the Corinthians, that love is the greatest. Therefore, in the end, D. Eck also said: One should send the soles 3) to the cobbler for a while. Eck was allowed to speak so brazenly before the above-mentioned four princes, as given commissioners and commanders, regardless of the fact that the above-mentioned speech, that faith alone makes one righteous and pious before God, is not only carried out according to the meaning and understanding of St. Paul in Romans, Corinthians, and Romans 1). Paul to Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, but also that only many old holy great fathers, doctors, and teachers have spoken in such a way, both Greek and Latin; and especially Greek Eusebius, Basil, Athanasius, Origen; Latin Hilarius, Am-

1) So in Spalatin's Annals. Förstemann offers: "da auch der" 2c.
2i "Band" put by us after Col. 3:14. instead of "covenant" by Förstemann.
3) "Solen," a mockery of so^a üds, by faith alone.

brosius, Jerome, Augustine, Bernardus, also St. Thomas Aquinas, Order of Preachers.

Doctor Eck also said that they spoke of merit, not as if merit were like a painted man, but as of a convenience and superfluous grace of God.

The Lord Philip says that this form was used for three reasons: 1) that St. Paul uses it in this way; 2) if one puts oaritatem or otherwise, one points to us, and not to God's grace; 3) so that it is understandable and clear, because every Christian feels the faith.

Docter Eckius says: the three causes would not be sufficient, 1) that this form is not in Paulo nor in all Scripture; 2) so oaritas is God's grace, and not our work; 3) so one is not more intelligible than the other.

Doctor Eck also thinks that it is said äs opsribus IsZis sudaioas and of o6r6monii8, that 8ola can also make no unity.

Doctor Eck also says that for forgiveness one must first have God's grace and faith and divine love.

Lord 4) Phil, said: Forgiveness of sins is obtained when first the heart is frightened, and then faith and God's love are found, which comfort can also be felt.

Doctor Eck says: sin is a condemnation of God, therefore sin must be forgiven by love, 6ds8 is pra68ux>po8itum su8ti6oationi8, and not ju8titia.

Brentius says that the word 8ola is not to be rejected, for the word 8o1a was also used by Ambrose and Hilarius, and was drawn from Paulo; nor was it alone spoken äs op6vidu816Z18 judaioao, the word *sola* standing alone against the *merita*.

Doctor Eck relied on it, that it was spoken äs opsri1)U8 IsAis zudaioas, because the Jews, if they had been converted to the Christian faith, would have taken it for granted that they nevertheless had to keep Mosi's ceremonial law.

Mr. Philippus Melanchthon drew on the words of Paul ad Lpliss: I^ido 8alvati 68tis, that is, ye are saved by faith.

D. Eck says they confessed that the forgiveness of sins was psr Zratiam st kidom Zratum Laoiontom kormalitm, st xor vorbum ot 8aoramsnta in8truni6ntalil6r. So one is to put the article.

Cochläus talked a lot, but little to the,
It's official business.

4) In the old edition: "D". In this case it is to be resolved by *domiuus,* not by *doctor*.

VIII. Of the Christian church and evil priests.

D. Eck says: he hopes there shall be no dispute of this article either, for the church is well beautiful and yet black, as 6s vii'Bnidns and 6s pi8oibu8. Holds it serviceable for comparison, that not the word 8UQotoruin, but the word 8LMotuin would stand. V. Eck also says that he considers it that we are not unequal in kunäuirwuto and in reason.

IX. From baptism.

The ninth article, of baptism, has had no contestation.

X. Of the Lord's Supper.

The tenth, äs 6uoliari8tia, of the most reverend sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ, has also had no lack, for alone to put the word realiter to it, or 8uf)8tuir1iulit6r, or in German, "essentially."

XI. Of the Confession.

Of the eleventh article, confession, D. Eck says that in the main he is unanimous with the Church, that sin which one does not know, one must not confess.

XII. Of repentance.

Of the twelfth article, of repentance, O. Eck says, the principal article is also not unequal to the Christian church, and is right, considering it also only a battle of words. In the first, they are unanimous; in the other, the inequality is, that faith is included, that faith is a part; to the third, of satisfaction or correction, for they are called 8uH8kaotion6rn the correction. Then Philip said what caused him to put in the word faith, because it is the way xo6niand repentance, that first one is frightened of sins, and then that one again acquires faith and hearty confidence in God's grace and mercy, as then happened with David.

D. Eck has also said that one is not displeased in rs. Much has been said about the word 8oti8ku6tio, or satisfaction.

Philip said he was talking äs xsvpstna xosnitDntin.

Wednesday after Assumtionis [August 17] in the forenoon, the action is further taken, especially of the parts of the penance.

Since, furthermore, one wanted to resort to action, the theologians of the opposite kind have on our

They do not want to suffer a notary, but let it be heard that where they wanted to have a theologian as notary, they wanted to use Faber as their notary. So I went away from Spalatinus in God's name. God grant that something fruitful may be accomplished in this action, amen.

44. declaration of the evangelicals, in which articles they have united.

18 Aug. 1530.

This document is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 4465; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 103 d; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 230 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 218. Also in Müller, p. 745; in Chyträus, p. 263 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 230 from Spalatin's manuscript in the Ansbachische Acten. In the determination of the time we have followed Förstemann.

The first article is the same. That in the other Latin article it is said that man is born by nature without the fear of God and without faith in God is to be understood not only that children so young cannot have this effect, but also that they are not able by natural powers to have the fear of God and faith, and so are born without such powers and gifts, is a lack of the righteousness which we should bring with us from Adam.

In the German articles this point is clearly stated so that it cannot be contested, namely, that we are not able by nature to fear and believe in God; with this also the ancients are understood.

Of natural lusts we hold that the nature of sin remaineth, but the guilt is taken away by baptism.

In the third article, one is the same.

Declaration of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Articles, 1) we confess that forgiveness of sins is by grace, through which we have a gracious God, and by faith is done in us, and by God's Word and Sacrament, as by instrument.

In the seventh article one is the same.

In the eighth article, of the church, we confess that in the church in this life there are many wicked and sinners.

1) Instead of the preceding words, Spalatin had written, "In the fourth article we confess," 2c. Likewise, "In the fifth, sixth, and seventh articles we are equal." The words underlined by us Melanchthon crossed out, and put in the margin instead: "Declaration of the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles."

In the 9th 10th and 11th articles one is the same.

In the 12th article, of repentance, we do not refuse to put three parts of repentance, as namely contritio, repentance, which is fright, when one knows sin.

Confession; but in this we are to look for absolution, and believe that sin is forgiven us for Christ's merit.

The third part is *satisfactio*, the good fruit of repentance. But sin is not forgiven by the merit of satisfaction. So we hold at the same time, but we do not agree whether satisfaction is necessary for the forgiveness of penance.

In the 13th article, you're the same.

In the 14th article is also the same as that in words; but so much of the same declaration is concerned, is kept under the title of spiritual power.

The 15th article has been saved to the article of episcopal authority and monastic vows.

In the 16th 17th 18th 19th article, you're the same.

In the twentieth article, as far as the preachers and their excuses are concerned, it is left as it stands, since it is not charged in this negotiation. But as far as faith is concerned, the fourth article and its declaration are left as they are. But as far as good works are concerned, it is the same that good works must and should be done, and that works done by faith and grace are pleasing to God. But whether the same works are meritorious, and how they are meritorious, also whether and how one should hope in them, they have not been able to compare. This is the other matter.

In the 21st article, two articles are compared, namely, that all the saints and angels in heaven pray to God for us, and also that the use of the church, which keeps the memory of the saints, and prays to God that the prayers of the saints may be granted to us, be kept Christian and good; but concerning the invocation of the saints, there is agreement that there is no expressed commandment in Holy Scripture that anyone is commanded to invoke the saints. But in that the saints may well be invoked according to the customary usage of common churches of Christian opinion, therein one is so divided that the princes and rulers hold with their kinsmen that such a thing is a doubtful and grievous thing, from many 2) because of the abuses, and that there is no expressed Scripture about it.

1) Förstemann: "the".

2) That's because of the crowd.

1045. Proposal which the Protestants made at the request of the papists because of some external ceremonies.

From the uuetor npolo^. lutue. in Müller, p. 754; in Brück's Geschichte des Reichstags zu Augsburg, p. 95 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 249 from the Markgraflich Brandenburgischen Acten.

Yesterday we heard your and the others' statements and discussed them, and we considered the matter most diligently, but we can think of no other means or way, after further discussion, than to leave us the Communio sub specie, and our clergy the marriage, even at the masses as they are held here, until further action in a common, free, Christian Concilio. In order that Christian unity may nevertheless be preserved in these articles, and that the church may remain in orderly government, to which we are highly inclined, we are requested, and thereafter, as far as the other articles are concerned, to refrain from the bishops' authority, from the difference of food, and from ordinary church ceremonies, or hereafter at a convenient time and place, to confer and compare with the Oræinurii8 loooruin, that due obedience may be done to them by our clergy, and their due jurisdiction not be hindered, and, as much as possible and Christian, equality in churches in doctrine and ceremonies be kept.

1046. the so-called indefeasible, intangible, Christian means proposed by the papist side and handed over on August 19, 1530.

In the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 443; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 99 b (wrong 92 b); in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 226; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 214; in Chyträus according to the German edition, pp. 386, and according to the Latin, p. 257; in Müller, p. 755; in Spalatin's Annals, p. 170, and from the Margravial Brandenburg Acts in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 250.

Of common ecclesiastical and spiritual authority, also of common ecclesiastical statutes, customs, ceremonies, usages, and episcopal authority.

That there should be fasting, feasting, confession, prayer, procession, ceremonies, different times, foods, and other such traditional customs, administration of the sacraments, and also with

It is the custom of the common church, and has been in use among them from time immemorial, for the episcopal authority and sovereignty of princes, princes, and their relatives to be held. But what abuses or complaints have been raised about this, that reported sovereigns and princes compare themselves with common estates, help them to consult with common estates, and as usually decided, they will also comply with this.

Also the Electors, Princes, and their relatives shall be at liberty, and not included therein, if they have special differences, 1) errors or defects with archbishops, bishops, or prelates, of the same jurisdiction or otherwise, which they shall otherwise settle amicably or legally with each other.

Distribution and reception of the Sacrament under both forms.

That by permission of papal holiness or their legate, with the knowledge and approval of imperial majesty, as the supreme advocate of the church, it may be granted that only in the places and parishes, and in the subjects of the same parish, as it has now been customary for some years, the sacrament of the communion of the body and blood of Christ, and yet with preceding confession, as was the custom of old, may be administered or administered to the desirees in both forms; But with the following measure, namely, that at paschal times, when this sacrament is administered, it should also be taught and preached among them, not by divine commandment, that both forms must be received, that the whole Christ also be and be received under either, as well as both forms.

Item, that every one who desires to receive the Sacrament under one form of bread shall not be denied it, but shall be communicated to the Church according to the ancient custom; and that this permission shall not last longer than until the next Concilii of final decision.

That also by ecclesiastical and secular authorities it be seriously threatened that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ be destroyed by 2) or

1) In the old editions: "sphen" (If) - offence, disagreement. Compare: "spännig", St. Louis edition, Vol. lll, 115, ? 33.

2) "Verrören" put by us instead of: "verehren" in the old edition. Both the Wittenberg and the Jena editions read: "verrören," which will probably be interpreted by spilling. In Spalatin's Annals, p. 172:

otherwise no dishonor is done, and where it happens in a dangerous or unseemly 3) way, that this is seriously punished by ecclesiastical or secular authorities.

For this reason, the form of wine for the sick is not kept in vessels, nor is it carried to anyone, but if someone wants to communicate under both forms, it is consecrated and distributed in the church or in the homes of the sick under the office of the masses. And for the sake of honoring the sacrament, it is considered good that when both forms are distributed among a multitude of people, that it be received and enjoyed through a chancre.

Concerning the Office of the Masses.

That the common and special private monks be kept in ordinary dress, on the altars with the inclusion of the great canon, as has hitherto been in use and practice in common Christian churches of the German nation and their regions from time immemorial.

And after there had been in the small and great Canon of the Mass more a controversy or division in words, than in the right understanding of the words hostia, odlatio, saeritieiurQ or sacrifice, that such words should be drawn into Christian right understanding, namely, when Christ in the paschal lamb, in the Old Testament llguralitsr and that is, meaningfully sacrificed, and afterwards the same Christ offered Himself on the trunk of the cross, a true, living sacrifice to God the Father for the sin of men, so now and then the kuerilleium or sacrifice of the masses is a or in m^steriis 6t rgpruksgritutivuin, that is, a sacramental and memorial sacrifice, practiced and used daily in the church, in remembrance and commemoration of the suffering and death of Christ.

Of the 4) married priests listed.

When they were prevented from taking their vows of priestly status, into which they had willingly surrendered, and the statutes of the church did not allow them to accept permanent marriage, it was decided that, in order to spare poor seduced wives, to feed innocent children, to avoid all kinds of trouble, and to avoid other possible hardships, they should be allowed to marry.

vereeren". Förstemann: "verrorn". In the Weimar copy: "increase", which is, however, corrected to "verrören".

3) So the Wittenbergers and the Jenaers. Förstemann: "sinseliger," which he explains by: "more muthwilliger".

4) "stated" alleged.

Causes, the priests, who now sit in the specified matrimonial cohabitation, would thus, without confirmation and approval of their conduct, be tolerated until the future Council, only in the places where it has been their supposed use for some time. But in such a way and to such a degree that no one may marry before the decision of the Council, and whoever does so may be deprived of his priestly office or benefices and expelled from the country, or otherwise be punished externally. But whosoever would abjure his marriage estate, and abstain from eaelidutn, such should be allowed, and not be denied; neither should he remain with his Üsrisüeio and Moio. That also in the places where the married priests are, and especially where they are in the churches, diligence be taken to obtain others, as beneficial as this may always be, who are and remain in the eaelidatn and unmarried, and the married ones suspended ad otUeio and dsneücio; unless by papal sanctity power or its legate tolerance be obtained in the ministerio of their otUeii and bsrisüeii.

In this connection it is also necessary to consider that the eon6ubinurio8, so that they sit annoyingly in many places, should be completely abolished and no longer tolerated.

That no tolerance be given to this by the ordinaries; and whether it would not be good that at a future council, in so far as it is necessary, it be proposed that the conjugates be taken to the priestly state and ordained, as was the custom in the first church some hundred years ago.

Of oen monasteries and monastic vows.

The following means are intended, namely, that all and every monastery, male and female, as yet undestroyed, remain with them, and in singing, reading, and other services, in the dress of their rules, also in the visitation and obedience of their prelates, as happened before this division, be left in peace, and where there is a lack of prelates or provincials, that they be made by ordinary election, as before old age. Also, no one who wants to join them in the rules and orders, or who wants to come out of this division and return to it, shall be ordered or restrained to do so; that they also be protected and handled from violence and violence that they might encounter to their persons or goods, as of the end of the future Conciliar.

And which religious come out of the monasteries without proper admission, that they should return to the monasteries, or if they do not do so

that they would otherwise (they would then have permission for this from ecclesiastical authority, which has power to do such) not be tolerated anywhere (nyndert) in the lands, and the prelates are not to be deprived of acting against the same in an orderly manner.

But in consideration, occasion and many of the now expired religious, that against the same with no farther, than with essay of a penitence, punishment is made.

Those, however, who would henceforth come out of the monasteries without proper permission, shall be punished according to ecclesiastical and secular rights, and the punishment of the prelates and ordinaries shall not be prevented.

Which monasteries, however, are completely closed, and there is no one left in them, nor would they be occupied after the request of their superiors, so that they will be tolerated until the future council; but that their monastery dues and income not be collected for the own benefit of each local superior, but that the dues be deposited and preserved by special persons who are appointed for this purpose in each place by the prelates of the order together with the bishops, and until the future decision of the Council as to how and what is to be done with them. As soon as a monastery is occupied, however, its revenues and income are to be transferred to it as before.

And after some articles have been set in this amicable negotiation for a future council, it is necessary that Imperial Majesty and other estates of the empire be concerned about this and other excellent and necessary causes for reforming the church in its head and members for the time being. Majesty and other estates of the empire be concerned, on account of this and other excellent and necessary causes, to reform the church in the head and members, conducive to time, place and place, as the imperial majesty, with papal sanctity, legates all this to himself. Maj. compare them with Papal Holiness Legates, to proclaim and hold a Univerfalconcilium in the German Nation.

1047. the Protestants thereupon the 20th of August brought in an indisputable and unassailable answer to the means proposed yesterday.

This immediately follows the previous number at the locations indicated there.

Of the Most Reverend Sacrament.

Let it be known that the reverend Sacrament of the true Body and Blood of Christ, according to our confession, cannot be performed in any other way than with prior confession, in our principalities.

mern and territories, as before, shall be served and taken.

But that it is desired to teach, that it is not unjust to receive but one form, is known in what manner we have reported it.

Moreover, before the reverend sacrament is received, the people must be informed that they know that it is right to receive both forms.

However, it should be ensured that the pastors and preachers keep such measures as are conducive to peace, until further action in a concilio.

And so it is confessed that the whole body of Christ is under the form of bread; nevertheless, because the holy sacrament is thus instituted with both forms, and the words of Christ signify it more clearly, this use of receiving both forms is according to the institution of Christ.

In our principalities and territories, too, no one has been prevented from seeking the sacrament of his own pleasure, wherever he may know it.

Also the institution is to be made that the reverend sacrament be held in honor; as has been done hitherto, also, without glory to speak of, it should be imposed and tolerated unwillingly otherwise; so also the form of wine has not been held nor carried in vessels with us hitherto.

From the fair.

Furthermore, if the masses in our principalities and territories have hitherto been held in ordinary church clothes, they shall also be held alfo.

And since the masses, by virtue of our confession, are held honestly in our principalities and territories with their substantials, even with ordinary ceremonies after the institution of Christ, it is with God's help that they shall continue to be held with due reverence.

Of the clerical marital state.

As far as the marriage of priests is concerned, we have shown in our confession many well-founded reasons why we consider our and other clergymen's marriage to be Christian and right.

We have also had to allow the clergy marriage all the more because we have seen and experienced the manifold, great and mean abuse and sinful immorality of the clergy before. Because from the way in which

and in many other places it is still evident that few priests have the high gift of God of chastity, and that such priests, who should sit in an unrighteous, licentious life, are not acceptable to us: Let it be considered, how in this part of ours, after the death of the present ordained priests, not to accept again other ordained priests, nor as many pastors and preachers, skilful and learned, as are necessary for the order of our churches in our lands and territories, who have the gift of chastity, because your beloved and you yourselves indicate in your sent means that they have considered that the priests *concubinarii, who* sit in a lewd life, should be completely abolished, and no tolerance should be given to them henceforth by the ordinaries. And your beloved and yourselves consider whether, therefore, it would not be good that at a future council it be proposed that the eonjngati be admitted to the priestly state, in moderation, as was the custom in the first church some hundred years ago.

Of monastic vows".

About monastic vows 1) your beloved and you know what we have indicated on our part in our confession; therefore, we do not want to complain about them to anyone. But how the monks and nuns, who still remain in monasteries in our principalities and territories, should and will keep themselves among one another for the sake of their going out or remaining in them, or not, will be left to their own responsibility to God until further consideration and consideration in a common free Christian council, nor will they be given any measure in this.

And although what concerns the monasteries does not belong in this action, but nevertheless all and every monastery, male and female, shall be left quiet in their nature and dress, also in the ceremonies, as they are and stand up to now in every place.

For this purpose 2) as much as possible, the understanding is to be applied, so that no violence, in whatever way this may be, is exercised nor carried out against reported persons.

But concerning the single monasteries, that such monasteries, which are now single without monks and nuns, shall henceforth remain unchanged and undiminished in the secular patrons' and advocates' order.

1) Förstemann: "Vom Klosterwesen".
2) "should" is missing in Förstemann.

The monasteries shall remain in existence, and the persons who have come and gone from them shall receive from the income, and it shall be given to them for their necessities, also for the maintenance of preachers, pastors, schools, first of all in their places where the churches may have been occupied by the monasteries, and then the surplus is to be settled until a concilio, and further Christian consideration and consultation, how and in what form such monasteries and estates are to be ordered for God's honor and benevolent things in lands and places in which, or where they are situated; Then, too, the favors, benefits, and annuities shall be duly and unambiguously determined.

Of [the] bishops' violence.

One is also inclined in all this part to help to maintain episcopal rule and authority; but with it unapproved of the public abuses, that the bishops do not have diligence, that one preaches rightly, that the sacraments are administered and acted seriously and Christianly, that capable people are ordained, that the priests lead a chaste life, that one abuses the ban (Pann) in many things 2c. These and such abuses are not to be approved herewith.

And it shall be procured that the bishops shall receive their due obedience, namely, that our pastors and preachers shall be presented to the ordinaries of every place.

Item, if a priest commits a criminal offence, the Ordinary, by virtue of episcopal authority, shall have to punish him without hindrance.

The bishops shall not be prevented from exercising their ecclesiastical jurisdiction in matters pertaining to ecclesiastical courts. For if some matters are brought into ecclesiastical courts that do not belong there, as common debt cases 2c., it is understood that the other estates will also have considered this in abuses.

One should also keep to the promotion of common peace, up to much touched common, Christian, free Concilio, in which like the other states.

Item, the bishops are not to be prevented from exercising the excommunication and banishment, as punishment for the cases, belonging to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as is due according to the Holy Scriptures.

Of the ceremonies.

Also, for the sake of love, the following common ceremonies are to be held and administered safely, so that equality in them may be maintained in churches, conducive to peace and unity.

However, we do not want to burden anyone's conscience with this, as if such ceremonies had to be held for necessary church services, but that [they] are good ordinances to be held for the sake of peace and love.

Namely, no meat should be eaten publicly for a certain period of time:

In the four soft fasts, 1)

All Friday and Saturday,

Christmas Eve,

Pentecost,

On the evening of St. John the Baptist, On All Hallows' Eve.

From the fast.

For the sake of fasting in our lands and territories, it is considered what a great burden it has been for the poor common and working people to keep such fasts for 40 days in a row, for the sake of food and otherwise, so that it is known how often it has been spoken of, and also considered by many, that the fasts should be divided into other times of the year. Therefore let poverty be considered in this. Nevertheless, as much as possible, this part should be kept in conformity with other churches, and ceremonies and singing, gospels and epistles should be sung, read, and preached in all ways, just as in other churches, and no meat should be allowed to be sold publicly.

Of the holidays.

Ordinary celebrations are also to be held, as has been done until now, so that the people may remain in the habit of hearing God's word and the sermon and receiving the holy sacraments, each according to his conscience's need, and especially these feast days are to be kept:

All Sunday,

Christmas Day,

St. Stephen's,

St. John Apostle and Evangelist,

The Lord's circumcision,

UpiMania,

Char Week, to be kept for the sake of the Passion, Easter Day together with Monday and Tuesday, Ascension of Christ,

Pentecost together with Monday and Tuesday, The noblest feasts of the pure virgins, and

Mother of God, Mary,
All Apostles,
St. Michel,
All saints.

1) Quatember.

One should also on such holidays ordinary chant, Officia and Lectiones, taken from the Scriptures, halls.

Likewise, the litany in the week of the cross, to exhort the people to prayer, should be kept.

From confession.

Nor should confession be abandoned, considering the great consolation that absolution brings. So, too, if confession were to fall away so completely that no one would know what the great and salutary power of the keys was. And although instruction is to be given, for the consolation of consciences, that it may be known how necessary it is that even those sins which have not been told may be forgiven, it is also to be commanded, as has been done hitherto, that people be accustomed, as much as possible, to present the cases in which they are in special need of counsel and consolation.

In addition to all this, it is nevertheless considered of great necessity that the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, should think of a conducive universal council in the German nation. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, to hold a conducive Universal Council in the German nation, it is graciously intended to reform the Church at the head and in the members. And the princes and others, who have been appointed to this committee, want to promote this announcement of ours to the imperial majesty, also to the churl and princes, in a submissive and friendly manner, so they are requested to do and act with the estates and their relatives of this part as well.

1048 The Papists demand of the Protestants to explain themselves more clearly on some points about their proposed means.

Numbers 1048 to 1053 inel. are found in Müller's Historie, Ild. III, eap. 29, x. 767 f. from the unnamed author's uxot. mstu., p. 111.

It is not really clear from this how it is meant for the sake of confession, whether this part is to be kept the same as the confession of other churches or not, so that no one should be communicated, unless he had first confessed, as has been the custom from time immemorial, with a recital of all his sins, and had himself absolved; item, whether it should also be permitted in this part that each one should receive the sacrament in one or both forms, and from those who were in church offices, or who had to do so before (by which one meant the mendicants in the cities).

Furthermore, how they would like to see that in this part it be granted and decreed that preachers and teachers teach and preach in such a way that those who receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ only in one form do not do wrong, for in their opinion this would serve to promote Christian unity, and subsequently their actions could be all the more elevated in the eyes of the other princes, rulers, and estates. Item, so they could also not really understand from the counter-proposals whether private masses, as well as canons, large and small, were to be permitted on this part or not. Item, whether one wanted to agree on this part, as they indicated in their proposals, that after the departure of the present ordained clergy, no more ordained priests should be accepted, until a General Council.

1049th Declaration of the Evangelicals.

See the previous number.

As far as confession was concerned, there would be a special point at the end of their handed-over compositions, which would indicate their opinion clearly enough, in accordance with divine Scripture, and they would also leave it alone, together with what concerned private masses, both canons, and the marriage of the clergy, because their princely graces and their subordinates would have considered the handed-over proposals of the other part to the effect that they wanted to declare at once "what they thought" that this part could be left alone with a conscience. Grace and their assigns would have considered the submitted proposals of the other part to the effect that they wanted to declare at once "what they thought", that this part could be left with conscience. If they had now decided that they could, with God and their consciences, further indulge, they would not have failed to indicate this at once in their compositions, all of which they did not want to do in the end, so that the opposing party might consider it an unprofitable delay to act on further funds or indulgences.

1050. the papal part's further complaint.

See No. 1048.

They understand that the decrees of the Lutheran part did not want to slacken anything, since the Bohemians in the Concilio at Basel had conceded that the use of the sacrament in a single church was not permitted.

The author of this book says that the form is not unjust, but that this part's opinion is to be interpreted by His Imperial Majesty and all Christian potentates of the whole world. Majesty and all Christian potentates of the whole world, especially princes, princes, and estates of the empire and their own deceased ancestors, as well as all of Christendom, that they were doing and had done wrong in receiving the sacrament in one form; but whether this would be conducive to peace and unity, let the representatives of this part consider for themselves.

051 Answer of the Lutheran part to the persistent complaints of the papists.

See No. 1048.

As they would not have refrained from moving things again with the highest and utmost diligence. Now they would not have been less inclined than someone from the opposite party to help promote that, as much as God and conscience would always want to happen, which would be conducive to Christian peace and unity; but as they considered the matters for and for themselves, they could not have imagined that they could offer themselves further, or propose anything closer, than what they had already done in their handed-over means of composition. They therefore asked the counterpart not to blame them in this case, but to take up the matter with the Electors, Princes, and Estates of their part, and then further with the Imperial Majesty. Majesty in the way they have been presented in their compositions, and also to help to promote that a general, common, Christian council may be announced.

1052 The Protestants' Written Opinion on the Use of the Lord's Supper under One Form. August 21, 1530.

This document is found apart from the locations given under No. 1048 in Brück's History, p. 99 and in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 273 after a copy in the Margravial Brandenburg Acts p. 770. The date is given there.

Yesterday we informed your beloved and you others that the opinion of this part was not to condemn the Christian believing ancestors and deceased, or people of all other countries and nations, for the sake of their having received and received the reverend sacrament of the body and blood of Christ in one form alone; we still insist on this. For we have written to your loved ones and to you this notice.

The Church of Christ, in the first place, has said that the institution of Christ concerns both priests and laymen, but that it is eertznionialtz xrutzesxtnM, äisxsnsudils in Hnidnsäuin eusintzesssitutis. Therefore it is held, and not doubted, that many dead and living persons in Christendom, who have thus received the Sacrament in one form only, or receive it again, are therefore not to be condemned, as we also do not condemn them for this reason. This we declare unto your beloved and to you, lest we should interpret it as your beloved and to you should understand it.

1053. other attempt of the papists of the Holy Communion. 21 August 1530.

This document is also found in Brück's Geschichte, p. 100 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 274, apart from the locations indicated in No. 1048. According to the latter the time determination is.

The opposite proposal.

Furthermore, after due consideration, this remedy is proposed by the other part:

That those on our side here between the decision of the next Council should preach and teach that the use of both or one form is not from divine commandment. Therefore no one should judge those who receive under one form to be doing wrong, moreover, that under either form the whole Christ, true God and man, is his body and blood; The same again, if and when the Communion is thus left to us under both forms, that it is also preached on the other side, not to judge us that those do wrong who receive the Sacrament with us under both forms, because the use of one or both forms is not of divine commandment, and thus is left to us to use until future Concilio. Item, that we also do not deny the sacrament to anyone who wants to receive it in one form, but let it be administered by our parish priests.

1054 Philipp Melanchthon's first essay on the means of composition, in which it is explained why the Protestants cannot enter into anything.

In Cölestin, tom. III, p. 47 and in the Oorp. L "k., vol. II, 304.

Translated from the Latin.

1) easibus is missing in Förstemann.

If the Imperial Majesty will say that she accepts the proposed means, then one must first of all ask for a copy of the submitted report in order to know how the opponents have brought the matter about.

If the Emperor wanted to take out some suggestions or words from the means of unification, this should not be allowed.

If they should ask whether the emperor sins when he is given only the one form, the answer is that we do not condemn the church. The whole Church was, as it were, bound and imprisoned under this statute of the forbidden use of the chalice. Is the church, then, in itself innocent, since in this it has been wronged? But the prohibition was most unjust.

From the fair.

Why will you not agree with us that private masses may be said?

Answer: Private masses, as they say, are done in the opinion that they are applied to others *ex opere operato in order* to earn grace with them. For this reason this opinion is ungodly.

1) Because, if the *opus operatum is* to earn something for someone, righteousness comes from the merit of works and not from faith, which is fundamentally false.

2) The passion of Christ is a sufficient sacrifice, as the Scripture testifies, that by one sacrifice he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. So there is no need of any other sacrifice for daily sin.

(3) There is no need of a sacrifice of dedication, because no dedication takes place without faith; therefore, no dedication takes place by a mere outward work.

But that no application is made without the Holy Spirit is proved by the following:

"The letter kills, the spirit makes alive."

"How shall they believe, of whom they have heard nothing?"

"From the preaching ye have received the spirit of faith."

"He hath raised up among us the word of reconciliation."

Therefore, although the Mass would be a sacrifice of dedication, it would have no power *ex opere operato,* because the letter kills.

Likewise Christ saith, Do these things in remembrance of me: but to remember is as much as to believe. Item, they that remember it not, to them it is of no profit. So the mass is of no use to the dead.

He also commands that one should preach. What is the use of preaching to the dead?

The Canon holds the Application in itself, therefore it is not to be suffered. If they do not want to understand it about the sacrifice, they must be asked whether there is a difference between the communion of the laity and that of the clergy.

1055. Melanchthon's other essay on the fourteen articles left uncompared in the committee. About the 20th of Sept. 1530.

From the author's own copy in the archives at Weimar printed in Müllers Historie, lib. III, eux. 29, p. 798; in Oorp. kek., vol. II, 298 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 463. The latter moves this document to September (shortly before the 21st) 1530. Compare No. 1091. Bretschneider assumes August 21.

The articles which have been compared in the committee and which concern the doctrine shall be collected together, but the other articles which have not been compared shall also be collected together, and are these:

1) That faith justifies us in the sight of God, and not works, neither for our previous or next works or merits, but for Christ's sake, if we believe that for Christ's sake God is gracious to us.

2) That we owe it to ourselves to do good works, though we do not thereby merit grace and righteousness before God, but faith obtains grace, not because of our works.

3) That in confession it is not necessary to tell the sins by name.

4) That, although repentance must and ought to be in repentance, yet sins are not forgiven for newness of life, but by faith, if we believe the absolution, or the gospel, that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake; therefore faith must come to repentance, which comforts the conscience, and believes that sins are forgiven for Christ's sake.

5) That it is not necessary to impose special satisfaction in penance for the remission of penance.

6) That the holy sacraments do not justify without faith, *ex opere operato*.

7) That for true unity of the Church and of the faith there is no need of equality of human statutes, but of equality in the articles of faith and the use of the sacraments.

8) That worship services, instituted by men, without God's commandment and God's word, so that

merit, are contrary to the gospel, and obscure the merit of Christ.

9) That monastic vows and monastic life are instituted, that they are services of God to merit grace, contrary to the Gospel.

10) That human statutes, which may be kept without sin, and are conducive to good order in the church, should be kept for love's sake, to avoid vexation. But let it be known that such works are not necessary services, nor do bishops have the right to burden consciences with such traditions; therefore it is not sinful to refrain from such traditions apart from offence.

11) To call upon the saints is an uncertain and dangerous thing, and obscures the ministry of Christ, whom the Scriptures hold up to us as the Mediator and Reconciler.

12) That those who forbid both forms act contrary to Christ's institution and the Scriptures.

13) That they which forbid marriage do contrary to the commandment of God, which commandeth that, to prevent fornication, every man shall have his wife.

14) That the Mass is not a work which merits grace ex opere operato, or applied to others, but that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is instituted to offer us grace, which we receive by faith, not ex opere operato.

And such articles the Elector of Saxony with his relatives again considers to be right and Christian, and herein also all articles are to be common and unconditional, which follow in right consequence from these; such as more articles are disputed, but are not specified in the submitted Confession *expresso*, 1) all of which are to be applied to the Concilium, so that in the meantime, on account of them, no part may burden the other by force.

Luther's letter to Lazarus Spengler, in which he mentions the close committee and the departure of the Landgrave. August 24, 1530.

This letter is printed from the original at Wolfenbüttel in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 63; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 140; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 188.

1) Here our text offers Brück's correction. He crossed out the words: "Item ob etlich mehr Artikel streitig wären, so doch der überreichten Confessio nicht entgegen sein", and put instead the words of the text.

The more honorable! , careful! Mr. Lazaro Spengler, the city of Nuremberg Syndico, my favorable dear gentleman and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, prudent, dear lord and friend! Here I send you the sermon of the schools, together with the other sextons on the previous ones. I have no more copies, otherwise I would have sent you one or three; even so I have run out of them. I know no more to write to you, for we sit here in the desert, and must learn of you new newspapers. Nevertheless, we have heard of the new committee at Augsburg after the Landgrave's departure, and it is wonderful to see. May God continue to have mercy, amen. I hereby leave you in the grace of God. And greetings to all dear lords and friends. Christ will lead his own cause. Lx eremo, the Lartkiolomaei [24 Augusts 1530.

Martinus Luther.

1057 Melanchthon's letter to Luther, in which he reports to him what has happened in the actions of the committee so far. August 22, 1530.

This letter is found in Latin in Melanchthon's epist., üb. I, x>. 9; in Chyträus according to the German edition, p. 400, and according to the Latin, p. 269; in Cölestin, torn. III, x>. 49, and in the Eorp. RiT, vol. ii, 299.

I. Yesterday we ended the discussion, or rather the bickering, before the negotiators. At first the negotiators were Duke Henry of Brunswick, the bishop of Augsburg, Eck, and Cochleus; then Duke George came in Henry's place. For the Duke of Brunswick had to ride to the Landgrave of Hesse, of whom they were afraid that he would accept troops.

(2) As to doctrine, it is thus, that Eck cavilleth the word sola, when we say that man is justified by faith alone. But he did not condemn the doctrine itself; -but said that the unlearned were vexed. For I compelled him to confess that righteousness is rightly appropriated by us to faith. Nevertheless he desired that we should so write, that a man might be justified by grace and faith. This I have

but the fool understandeth not the word grace.

003 The other controversy was concerning the remission of punishment, and concerning the pardons. The third was about the merit of good works. In these two things nothing is compared. Though it is a small thing that he attributed to merit, yet we have not accepted the same.

(4) After this we came to the disputation of both forms. Here he undertook with great labor to prove that it was not a commandment to take both forms; he considered it a middle thing, that one should take one or both forms, and if we taught this, he would gladly give us both forms. I could not accept this, and yet I excused those who had hitherto, through error, received only one form. For they cried out that we condemned the whole church. What think ye? Christ's order applies to the laity as well as to the priests. Therefore, because we must use the Sacrament, let consciences keep the whole Sacrament. If this be your opinion, let me know it plainly.

(5) Nothing has been said about the mass, vows, and priestly marriage. Only a number of means have been proposed, which we have not accepted.

(6) I cannot know where it will go. For although peace is necessary to our enemies, it seems to me that some do not consider what great danger there will be if the matter turns into war. We have proposed some very poor means. We restore obedience and jurisdiction to the bishops, and promise to restore the common ceremonies. What we shall do with this I know not. Pray Christ to preserve us. August 22.

Luther's answer to the foregoing letter. Aug. 26, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in the Oock. cksv. d., toi. 114; from it in Buddeus, p. 195; in the Latin collection of letters of Flacius; in Cölestin, vol. lll, bl. 50 b; and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 145. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, bl. 432d; in the Jenaer (1566), vol. V, bl. 121; in the Altenburger, vol. V, p. 248, and in the Leipziger, vol. XX, p. 191. We have translated after De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! I should be surprised if this were to happen in this way.

my dear Philip, that those men might suffer these negotiators, and yet intend to deal kindly of the matter. I pray thee, is not all deceit and guile there? Thou hast now the Campegius, thou hast the Salzburger, thou hast plainly the hooded monks that went over the Rhine to Speier. 1) For what have I ever hoped less, and what do I desire even less, than that a union in doctrine should be negotiated? as if we could indeed overthrow the pope, or as if, as long as the papacy remains unharmed, our doctrine could be unharmed. He, of course, gives covenant and agreement so that he may remain pope; he will allow and permit if we do 2c. But thanks be to God that you have accepted nothing of yours.

You write that Eck was forced by you to confess that we are justified by faith; yet God would have you also force him not to lie. Namely, Eck confesses that righteousness comes from faith, but in doing so he defends all the abominations of the papacy, kills, persecutes, condemns those who confess this doctrine of faith, and does not even repent of it, but continues. The whole party of the adversaries do the same. And with these men (if it please Christ) ye seek terms of union, and labour in vain, until they by some occasion find some apparent cause (plausum) wherewith to press us down.

In what thou writest of both forms thou hast done right. For so I hold with thee, that it is not a mean thing, but a commandment, that we should take both forms, if we would take the sacrament. For it is not in our discretion to set up or tolerate anything in the church of God or in the divine service that cannot be defended by the word of God, and I am not a little vexed by this word, which is contrary to God: a middle thing, that is, with the very word of God.

1) The 8p66trum IVlonueüorum Fpirsusium, sung in elegiac verse by Georg Sabinus, is to be read in Ooswslin., tom. lll, lol. 30. the meaning of the apparition should be:

I^tlsru Ovrinurios disoordia llsMS,
VroHUS euouüutis impirr dsllu xurunt. (De bet.)

In this word I could easily make all the laws and ordinances of God mean things. For if one allows a middle thing in the word of God, in what way will one be able to prevent that everything does not become a middle thing? They may cry out and cry that the whole Church is condemned by us; we say that the Church is imprisoned against its will, oppressed by the tyranny of One Form, and for that reason to be excused, as the whole synagogue in Babylon was excused, because in its ecclesiastical customs and sacraments it did not keep the Law of Moses as in Jerusalem. For because of this it did not cease to be God's people, because they did not keep the customs commanded them, being captives and prevented by violence. But Eck wants him and his to be praised as the Church. On the other hand, we say that not the whole church is condemned by us, but that the whole word of God (which is more than the church) is rejected by them, because violence is done to the sacrament.

That the bishops have been restored to obedience and jurisdiction, and the common ceremonies, as you write, "yet beware, and give no more than ye have," lest we be compelled anew to a more difficult and dangerous war to defend the gospel. I know that you always exclude the gospel in these treaties, but I fear that they will accuse us of being faithless and fickle people if we do not keep what they want. For they will accept our concessions far, farther, and farther, but will make theirs scarce, scarcer, and scarcest.

In sum, I dislike the discussion of doctrinal union altogether, since it is utterly impossible, unless the pope wants his papacy to be abolished. It was enough that we gave an account of our faith and asked for peace; why do we hope to convert them to the truth? We have come to hear whether they approve of ours or not, and leave them free to remain as they are. And we ask whether they reject it, or know it to be right. If they reject it, what is the use of making an agreement with their enemies?

To strive for harmony? If they know it to be right, what need is there to retain the old abuses? But since it is certain that what is ours will be condemned by them, because they do not repent, and endeavor to retain what is theirs, why do we not see that whatever they undertake is a vain pretence and a lie? For it cannot be said that these things of theirs flow from the Holy Spirit, since with them there is nothing of repentance, nothing of faith, nothing of godliness. But the Lord, who began in you, will accomplish his work; to him I commend you with all my heart. August 26, 1530.

Martin Luther.

1059 Luther's letter to Justus Jonas, same content. August 26, 1530.

This letter is handwritten in the Ooä. cksn. d., lol. 125, and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 92. Printed in Buddeus, p. 198; in 6oo1o8lin., tom. III, col. 57; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 166, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 147. After the latter we have translated.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace! I have seen and read the testimonies of yours concerning our cause. But what I write to Philip, the same I write also to you, that for Christ's sake, and for my sake, if I belong in anything to Christ, you will condescend to believe with all ours that Campegius is the one great and noblest devil. It cannot be said in words how I am aroused by the proposals that have been made by the other party, namely, since the devils ridicule and mock our cross in "such a manner. This is the envelope of Campegius and the pope, that our cause should first be attacked by force and threats; if this way should not succeed, then it should be contested by intrigues and wiles. The violence and threats you have experienced, and the frightful future of the emperor you have endured; now you suffer the wiles and in truth these hooded monks who have crossed the Rhine at Speier; namely, the arrival of these brings these unions in doctrine

For what can the father of deceit and lies, the author of death and violence, do but use violence and deceit? But he that hath given you power to overcome violence, the same will give you grace and strength to overcome iniquity. But of this I have written to Philip and the prince; I had to send the messenger back in haste. But act manfully, and yield nothing to the adversaries, unless they prove it with clear Scripture. The Lord JEsus be with you, Amen. From the desert, August 26, 1530. Martin Luther.

1060 Luther's Letter to Spalatin. August 26, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in Ooü. . len. d., lol. 225 d. and in Aurifaber, vol. ill, p. 86. Printed in Buddeus, p. 197; in Coslestin., iow. Ill, lol.59 and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 144. According to the latter we have translated.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To his dearest brother in the Lord, M. Georg Spalatin, the disciple of Christ 2c.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have a matter, my dear Spalatin, in which I call upon your service and your conscientiousness, namely, that you take care that this letter of our Prince addressed to me be credibly^ stamped with the Prince's seal and returned to me. For though it was enough that it was signed with the handwriting of the dear Prince, yet it gave me pleasure to accuse the Chancellor of negligence in sending the Prince's letter without the seal. For I remember that I too once wrote to the Prince without my name's signature, and since I had been so negligent, I was also reprimanded. But now I take my revenge with this unsealed letter; a sweet revenge! After my trust in your conscientiousness, I expect that this will be taken care of.

1) dona ückk is translated by "in secret" in the old edition.

I hear that you have begun a strange work, admittedly not gladly, namely, to unite the pope and Luther. But the pope will not want it, and Luther forbids it; see that you do not spend your effort in vain. If, then, both being unwilling, you will have accomplished the matter, I will immediately follow your example and reconcile Christ and Belial. But yet I know that you are not driven to this vain work by your own free will, but by chance, or rather by the hooded spectres of Speier. Christ, who has hitherto been your strength, will now also be your wisdom, that these Italian intrigues can do nothing against you. For evil counsel will be worst for him who gave it. Greetings M. Eisleben, D. Brenz, Schnepf, and all those who are ours. The grace of GOD be with you, Amen. From the desert, August 26, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

1061. D. Martin Luther's Concerns about Several Articles in Dispute. End of August 1530.

This concern is found in German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p.3936.; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 1116; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 238; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 165; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 65, p. 46; in Spalatin's Annals, p. 270, and in Chyträus, p. 135. Latin in Cölestin, vol. Ill, p. 376, and in Chyträus, p. 273. The timing is according to De Wette.

First of all, when our adversaries intend neither to indulge nor to yield, but to continue straightway, and to condemn us, as they have hitherto done in all things, nor have they ever shown themselves willing to accept the great offering, as we have often done to them, we do not see how any action can be taken. For we cannot act upon it, that all their things should remain whole, and ours be condemned; which hitherto hath been done too much, without all action.

For another.

But because Imperial Majesty wants to know what we want to let up, it is necessary to indicate from piece to piece what we can do or not do.

Of the articles concerning doctrine re.

We cannot deviate from these articles, for even our opponents have not shown any error therein, as can be clearly seen from their confutation and in the dealings that followed; they will also undoubtedly be considered Christian and right by all other nations. For they are not only well founded in the Scriptures, but are also powerfully proved by the Scriptures of the Holy Fathers. They are also so well established and so mild that no Christian can be offended by them. But if Imperial Majesty Majesty requests some pieces of explanation, as, äs sola lläs, äs satislastiouibus, äs msritis sts. Then our part is at all times obliged to do the same.

Of the articles concerning the abuses.

First, to receive of both the form of the sacrament. From this article we cannot depart, because it is a divine ordinance, which Christ himself ordained, and it is not fitting for any man to change or alter God's ordinance, Gal. 3:15.It has been used from the beginning in the whole of Christendom for many hundreds of years, and is still a sign in the Greek churches to this day, and will and must remain in the world at least in some places, ns sxsiäat vsrbum Dsi, Rom. 9, 6. Also, our own condemnation confesses that [it] is so right, according to their handed over rotel 2c.

002 But that they desire that we should teach that it is not unlawful to give and to take the same form, we cannot do, for the reasons above stated. Neither has the law proved, either by holy scripture or by the sayings of the fathers, that such a thing may or ought to be done.

003 Further, that they desire that we should also give the same form among us unto them that desire it, neither can we do as they require without distinction, as if both were right. In our visitation we have also sufficiently reported how the weak may be given the same form, but we do not approve of it as right.

004 But that they say, Whether we will condemn all Christendom, which hath used one form as right, say we: First of all, God's word, command, and order must be considered more than the work, deeds, or omissions of Christianity. For God cannot lie or err in His word, but Christianity can err and err in its doings and omissions. Thus, Christianity is not a rule and measure over God's word, but God's word is a rule and measure over Christianity. And Christianity is not made by God's word, but God's word makes Christianity; for it is born of God's word, and is multiplied and preserved, as St. Peter says in 1 Peter 1:23: "Ye are born, not of corruptible seed, but of the word of God, which endureth for ever." And in case one should leave or deny one thing, one would have to deny Christianity before God's Word, since Christianity as a creature, created by God's Word, is inferior and inferior to God's Word, through which, as a Creator, it was created.

005 Secondly, Christianity is not condemned thereby. For just as the holy people of God were excused before God in time past for not keeping some of God's commandments and ceremonies, namely, because they were imprisoned in Babylon or elsewhere and were prevented from doing so, because unavoidable necessity and compulsion did not permit this, even Moses himself says Deut. 12:8.Moses himself says in Deut. 12:8 that they should not do in the land of Canaan as they did in the wilderness, nor had they been circumcised for forty years in the wilderness (Jos. 5:7): so God will also excuse the Christians who have used the same form until now, because they had to do it out of compulsion and necessity, since such abuse was forced upon them without their will by the spiritual tyrants, so that they did not know or could not do better. And therefore it is not the fault of Christendom, but of the tyrants and false teachers, who, by such sacrilege and abuse, have imprisoned and oppressed Christendom, and without the consent or connivance of Christendom have established such things, and introduced them by force.

6th Thirdly, Christianity is not condemned for this reason, whether it still has some faults or abuses in it, or (as St. Paul says Eph. 5:27.) "wrinkles and spots. It

It is far another thing to have sin or error, and another thing to be damned. Christianity cannot be without sin and error, but it is not condemned for that. St. Paul, who is one of the highest and holiest members, confesses in Romans 7:23 that he is a captive servant of sins, and yet he does not want to be condemned, Romans 8:1, where he says: "There is nothing condemnable in those who are in Christ Jesus.

007 Christ himself also taught his disciples to pray in the Lord's Prayer, saying, Forgive us our trespasses. And saith Matth. 6:12-14. unto them, "Therefore your heavenly Father will not forgive you your trespasses, except ye forgive your brethren their trespasses."

008 From which words it clearly follows, that the apostles have such faults as would condemn them, if they were not forgiven. And what need would there be of the apostles and all Christendom praying for the forgiveness of sins, if they had not such sins as needed forgiveness, and were damned without forgiveness? There need not be a saint on earth who can live so holy for a moment that he would not be able to pray the Lord's Prayer; otherwise the Lord's Prayer would be wrong in a saint, or at least for such a moment.

009 True, Christianity is holy, and cannot err, (as the article saith, I believe a holy Christian church;) but this is true, that so far as the spirit is concerned, it is wholly holy in Christ, and not in itself; but so far as it is yet in the flesh, it hath sin, and may err and be deceived. But for the Spirit's sake she is forgiven, and her sins are forgiven, because she believes in Christ, and confesses her sins (even the unconscious ones), Ps. 19:13, "Who knoweth all her faults?" So St. Paul himself teaches Rom. 7:8, 10, that our (that is, Christians') body is dead because of sin, but the spirit lives because of righteousness; freely confessing that all Christians are sinners and dead according to the body, and yet live according to the spirit in Christ.

010 So all Christendom erred in the beginning at Jerusalem, when they were eager to establish that the Gentiles must be circumcised, and commanded to keep the law of Moses, or they could not be saved.
which is contrary to the main article on which Christianity stands, namely, that we must be saved by Christ and his grace alone, without law and circumcision, as St. Paul there barely obtained with difficulty. What wonder then, since Christianity was not so high and rich in spirit, that it sometimes erred and failed, and yet remained holy through the forgiveness of sins, as well as those.

011 But such errors and falsities of Christianity, after they are revealed, are not to be approved, nor defended for articles of faith; for that would be contrary to the Holy Ghost, who reveals such things, and henceforth would not be a Christian or vain sin, but a hardened and devilish delusion.

From the Spiritual Marriage

We cannot agree to any way that marriage should be forbidden to anyone, which God Himself created and commanded, and the doctrine that forbids this is called the doctrine of the devil, 1 Tim. 4:1-3.

From the private fair.

We cannot allow them to be restored, or to suffer them to be restored, because it is a matter of public record that such masses, which have hitherto been held, are a public abuse and idolatry. For they hold it thus, that it makes pious both him who holds it, and him for whom it is held, as an *opus operatum et applicatum*, which yet strives clearly against the chief article of faith in Christ. Neither can they themselves deny that for this reason such masses are instituted and sold all over the world, and to this day they seek nothing else with them but the belly and mammon, which would all have remained if the mass had not become a work.

From Canon.

001 Then we cannot suffer either small or great canon, for both canons make the measure of such works, in express words, to make us godly, and also to be sacrificed for others, as is now said above; which then is openly contrary to the doctrine of faith, and blasphemes the passion of Christ, just

as if Christ had not sufficiently redeemed us by his blood, and we must first seek and purchase it by works and masses.

(2) But that they want to palliate the Canon with glosses, and interpret the word snorilleium, sacrifice, as a sacrifice to memory, may not help them. For where the Mass is to be an opus operatuw st upplieutuui, as they pretend, the Glossa is in vain, even wrong for it. But if the Glossa is to be right, the Mass must not be an Opus operuturu, and so either the Canon overthrows the Glossa, or the Glossa the Canonem. For the Glossa and the Canon may not both exist at the same time, because the Canon clearly asks that God should reconcile such 1) sacrifice (as they say) of the memory, and all of us for whom it is done.

(3) About this, it is public and certain that the Canon is not the holy Scripture, but everyone must confess that it is a new thing, which arose long afterward, and it is uncertain who the master is, nor are they the same everywhere. For St. Ambrose's Canon, which the Archbishopric of Milan holds, is very different from the Roman Canon. So the Greeks also have other canons than we do, and they are not the same among themselves.

004 Because there is no holy scripture here, and the canons are nowhere all alike, from which it must be known that it is human and not divine order; why then should it be held so strictly as if it were the one eternal word of God, because men who act apart from and without holy scripture may well err and miss. And whosoever will read the Canon, he shall find told of some saints who lived long after the time of the apostles; and as many as are named therein are told, that by their merit and intercession God may be gracious to us. What honor the canon does not give Christ, that he should be our mediator and intercessor, to whom it is primarily due, but must allow himself to be sacrificed, and besides this the saints suffer our intercessors and mediators in his stead. And the priest may wonderfully pray for Christ, that God would be gracious to His Son Christ through such sacrifices, which is an unpleasant abomination.

1) So Spalatin; in the other editions: such.

From the unfinished monasteries

We will gladly consent that the people who are in them shall remain and be provided with food and protection, as has been done from time immemorial; but that their masses and other ungodly things should be administered and protected is contrary to the aforementioned articles. For if it were granted that they should keep their rules and visit their parishes, it would follow that the masses and canons should be confirmed, and they would have to help to prevent those who wished to leave, and to permit them to proceed against those who do so. And if someone appealed to the authorities for advice and help to get out, the ways would be closed to him.

From the disposed monasteries.

Wherever Imperial Majesty would command Majesty would command that the persons be reinstated and administered according to their rules, we will certainly permit that they be reinstated and maintained in monasteries. But we cannot agree to administer their rules and masses (as mentioned above), because the same would follow that which has been said about the monasteries that have not been discharged.

Wherever Imperial Majesty If His Majesty should immediately command that persons be appointed, or if he himself should appoint and protect them, we must let His Majesty do and accomplish this, but we cannot consent to it; His Majesty is sovereign, and may accomplish it on his own conscience; in such matters, however, our conscience shall not be equally burdened with his.

From Jurisdiction.

It is a vain thing to deal with jurisdiction. For if they will not suffer us, and forbear nothing, but will straightway condemn us, we cannot expect any jurisdiction from them, except from the Master Hansen. It is true that if they would suffer our doctrine, and no longer follow it, we would not do them any harm in their jurisdiction, dignity, or whatever they call it. For we certainly do not desire to be bishops or cardinals, but only good Christians, who should be poor, Matt. 5:3 and Luke 4:18.

2) Thus Spalatin. Wittenberg, Jena and Erlangen: "prediciren".

Of matrimonial matters.

Always away with these things to bishops, officials, executioners, and whoever wants them. But it is to be expected that they will not want to accept one piece without the other.

Of meat dishes and celebrations.

(1) We cannot suffer consciences to be burdened with this, as St. Paul also declares, and yet it is to be presumed that they will not accept it otherwise than by burdening their consciences. If, however, it is considered good that the imperial majesty should be notified that the latter should establish an order in this matter, but without entangling the conscience, we may well suffer this, especially since they themselves no longer keep the fasts, according to 2) the Canonum.

1062 Luther's letter to the Elector John that one cannot accept the means proposed by the adversary. August 26, 1530.

The original of this letter is in the common archive at Weimar. Printed from it in Cyprian's Supplements to his Hist. of the A. C., p. 105; in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 302, and in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 118. Further, in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 424k; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 122; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 249; in the Erlangen, vol. 54, p. 188; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 140; in Chyträus, p. 281 k (not 164k) and Latin in the Latin edition, p. 292; in 6o6l68tiu., tom. III, lol. 52, and at Buddeus, p. 187. We have improved the old edition according to Förstemann.

1. grace and peace in Christ, most noble prince, most gracious lord! I have received E. C. F. G.'s writing, together with the two copies of both parts of the committee. And since E. C. F. G. has requested my objection to it, I hereby inform you of the same. And first of all (as our part also did) that part's proposed condition or means is not to be suffered at all, and I am almost surprised that such a thing has been proposed.

1) Thus Spalatin. In the other editions: that.
2) Thus Spalatin. Wittenberg and Jena: "aussatzung".

turn. But on the Our Part article that is my good opinion:

That the adversaries desire us to teach that one form of the sacrament is also right, and should not be commanded but indifferent, and free to use both forms 2c., E. C. F. G. well know that one of our chief things is that one should neither teach nor do anything, unless certainly grasped by God's word, lest we (as Paul says) run uncertainly and do wrong. For there is trouble enough, if we walk in the word, that we may abide. So it is certain that one form of the sacrament is a mere finding of man, and not at all confirmed by the word of God, but the opposite, that is, both forms are confirmed by the bright and clear word of God. Therefore we cannot agree nor teach that one form is right. For it is written in Christ, Matt. 15:9, "They serve me in vain with the doctrine of men. Without what else is there to make void the word of Christ, which he so earnestly commanded, Do this in remembrance of me 2c.

002 Neither do they themselves believe that it is indifferent: for they have burned, driven out, persecuted, and condemned many things for great heresies. Therefore, not only for God's sake and ours, but also for theirs, we must not allow it to be indifferent. For in so doing we should reproach them as murderers and evildoers, who would have condemned and persecuted an indifferent thing for heresy. Since they themselves do not believe that it is true, we can much less teach it, unless they recant and bring back all those whom they have persecuted for it.

003 And it is a good thing that they complain, saying, They cannot keep the people, except we teach them that they are right. Such a wise cause I like to hear. Just as if God had to have his word taught, that they should keep their people, and remain tyrants.

(4) The same is to be said of the angle measures. For they also are the feet of men, arising without the word of God, without which there is abuse. But that they pretend, they will not compel that we should raise them up, but that we will not hinder them. We forbid them nothing, but that

But if we should approve it, we cannot do it. For where some works of men are admitted, the others must also be admitted. Therefore this is the next way; if we admit the angular mass, we may straightway leave off the whole gospel, and accept the vain works of men. For there is no cause why one man's work should be accepted, and not all; and he that hath forbidden and condemned them all hath also forbidden and condemned one.

005 That they say that the princely office does not seek to oppose it, we know very well, that the princely office and the preaching office are not the same, and that a prince ought not to do it. But the question now is, whether a prince, as a Christian, will grant this; and the question is not, whether he acts here as a prince. It is a different question whether a prince should preach, or whether he should consent to preach. It is not the prince, but the Scripture, that is to prevent the preaching of the divine office. Whether a prince will submit to the Scriptures or not, that is up to him; no one on earth can force him to do so.

(6) Of the canon, whether it is to be suffered, with quite a gloss? Yes, if it were up to a good interpreter in this matter, I would have glossed over the Turks' faith long ago, and brought all unbelievers to the Christian faith. It is well known how they have sold the masses as a zaoriüeium and 0PU8; now they want to gloss it. But summa, it is also a little human feeling that one cannot stand in God's things, and is dangerous and annoying to that end. And because they abstain from these things, and hold with us from the mass, that it be not a saoi-iüoium: what need is there that they should retain the vexatious word, if it be without necessity, and dangerous to it? Now one ought not without necessity to set out on a journey, for that is forbidden, and is called tempting God. St. Augustine speaks: ^6N6Lt 86nt6ntiam, oorriZat lioAunm; and speaks of the word l'atum; says, he who understands l'atum pro äoeroto vei, understands it right. But he will not suffer the word, and saith, OorriZat linAus-m. Shall we yet raise up dark and uncertain words, and may hardly abide in the bright clear words?

007 Neither doth it avail to leave the word zaoriüoium in the eanono; for the canon
without which the mass is so clearly declared to be a true sacrifice that no one can interpret or understand it otherwise than that the mass is a sacrifice. For in other words, it says that God would have such a sacrifice of the sacrament brought up by his angel's hand before his divine altar; which cannot be interpreted to mean that it is a memorial of Christ's suffering, for this must be done through the sermon. And in short, the canon of the Mass [1] asks that God would permit such a sacrifice to please him, and yet it is the body and blood of his dear Son, as if a man had to forbid Christ against God. This is blasphemous and shameful, and the Canon is not to be suffered.

008 Finally, we will suffer all things, and yield all things that are in our power. But that which is not in our power we pray, that they desire it not from us. But that which is the word of God is not in our power. And that which is instituted for worship without the word of God is not in our power to accept. For this reason we cannot accept the fasts and celebrations that are obtained, except in so far as they are set up by worldly authorities as a worldly order. For that is called all worldly which is adorned with ceremonies, as garments, offerings, fasts, and feasts, since God has subjected such things to reason and commanded that it may act freely with them, Genesis 2. For it is an earthly thing, and a being on earth, which is all under reason by the word: Vominamini toii'ao. Now because worldly authority is the highest work of such reason, it can create and command in it.

(9) I will now answer E. C. F. G. in haste to these questions. Orders hereby the same in God's grace, Amen. On Friday after Bartholomew s26. Augusts Anno 1530.

E. C. F. G.

blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

1) Luther seems to have deleted the word "Mess" again. (Förstemann.)

B. Of the report made to the Emperor on this action by the Roman magistrates therefrom, August 22nd, and what was said in opposition thereto by the

The opposite has been remembered.

1063. report of the papists of the amicable action between their and the protestiren the Estates Committee, held in religious matters at Augsburg, Anno 1530.

This account is found in Chyträus according to the German edition, p. 357, and according to the Latin, p. 239; in Oo6l68tiuu8, tow. III, toi. 42; in Müller's Hift., 11b. III, 6Lp. 29, p. 775; and in Cochläus, äo aati8 6t seriptis I^utb. aä anii. 1530., x. 198.

The action began on August 16 at two o'clock after noon, since first the Imperial Estates Committee reminded the protesters of five things.

For now, that the action be taken without bickering and disputation, with friendly conversation on both sides.

On the other hand, that everything be done in an unrestricted and unrestrained manner, and that everything be brought to the imperial estates, and then through them to the Roman imperial majesty.

Third, that nothing contrary to the Christian Catholic faith or common peace be done therein.

Fourth, that the opposite will behave obediently according to the Roman imperial majesty's answer, 1) as in accordance with the holy Scriptures and the church.

Fifth, that the acts of such deliberation be communicated to no one but those concerned.

Into these five articles the other part's decrees have granted ?) although they complained somewhat about Imperial Maj. Maj.'s answer that they were not handed over to them, which nevertheless, as often as it is necessary, is not denied to them. After this receipt, the articles of the handed over Confession were acted upon differently and properly the same evening.

The first article, of the Trinity of Persons, and Unity of the Divine Being.

In this article there is agreement, and on both sides of the Manichaeans, Valentinians, Arians, Simonians, Mahometans, Samosatians, old and new errors and heresies are cheaply condemned.

1) By this "answer" is to be understood the confutation.
2) This is untrue; see the following number.

The other, of original sin.

In the other article, of original sin, they agree with us, and cheaply condemn the Pelagians and others, as Zwinglians and Anabaptists, who deny original sin. But in the description of what original sin was, they did not agree with us. In the end the Lutherans compared themselves with our opinion, and said that original sin is a defect of original righteousness, which sins are taken away in baptism, but the tinder and evil desire remain in man even after baptism.

The third article, of two natures in Christo.

In this article one is equal, by virtue of the Symboli Apostolorum.

The fourth, of faith.

Since it was said that faith is the means of salvation, we did not want to admit that faith alone makes one righteous and saved, since even the apostle St. James did not admit this. Therefore we have agreed that we should be taught that we are justified by faith. But not by faith alone; for this is nowhere found in divine holy Scripture, but rather the contrary. We have therefore compared that the word sola is not needed, but that justification or forgiveness of sins is by grace (per Kratiam Kratum kaoisntsm) and by faith in us, and by the word and sacraments as instruments.

The 5th article, of the holy office of preaching; [gospel] and sacraments.

The Anabaptists, who despise the outward preaching of the word, are condemned.

6. of good works.

Here it is agreed that one must do good works, as God has commanded. But this explanation is made so that it is not said that faith alone makes one righteous, as stated in the fourth article above.

7. from the Christian church.

They are also at one with us in this matter, and unanimously confess that in the church here on earth there are not only saints but also sinners among them.

8. of the ministry of the wicked in the church.

In this also agree with us that even the ungodly, unbelievers, can administer the sacraments, and condemn cheaply the Donatists and the like, who pretend that the service of unbelievers is not to be used in the church.

9. of baptism.

Here, too, they are the same, and they reject the Anabaptists, who forbid infant baptism, and pretend that even without baptism the little children will be saved.

10. of the reverend sacrament of the altar

They agree with us that the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are truly present in the reverend sacrament of the altar. And for a clearer explanation it is added that the body of Christ is truly and essentially present.

11. from confession.

This article is moved to the 4th article, below from Abuses.

12. of the pieces of repentance.

After a long disputation, they finally agreed with us on this form: We do not refuse to set three parts of repentance, namely, repentance and the horror of our conscience over the sin we have committed; and secondly, confession, but in this part we must first of all look to absolution and believe in it. For no sin is forgiven unless we believe that sin is forgiven us only because of the merit of Christ's passion. The third part of repentance is satisfaction, that is, the worthy fruits of repentance. We also agree that sin is not forgiven for the sake of satisfaction, as far as guilt is concerned. But we do not yet agree that satisfaction is necessary for the forgiveness of sins, so far as punishment is concerned. But here they justly condemn the Anabaptists and Novatians.

13. the use of the sacraments

It is agreed that the sacraments are instituted, not only to be marks of Christians among other people, but rather to be emblems and testimonies of the divine will toward us.

14. of the church regiment.

This article has been moved to the seventh of the following articles of abuses.

15. of the ceremonies of the church.

This article is moved to the 5th, 6th and 7th subsequent articles of abuses.

16. of secular authority.

Here one is equal, and condemns cheaply the Anabaptists who forbid Christians worldly offices and violence.

Seventeenth of the last judgment.

Here they are equal, and condemn with equity the Anabaptists, who hold that the punishment and chastisement of the damned shall cease and come to an end.

18. of the free will of man.

Here it is agreed that man has free will, but without God's help he cannot thereby attain justification.

19. of causes of sin.

Here it is agreed that the cause of sin is the free will of the wicked, as devils and ungodly men.

20. Of faith and good works.

Here we agree that good works must be done, and that they are necessary, and that since they are done by faith, they are pleasing to God, and that God will reward them according to His promise. But whether our good works are meritorious, and how far we can trust in them, we have not been able to compare.

21. from the Holy Services.

In the 21st article, two points are compared, namely, that all the saints and angels in heaven pray to God for us. Secondly, that we keep holy and solemn the commemoration and feast of the saints, on which we pray to God that the saints' intercession may be of service to us.

But as to the invocation of the saints, they do not yet agree with us. They say that they do not forbid it, but since

the Scriptures do not expressly mention the invocation of the saints, they do not want to invoke them, first, because the Scriptures do not command it, and secondly, because they think that great and dangerous abuses will result from it.

pt of the first part of the Fürsten Bekenntniß.

The first part of the Protestant Confession contains one and twenty articles, in fifteen of which they are in complete agreement with us, but in part in the others. For three of the articles are moved below to the abuses, namely, the 11th, 14th, and 15th articles. In three articles, too, they are in part divided, namely, in the 12th, 20th, and 21st articles.

In these articles, "one" is the same.

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Deferred articles. b.
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15.
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?0 ambiguous (A Article.) A.
16. (21.
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(19.

The other part of the confession, from Miß-
The Convention contains 7 articles.

On the 18th day of August, there was a great deal of discussion in various ways about how to deal with the seven remaining articles in dispute. It was finally unanimously agreed that all the points should be dealt with properly, but not each one in particular, as was done in the previous articles, but all of them at the same time. The Catholics would have preferred to act on the last articles first, because they feared that the action of both would soon be spread among the people. Since the Lutherans opposed this, however, the Catholics proposed in writings a moderation, but without restriction and without intervention, when all this was to be brought to the attention of the common estates of the Empire and then to the Roman Emperor's Majesty. For this reason, one began to deal with both forms of the sacrament as follows:

The middle way, which the Catholics proposed on the 19th day of Augusti.

That by permission of Papal Holiness or their Legate, with the knowledge and approval of the Roman Emperor's Majesty, as supreme Advocate of the
Church, the administration and reception of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of JEsu Christ under both forms was granted and permitted to the Lutherans, but with the following measure:

First, that their pastors alone distribute the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ in both forms to their parishioners and to all those who desire it in the places where it has been in use for several years.

On the other hand, that this be done with preceding confession, as was the custom of old.

Third, that at Easter, and when the Sacrament is otherwise held, it is also taught among them that the reception of the Sacrament in both forms is not expressly commanded by God.

Fourthly, that they teach that the whole Christ is present and is received both under one form and under both.

Fifth, that they teach in their sermons that those who receive the sacrament of all things under one form of bread do not sin.

Sixthly, that they will always give, or cause to be given, to their subjects who desire it under one form alone.

The seventh is that the wine for the sick should not be kept in vessels, nor should it be carried to anyone in the streets, but that if anyone wishes to communicate in either form, it should be consecrated and distributed in the church or in the homes of the sick, under the office of the mass.

Lutheran's response the 20th of August.

They are content that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord be received with prior confession. They also want pastors and preachers to speak peacefully about this until the next Concilii make a further decision.

They also confess that the whole Christ is present under the form of bread. They deny that any of them are forbidden to receive the sacrament under one form. Deny, likewise, that the form of wine is kept with them in vessels, or carried to the sick. Finally, they want to keep the reverend sacrament honestly with them, as before.

Since the Catholics further desired an explanation of certain obscure words, the Lutherans, after this act, Aug. 21,

in their answer thus declared that, before receiving the sacrament, confession should be made by every communicant of the most noble sins, which are

to weigh down his conscience to the highest degree, 1) that he may ask help and consolation for it.

For the other, they declare themselves to believe that the whole Christ, true God and man, is certainly present under both forms, or under either.

Thirdly, they have also declared in their discourse that they do not condemn those who have taken the sacrament in a crazy time under one form, or who have received it to this day.

Item, they believe that those who communicate under one form do not do wrong. But they will not permit their own to do so. And so much has been said about both forms between the seven members of the council on both sides.

From this it is evident that there has been no great dispute or disagreement between the parties. For in this alone they disagree with us, that, though they believe with us that those who need one form do not sin, yet they will not permit their own to speak of it publicly in sermons.

And although they confess that the whole Christ is truly present under one form, yet they dispute that the Lord Christ commanded not only the priests, but also the laity, that they should receive both forms. Christ saith, "Drink ye all of it." But we have answered from the Gospel of St. Marci, "And they all drank of it." Which clearly shows that this was spoken to the twelve disciples who were at table with Christ, so that, if they were not stiff-necked, Christian unity could easily be achieved.

The other article.

Of Spiritual Marriage.

For the sake of peace, the Catholics have handed over these means in writing: Although such priests, because of their vows and priestly ordination, which they accepted of their own free will, cannot enter into a lawful marriage, that nevertheless, in order to spare the seduced images of women, the nourishment of innocent children, the avoidance of all kinds of trouble and other movable causes, the priests who are at present in essential marriage, thus without confirmation and approval of their undertaking, would be tolerated until the future Concilio, but in such a manner and measure as follows: First, that they alone be tolerated in the places of worship, as has been customary for some time.

1) This is untrue; compare No. 1049, also the following number, in which also other forgeries are corrected.

Secondly, that no one may marry before the decision of the Council, and whoever does so may be deprived of his priestly office and benefices and expelled from the country or otherwise punished.

Thirdly, if anyone wishes to abstain from a married state, and to abstain from celibacy, he shall be permitted to do so, and shall not be denied it, and after his absolution shall remain in his benesicio and office.

Fourthly, that also in the places where the reverend priests are, and especially where they are in the churches, diligence be taken to get others, as beneficial as this may always be, who are and remain reverend, and to promote them to the ministry.

Fifthly, that the spouses be deprived of their office and benefices, unless they obtain from papal sanctity or their legate tolerance to remain with their ofsicio and benesicio.

It is also intended that the priestly concubinage should be completely abolished, and that it should no longer be tolerated by the ordinaries.

Lastly, it is also considered that it should be proposed in Concilio whether it would not be useful to allow husbands to be ordained to the priesthood, as was the custom in the first church some hundred years ago.

The opposite answer, handed over in writing.

First, they have referred us to their written confession, in which they have given sufficient reasons, as they suppose, why the marriage of priests is to be considered Christian and right.

On the other hand, they have reproached the manifold great vexations of the celibate priests, who live in public fornication, in order to avoid which they have permitted their priests to marry.

Thirdly, they say that the gift of chastity is given to a few, for which reason, after the death of the married priests, they will again accept others who are married.

Fourthly, they have confirmed their opinion from what we have just said about the Concubinate and the future Conciliar. No further action was taken on this matter between the deputies of both sides, for there was more dispute and disagreement here than there was about both forms of the sacrament. For this reason, these matters were left undecided and referred to the Imperial Estates and the Roman Emperor. Maj. Of the arguments, however, which they use in their confession, the following is written in Imperial Majesty John Paul II. Maj. Imperial Majesty's answer. To be sure, the manifold aversions, so arising from the priestly con-

They reproach us unreasonably for the fact that we have previously granted the abolition of the same without it. But as to the gift of chastity, they are of too little faith, because they do not believe that God also will give it to those who ask him aright, since Christ says, "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, it shall be done unto you." Item: "Believe, and ye shall receive."

The third article.

From the fair.

The Catholics have requested that the common and private masses on the customary feasts be held in ordinary dress, on the altars, with the inclusion of both the major and minor canons, as before, in the common Christian church of the German nation and its territories, as has been in use and practice from time immemorial. And lest a quarrel arise about the words Uostia, odlatio, sasritisiuin, or sacrifice, they have indicated a clear distinction between three things, namely, that Christ was figuratively sacrificed in the paschal lamb in the Old Testament, and that later the same Christ suffered on the trunk of the cross, offering Himself to God the Father a true sacrifice for the sin of men; but now and in the sacrifice of the Mass he is offered W^8tsrialitsr st representatively, that is, sacramentally and commemoratively, in the Church daily, in remembrance and commemoration of Christ's suffering and death, once accomplished on the Cross.

Accordingly, the Mass is not a sacrifice, but a sacramental and memorial sacrifice.

The opposite answer, handed over in writing.

They want the masses on the usual feasts to be held in customary church clothes, and because in their principalities and lands (as they report) the mass has hitherto been held honestly with all the essentials and customary ceremonies, after the institution of Christ, they want henceforth finely that they also be held with due reverence.

But since the Catholics asked for further explanation of the major and minor canons, and of private masses, they did not answer in writing. But in the conversation, when they were asked why they did not want to accept the holy Canon, they put forward three main reasons:

First, that we make it a mortal sin to omit the Canonem at Mass.

Secondly, because he confirms the sacrifice of the Mass.

Thirdly, that the saints be called therein.

To this again is recently and catholically answered:

First of all, whether it be truly a mortal sin fei to sleep the Canonem, yet it is not written in the Canons.

For another, that in the Mass a sacramental and memorial sacrifice fei, they themselves also cannot deny.

Thirdly, the saints are not invoked in the Canon, but only their remembrance is kept; but they have above agreed with us that the remembrance of the saints should be kept in the church. For this reason there is no great dispute about this article; yet they both stubbornly reject the Canon and the Private Mefse, even though they have no just cause to do so.

The fourth article.

From confession.

The Catholics have presented nothing about confession in their writings. For they have twice before spoken of it, namely, in the 12th article, in the parts of penance.

Item, afterwards at the Communion under both forms.

But the opposite party remembers them especially in the writings which they present to the Catholics, with more explanation than is written in the confession. For this reason, we have added three points:

First of all, confession should not be abandoned, considering the great comfort that absolution brings.

Secondly, that from this it may be considered how high and wholesome is the power of the keys.

Thirdly, that the people might be accustomed to confess their sins, besides being instructed that even sins which are not confessed may be forgiven.

Therefore it is unnecessary to deal further with these pieces between the parties.

The fifth article.

Of human statutes.

The Catholics in general have requested that with fasting, holidays, confession, prayer, procession, church ceremonies, differences in food and times, and other such customs that have been customary up to now, and the distribution of the sacraments, everything be kept by the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen as it has been customary in the Catholic Church from time immemorial. On this

the counterpart answered in writing in particular to two articles: first of ceremonies, then of holidays.

For this reason, they say at the beginning that the common ceremonies are to be held for the sake of love, so that equality in churches, conducive to peace and unity, may be preserved. However, that no one's conscience be burdened with them, and that such ceremonies not be held for necessary religious services, but that everything be done properly for the sake of love and peace.

On the other hand they want that the following certain time no meat is to be eaten publicly: namely in the soft fast, all Friday and Saturday, on the holy Christ evening, on Pentecost evening, on St. Johannis the Baptist evening, on all holy evening.

Third, they complain that the forty-day fast is too long, which they would rather have distributed to other times of the year. Nevertheless, during this time, as much as possible, one should conform to other churches with ceremonies, hymns, gospels, and epistles, as sung, read, and preached in other churches; they also do not want to allow any meat to be sold publicly to their own.

As for the feast days, first of all they want the ordinary feasts to be kept solemn, so that the people may remain in the habit of hearing God's word and receiving the sacraments, each according to his own conscience.

Secondly, that especially these following feast days be kept holy and solemn.

All Sunday.

Christmas Day.

St. Stephen's.

St. John, Apostle and Evangelist.

The Lord's circumcision.

Epiphaniä, the holy three kings.

Charwoche, by reason of the passion of the Lord.

Easter Day, together with Monday and Tuesday.

The noblest feasts of the pure virgins

Mary's.

Ascension of Christ.

Feast of All Apostles.

The Holy Pentecosts, together with Monday and Tuesday.

Thirdly, on such feast days one should keep and use ordinary chants, officia and lectiones, taken from divine holy Scripture.

Fourthly, one should sing and keep the litany during the week of the cross, so that the people may be provoked to prayer.

The sixth article.

Of monastic vows.

Here the Catholics have first of all requested that all monasteries, which have not yet been devastated, be left in their lands and territories, with their old worship and order.

Secondly, that they be allowed visitation, due obedience, and free election of prelates, peaceably, without hindrance.

Thirdly, that no one be forbidden or discouraged either to enter the monasteries anew, or, after he has left them, to return to them.

Fourthly, that the monastics may travel in the country with their bodies and goods, safe and unoffended, for the sake of their business, until the decision of the future Concilii.

Fifth, that those who have escaped without lawful permission shall return to the monastery, and shall not be tolerated anywhere in their territories, unless they have obtained permission from the clergy and their overlords.

Sixth, that their prelates shall not be hindered in ordinary legal proceedings against them, but in respect of the multitude no other punishments shall be inflicted upon them than only an imposed penance. Those who leave the monastery without proper permission shall be punished according to their statutes and canons, and their prelates shall be unhindered in the execution of these punishments.

Seventhly, that the vacant monasteries be again filled with monks and nuns, but where these could not be had, the goods and annual income shall be enjoined by decree of the next prelate of the places unchanged and undiminished, and shall be retained until the future council. And the monastery estates shall not be used for the own benefit of the secular authorities, but as soon as they are again occupied by monks and nuns, all use and pensions shall again be given to them as before.

The opposite is the answer of the monks.

First of all, they refer to their handed over Con
fession.

On the other hand, they want to leave the monks and nuns who are still in monasteries in their principalities and

territories free to go there or to remain there.

Thirdly, they want the monastic people to remain quiet in their ordinary manner, dress and ceremonies.

Fourth, they also want, as much as possible-

The king shall prevent all use of force by such persons, and shall see that they are not overcharged or subjected to violence.

Fifthly, they want that the rents and goods of the monasteries which have been disposed of shall remain in the order and power of the secular authorities, so that the persons, preachers, parishes and schools which have been evacuated may be maintained from them until the future Concilio.

The seventh article.

Of church violence.

The Catholics here have generally requested that episcopal power and jurisdiction in their lands and territories remain inviolable to the bishops. However, as far as public abuses and complaints are concerned, the princes want to keep in line with the other "imperial estates" and consult with them about this, and accept what is decided in the common council. If, however, they have any objection to the archbishops, bishops, or prelates on account of jurisdiction or other causes, they shall not be prejudiced by this act.

The opposite answer.

First of all, they permit that episcopal rule and authority be retained by the bishops; but they do not approve of the public abuses, that the bishops are negligent in the preaching of the divine word, in the administration of the holy sacraments, in the ordination of priests and the supervision of their lives, and in the abuse of the ban.

Secondly, they want to ensure that the bishops receive and maintain their due obedience; namely, that the parish priests and preachers are presented to the ordinaries in every place, and that the bishop is permitted to punish the priests who have committed criminal excess.

Thirdly, that the bishops may retain their ecclesiastical jurisdiction in matters belonging to the ecclesiastical court. However, they shall refrain from common debts which do not belong to the ecclesiastical court, and the other estates shall remember this in abuses, which they are determined to maintain evenly until the future Council.

Fourthly, that the episcopal excommunication, in matters belonging to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall not be prevented, so far as it is exercised according to the holy Scriptures.

All this, as it happened, was handed over to the princes and sovereigns and the Holy Roman Empire on the 22nd day of the month of August by the decreed Catholics, and publicly read out.

1064. recollection and report of the relation set before, of the papist committee, as this is corrected by the protesting committee.

At Chyträus, Cölestin and Müller at the locations indicated in the previous number.

In some places of the objected relation the whole disputations have not been told, which complains us highly and manifold, and darkens the whole trade somewhat.

In the entrance they state that among other things we also grant that we (as is desired) Roman Kais. Majesty. Answer, as conformable to the Holy Scriptures. For the sake of this article, we have publicly complained that we are not in conformity with Imperial. Majesty. We have publicly complained that we cannot conform to the answer of the Roman Emperor, since we have not seen the same answer.

In the fourth article, of justification by faith, they declare that it is thus compared, that we are justified by faith, but not by faith alone, because this is nowhere found in holy scripture, but rather the contradiction. For we have openly contradicted, and have drawn on the sayings of Rom. 3, "without works. And to Eph. 2: "It is the gift of God, and not of works." Further, after a long disputation, our opponents have conceded that the forgiveness of sins does not come through works or merit, either preceding or following. They have also said that it is obtained by faith; and more, that it is by grace, through which we have a gracious God, per §rutiurn Zruturn kaeisntörn; they have also added the sacraments.

Since they yielded to this, we said that by the word sola we exclude not grace and sacraments, but works alone. And if they would allow that forgiveness of sins should come through faith, not for our own sake or for the sake of works and merit, we do not want to quarrel about the word *sola.* This addition has also been made to our article, that we confess that the forgiveness of sins takes place by grace, which makes us pleasing in the sight of God, and through faith in us, and through Word and Sacrament, as instruments.

The princes of both parts easily remember that things are going wrong.

Concerning the invocation of the saints, the handwriting of the Chancellor of Baden shows that both parts agree that there is no explicit command and commandment of invocation of the saints in divine holy Scripture.

In the other part, concerning abuses, they say that we have allowed that everyone who wants to receive the Sacrament of the Lord must confess the most noble sins he has committed. But we have never made it necessary to tell the sins. But what we have conceded for the sake of confession is to be seen from the writings handed down.

After this, of both forms of the Sacrament, it is not mentioned how and in what form we have excused those who used one form. And in such brevity it is spitefully stated that we do not want to teach that those who receive the sacrament under one form do not sin.

Whoever, then, merely reads this, may think that we approve of the One Form, and yet, either from hatred or from other unjust causes, do not want to confess it in public sermons.

But we have both by words and writings manifoldly declared ourselves, how we have excused them that have received affliction of one kind or another, which may be many and various.

But with this we have not approved the prohibition of the other form. Nor do we complain about teaching in this way that we excuse the church, and yet do not approve the prohibition of one form. Thus ours have always written and taught that they have excused the church so that they would not weigh down the consciences of the blessed.

Of the celibate state of priests.

Here the words are used spitefully: "As for the gift of chastity, they are of too little faith that they do not believe that chastity can be given by God to anyone who asks for it. We, however, do not deny that God can give this gift of chastity, but have thus answered that God has presented these means and medicines which those who cannot abstain should use. For Christ himself testifies that this gift does not happen to everyone. For this reason, the one who does not have the gift of chastity, and yet does not need God's order, is tempted by God. God is able to sustain life without food, but in the meantime He wants us to enjoy food. For this reason, it appears publicly here that this matter has not been reported honestly and impartially.

From the private fair.

Concerning the private masses, they have never mentioned any reasons why they do not approve of them. For this reason, it is also unfair of them that we reject the private mass and canon without substantial reasons. We, however, have many and very important reasons why we cannot and will not approve the private mass and a part of the Canon. However, in the confession handed down and before the committee, we have sufficiently explained that we keep the Mass with great reverence, and will retain the essential parts that belong to the Consecration. The other usual ceremonies and church dress are also used. But there is a common mass, in which the sacrament is administered in a Christian manner to some of the people who have been heard beforehand. But we reject private masses, which are held in such a way as to merit the forgiveness of sins *ex opere operato, for it is* evident that such an application is contrary to the righteousness of faith. For if the Mass, applied to this opinion, merits forgiveness of sins *ex opere operato, it* follows that righteousness comes not from faith but from works. Item, if now only in the mass the sacrifice for sin takes place, to what purpose then did the death of Christ serve, or is not the suffering and death of Christ sufficient for the payment of our sin? But we read in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "With One Sacrifice He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." Therefore no sacrifice that atones for sins is to be sought outside of this. Item, Christ saith, "This do in remembrance of me." For this cause is the sacrament instituted, that we may remember the benefits which are given us in the new testament, namely, the remission of sins. But how can such a sacrament be useful to the dead, since the memory of Christ cannot be awakened in them by the priests? These and other grave causes move us not to approve the application of the Mass.

Moreover, we see how great abuses are involved. A large number of people say mass for the sake of their stomachs alone, even though St. Paul is terribly against all those who abuse this sacrament. For this reason, the bishops should provide proper counsel for such great abuses.

And because a part of the canon contains this application of the sacrament, which openly disputes the righteousness of faith, it is dangerous to read that part of the canon.

6. of the conversation which is morden in the geengerten committee of the six from August to the end of this month by both parties.

1065. presentation of the papal part at the learned assembly.

From Brück's History, p. 106, with Müller, lilr. lll, eup. 130, p. 801, at Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 292 from the Margravial Brandenburg Acts, pp. 236-240, somewhat more detailed. We have subsequently improved this document. The same is a lecture by the Chancellor of Baden.

Knowingly it would be that on their 1) part we would have been considered as separated from the church; they would like to act with the others of this part on the ways, so that such would be averted, but this could not happen otherwise, because if we were united on both sides of the doctrine, although up to a Concilio difference would be kept in ritidns ooolosiastiois and church customs. For where one did not confess ^one part from the other], 2) that both parts were taught rightly, voritg. 8 6äoi; if one would agree on the doctrine that nnitus tiäol exists, then it should be talked about and concluded immediately with the legate, who would have authority from the pope, from a certain time and place of a concilii.

Now, however.

I. For the sake of Communion

...yet three pieces wherein unequal faith would remain.

I) One thing, that it should be known in this part that the one form was not unjust; but this was still lacking, that one would permit or consent that it should also be taught and preached in this part that the one form was not unjust. This would cause great concern to many, because this part would know what had been done with the Bohemians in the Concilio at Basel.

2) The other point is that one would not allow the Sacrament to be administered in one form in this part. Therefore, since the administration of one form would not be unjust according to doctrine and teaching, 3) it should also be safe in our parishes.

1) "their" put by us according to Förstemann instead of: "unserm" in the old edition.
2) Inserted by us after Förstemann, for easier understanding.
3) "wrong" put by us instead of: "right" in the old edition.

The church is to be a place of worship for pastors and ministers, to be given in one or both of these forms to those who desire it.

3) The third point would also depend on the doctrine, for the sake of the honorableness of the Sacrament, that both sides agree [to administer the Sacrament to healthy people] 4) in no place but in the church. But for the sake of the sick, it should be held that they should be carried into the church, and there communicated; but if, for the sake of their weakness, they should be reported in the house, that the Sacrament should be brought to them, or that Mass should be said before them in the house on a portal, 5) and that those should communicate and say Mass who had not eaten nor drunk, so that no dishonor should come to the Sacrament.

II. Because of the mass.

As for the masses, they noted that we were the same in that they should be held with honest ceremonies, but for the sake of the unity of the church it would be good and necessary that the masses, both public and private masses, be held as in other places, They thought that there would be no difficulty in this part of the small canon, but that we would have difficulty in the large canon, in that which concerns odlutlonom pro Doolosia, saoriüoimn oto. But they had made a good declaration in the previous committee 6) that in it, in their opinion, we would also have no complaint, but as far as the application of the mass is concerned, that this would be referred to a concilium on both sides.

III. because of the clerical marriage

In this part it might be considered that, although the reverend priests in our countries, territories, and cities were in the form of a conjugal state, yet they would give us to consider whether they should be held for marriage; for although it would be contrary to Scripture to forbid marriage, yet it would not be contrary to Scripture for a clergyman voluntarily to admit himself to the priesthood, to renounce the conjugal state, and to vow chastity. For it is true that chastity could not be commanded, but it might well be granted without a commandment; so that no one would have prevailed against him in the acceptance of his priesthood, if he could not keep chastity, that he would have reserved to him the right to take a wife, but every one would have kept silent, and let himself be called and accepted into the ministry according to the order of the church.

4) Supplemented by us according to Förstemann.
5) "Portatel" - Tragaltar.
6) In the Committee of Fourteen.

It would also be a bad thing for our priests to say that they do not have the grace of chastity; it was said that they strive little for it, for they want to feast, to drink, to live well, and to go to dances, to be in good spirits, as can be seen; they do not castigate themselves, and do not throw themselves into thorns, 1) nor do they have trouble with study, and yet do not need to have the opinion.

If it were true that they were also men, and not angels, it would not be so pure that one, even if he were a priest, would not have an infirmity; but it would be that the church would have to punish public sins, as in other infirmities; but what was secret would not be judged. And this they would have indicated to this part, that it was said that one was not guilty of having such priests, who led a sinful, lewd life.

If it had been said that there were as many priests in this part of the world as were needed to obtain the grace of chastity, it would also have been objected to which priest would have said that he had the gift of abstinence, if he knew that the married state would be free to him. We must consider how abominable it would be to the greater part of Christendom and of the estates, which would not have accepted or admitted such priests. If we were to follow the Scriptures, St. Paul would say, "Let a bishop be the husband of one wife," and it would be more advisable to accept an heir than to admit those who had entered the priesthood without marriage and then taken wives. They therefore wanted to have this indicated that it be done in the proper manner, so that this discrepancy might be remedied by a council, for [it is not to be expected] 2) that the Imperial Majesty and the other estates should grant, confirm, approve, or ratify [married priests]. They consider such priestly marriages to be impossible to raise. For Her Majesty and the Estates held without any doubt that the same could not have contracted our priests vulgarly, and that they would have to be deprived of their services, income, and office for a time. 3) Therefore, because Imperial. Majesty would not approve the revered priests, or consider ratification of the right for nothing, whether this would be a way and could be obtained from Imperial Majesty. Majesty, that the above-mentioned ordained priests

1) Förstemann misleading: "thurn" f- Thurms.

2) For the sake of comprehension inserted after Förstemann.

3) In Förstemann more precisely: "suspkQki are ab oKcüo et niinistsrio".

The first is that, for the sake of peace, priests who are married in the places where they are now may be tolerated until a council; but in such a way that those who wish to return from the supposed marriage and regrade may do so unhindered by the authorities under whom they are, and remain with their ministries and fiefs. And secondly, that the priests who are still single, without marriage, should remain unpardoned until a council. And thirdly, that the authorities should make every effort to obtain for the vacated parishes priests who are unchaste, and who will keep themselves chaste without trouble.

IV. Because of the monasteries.

For the sake of the destroyed and undestroyed monasteries and monastic persons, they have indicated that the undestroyed ones should remain undisturbed in the essence in which they still are, until a council, but that they should be left unhindered in their worship, and not be prevented from it, as happens in some places 5). And if they do not wear their monastic habit, they should continue to wear it.

Because there are also religious who have been expelled, or have gone out, and have desired to come in again, that such things may be granted them, without further punishment than a penitence; for the burdens of conscience are to be considered therein.

But with the abated monasteries they considered this a convenient means, that these monasteries, because they consider it reasonable that they are not to be used for any other service than the lands in which they are situated, nor [to be alienated,] 6) are to be placed in the hands of the Emperor. Majesty's hands and concerns, as it should be for the sake of these things until a concilium 2c. 7)

1066 The Protestants' oral declaration at the Papists' request.

This explanation is found in Brück's History, p. 109 and from it in Müller, p. 806. That it happened orally, we see from Heller's message in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 298.

4) "Lehen" is set by us instead of "Beneficio" in Förstemann and "Lehren" in the old edition.

5) In Förstemann: "wie Sannt Cläre vnnd Katharinen closter zu Nurmberg gesche".

6) Supplemented after Förstemann.

7) At the end there is the note by Förstemann that the chancellor had handed over a note about the bishops' power and the churches' ceremonies. In addition the remark that this note is no longer found in the Acts.

They had diligently considered the other proposals and concerns, but find that all the means and indications they had made extended in principle and effect to proposals that had initially been made by their part in the previous committee of the Fourteen. Now they would have heard sufficiently at that time why such proposals from this part could not be approved or permitted in such a way and in such a different way as would bring about their inconceivable counter-proposals. And since they have heard the committee of the fourteen touched on in the end, that in this part, for the sake of love and peace, up to a general, free, Christian concilium, one has offered oneself in the utmost, and *salva fide et doctrina would* not know how to offer anything else, they would therefore have provided themselves with more advisable proposals, after this committee and such further discussion had not been initiated by this, but by their part, as Electors, Princes and Estates, and had been applied to the Elector of Saxony. For since they had intended to persist in the same opinion, they could well have spared themselves and the lower classes this part of the effort, for if the words in their proposals had been changed, the substance of the opinion would have been the same as before.

I. About the Communion.

And that one should have confessed on this part, as if one had confessed, that the communion in one form was also not wrong, and lacked only in that, that we did not want to have the same preached, one did not confess, also would not want to be spoken of by them, and wanted to have this said in the notes and answer, which were handed over in the committee of the fourteen, which written handing over had also happened for this reason, so that the opinion of this part would not be reversed; Therefore one could not teach nor preach, as if the reception of one form were also right.

For this reason it is not permitted in our churches, except in cases of necessity, to administer the Sacrament in either or both forms, as each one may desire. Nor would any priest in office, with a burden on his conscience, teach and hold that Christ instituted the Sacrament in both forms for laymen and priests, and that each one, according to such divine order and commandment, is thus bound to receive it, and yet, outside of cases of necessity, contrary to doctrine, he should not be allowed to receive the Sacrament in one or both forms without
difference, the Sacrament may be administered in one or both forms.

It would be easy for everyone to understand how a frightening and annoying separation this would give, if such a disgusting use were to be made in the churches of this part, but it would have been heard in touching counterproposals, since one out of freedom desired the Sacrament only in one form, that one would not prevent him from receiving it where he could get it.

II. from the mass.

Concerning the keeping of the public common and anglicized masses, the reported committee of fourteen heard why these, especially the anglicized masses, could not be held in this part, because it would be considered an *opus operaturn* by them, nor could they have any other understanding with it. For if it were not considered by the sacristan to be a meritorious work, which would be of merit to him, he would not be allowed to celebrate such private masses with us, for the sacrament would be administered to him in both forms, as he enjoyed it in the private mass, if he desired it, which would also be safer for him according to the constitution 1); Therefore, if a priest wanted to say Mass for himself, he would have to consider something more in it, namely, that he did not say such Mass solely for the sake of remembrance, as instituted by God, but that he wanted to perform a meritorious work to wash away his sins with it, but that would be contrary to the institution of Christ, also blasphemous and annoying, and therefore not to be permitted in the lands and territories of this part, as a public blasphemy. If, then, he were to allow such his special private and angular measure to be a sacrifice for others, living and dead, it would be even more burdensome and unmistakable, since the sacrament is instituted so that the living recipients do it in remembrance of the Lord, and not so that the living or dead who do not receive it should have merit or remission of sins. And such an admission of the same private fairs would work evil and sin, if they were to be established in this part of the land and territory, so that the people might be deprived of the highest treasure of divine gifts and Christian liberty, namely, that men through faith should believe in Christ, and his suffering, death, and resurrection, and that they might be saved.

1) "Institution" put by us instead of "Instruction" in the old edition.

(1) his merit, even without works of the law; and secondly, that he would again be deprived of the reception of the sacrament in both forms after the institution of Christ. And not only would those sin before God and his Holy Spirit who kept private masses contrary to the known truth, but also those who, as a public blasphemy, suffered it unpunished and unpunished. And do nothing that the dispute should be postponed for the sake of application until further decision of a concilii, for that such private masses are not consecrated in God's word, but contrary to it, could not be put in doubt by this part. Therefore, if they were admitted, and if the disputation were suspended for the sake of the application, it would still have the weight on it, as indicated above. For it would be the same thing as the jurists say, "A protestation, or condition, which is contrary to the work and the fact, is of no use to the Protestant, and has no effect. Therefore, if the same angular masses were permitted on this part, and it were protested that the application was not granted, but that it should be suspended until a council, the act would be utterly contrary to the protestation, and would not secure this part's conscience, since the same masses would have no effect or meaning with the popes themselves outside the application in question. And for this reason it is further added that, since private masses have fallen by the doctrine of the true divine institution of the sacrament in this part's lands, territories, and cities, that they should be left there until a council, and that, for this part's part, such unnecessary, seductive, and careful private masses should be suspended until the said council; In addition, it would be known, and would not fail to be known, that the priests who were in this part of the lands and territories would hold such private masses more, for which reason it would also be a quite unnecessary disputation and delaying of affairs to argue about the admission of such private masses. And in the same way as the canon, great and small; for as much as the canon contains in it as the substance of the public and common masses, would be used in the public and common masses, which would be held with some Christian and good ceremonies in this part, namely the words of institution, the other would not be sudstavtia, as the gloss itself testifies in decrees. Therefore let us

1) In the old edition, "to" - without. - The "to be" immediately following is of the people's merit.

The other part also does not make necessary that which is not instituted by God's command, and therefore would not be necessary. And the more one presses for the acceptance of the canon, the less one could do it on this part, as St. Paul did not want to have Timothy circumcised, because it wanted to be put on and insisted on as a necessary thing, when he had Titum circumcised out of love and for the sake of weakness. And whether it be said then that it should be done for peace and more unity of us, yet that which concerns the Application and the Eunonsm iri^stierrrri would be quite vexatious to the Christian doctrine and institution of the Sacrament, and, for the sake of conscience, Therefore it would be considered that the other part would be more obliged to bear with this part until a concilium, than to accept the canon with difficulty and uncertain conscience as proposed. In addition, the Christian congregations in this part's principalities, lands, and territories would have no lack of private masses, because they would fall and the public masses would be held in contrast; therefore, the three deputies of this part would not be able to consider what it would take for these masses, together with the omission of the canon, to be thoroughly performed until a concilium.

III From the priest marriage.

As for the marriage of priests, it is not to be denied that some priests, before they were ordained priests, might have accepted the laws of the popes and bishops concerning chastity, which happened to them before the time, when they did not yet know the truth and freedom against such and such statutes of men, Whether or not the popes, bishops, and prelates have done right and well in entangling the priests with laws and vows of the celibacy, and in keeping them without marriage, since they themselves keep chastity least of all, would have been sufficiently indicated in this part of the Confession, under the titles of Priestly Marriage, item, Bishops' Authority; and not only would we know that the popes and bishops did not have the power nor the right, according to divine Scripture, to deprive the priests of marriage, but also that a man, by vows, since he does not receive from God the grace of chastity, cannot commit himself to chastity.

2) "before" put by us instead of: "of" in the old edition.

would like to bind. If in the case of the pagans, and in their rights, the vows and obligations were of such a magnitude that there was no such danger to consciences and souls as in this case, that the pacts and vows, which were disgraceful, and therefore much more sinful or impossible, were not observed, why should not such disgrace, sin, and impossibility be regarded in this case, and, regardless of such vows, the priests be permitted to marry? So also it would be a bad thing for priests to take the priesthood on such vows as their prelates required of them, for, as before indicated, whether the priests also acted imprudently, that, contrary to their consciences, they took such vows at the time they were ordained priests, the time they were ordained priests, yet the popes and bishops have done much more wrong and evil, that they have charged the poor priests with the same impossible and shameful vows, contrary to the words of Christ, that chastity was not given to all, item St. Paul, that it were better to marry. And especially because they found it well known among themselves, in the great parts of the priesthood, how evil such vows and entangled chastity were in the whole world, even now in broad daylight: and yet the popes, bishops and prelates would not want to escape their constitutions, to praise God, and the poor burdened consciences of the priests, but God's order would have to give way to their human impossible law. And because of this, little responsibility would be required for the report that the priests of this part should strive little for chastity, for there would be little to say about their dancing or good living in this part, nor would it have been heard; and if their preachers and priests were dancing in some assemblies, and were happy in goodness and respectability with other people without trouble, they would not be accused of anything, nor would it be contrary to God. But how the priests of the other part, since they should have remained without marriage, practiced all this to fornication and noticeable vexation, as unfortunately still happens, and were advised by the studio, that they knew nothing, nor could in the Scriptures, or taught, that would be in broad daylight. Nor is it desired of them in this part that they should be angels, for they and they were men; but that they should excuse their fornication, which was not only committed, but was for the most part open to the public, would be dreadful. For who would deny it?
that the greater part would not lie in public fornication, adultery, and such like fornication; and if there might still be some who could keep the saying, si non oasts, camouflage eaute, it would nevertheless be burdensome that cause for such secret fornication would be given them by the pope, bishops, and prelates, by forbidding marriage and entangling the vows of chastity, without necessity and without all Christian motive. And although the church may not publicly judge such secret sins, yet one would know what trouble and fear even secret fornication would bring to the priests if they had to say their masses. And if the same sins had been confessed and absolved, yet not only in the case of the openly fornicating priests, but also in the case of many who practiced such sin secretly, no right and true penitence and real remission of the same sins would have been found, but as often as they confessed, such vice would have been found again in confession, and public and secret fornicators would have remained one way after another, and would have condemned not only themselves, but also the confessors thereby. For, since confession is a Christian council with the priest and confessor, for the sins that are incumbent on men, what Christian counsel might such confessors have given the confessing priests? for it was enough that the sin was told to them with the mouth, without the heart, and that absolution was in like manner also spoken with the mouth. The blind man led the blind man, and both would have fallen into the pit and into damnation. The popes, bishops, and prelates, because of secret and public fornication, would have felt, known, and seen this in themselves and also in other poor common priests; nevertheless, the priests would have been put into such danger of eternal damnation with much-touched vows, and they would still want to keep them in it, since, according to God's order, it could be circumvented without all danger and sin. And whether such would be the office of a kind mother and of the church, of which they wanted to be the heads, everyone could very well hear. Yes, if it were said that the priests of this part, though they were married, would not all keep their marriages, but by their wives and adulteries would fall into more grievous sin than the priests who were not married, this would be contrary to St. Paul's command, without distinction, according to God's order, that every man should have his wife to avoid fornication. If, therefore, a married person should be afraid to commit adultery with another, that the same should commit sin.

If it were worse, God's order should have been laid down that it had not been wisely considered, but that it had been better that fornication had been permitted, so that no one might fall into adultery, as into a more grievous sin. Thus, by the grace of God, such. If the priests who were adulterated in this part had not yet experienced much fornication, then the attention in it would have been averted, if there had been any suspicion or talk that it would not have been suffered, and it would nevertheless be safer and more certain today that, according to God's order, the priests would have wives for the sake of avoiding fornication, whether one and perhaps another should fall into adultery, because that they should fall and lie and remain in fornication and adultery with great multitudes, as would be the case in the other part. For if the adulterer should fall once, twice, or more, he would have the remedy of his wife, and could rise again from the snare; but the rest would remain and persevere therein for ever, which would ever be pitiful, that for the sake of a useless human law so many men and fine people should be put to perdition. For if God had wanted to establish the priesthood without marriage, as the Scriptures indicate, it is certain that he would have bestowed the grace of chastity on those whom he called to it. But now that such a state has not been so instituted by God, the prelates should ever consider that the priests did not want to have the power to bind themselves to chastity with vows, just as if God gave them the grace of chastity through such free vows, so that they were entangled in what God had reserved for them by His special gracious gift against the innate carnal desires. If, however, the abominable vices of fornication and other immorality were not seen in the priesthood on this side, and that God had appointed the priests to be without marriage, then one would not want to have unmarried priests gifted with true chastity by God any less than on the other side. But because it would be otherwise, the prince, princes, and cities of this part would not want to entangle the consciences of the priests.

IV. From monasteries.

As far as the undischarged and discharged monasteries were concerned, it could be concealed that in the above-mentioned counter-proposals of the Committee of Fourteen so much had been indicated and offered that it was not possible to offer anything further; the three members of the Committee who had been appointed also wanted to provide themselves with this part of the committee in desperation if the same proposals were to be made.
and hereditary offer, according to the taken parting, would be presented to Imperial Majesty. Her Majesty would not be displeased with this article, except for a concilium to be based on it. And if the abolished monasteries were to remain in the hands of Imperial Majesty. Majesty's [hands] 1) the necessity requires to hear how it should be held with the administration of the same dissolved monasteries, and whether the ceremonies, as they fall in the same monasteries, should also remain unestablished until a concilium or not.

V. Of the Bishops' Authority and Church Ceremonies.

And it was noted that, with respect to the other articles, and also with respect to the obedience to the bishops and ceremonies, basically nothing new or better had been proposed by them, as deputies of the other part, than what had previously been done in the Committee of Fourteen. For although the stated ways had been spoken in other words, it would still have been one thing in substance with the previous proposal, and not other, better, or new proposals.

And if they could not be heard by other and more convenient means, they considered it a futile delay of their own and other affairs, and thought it best that the six, who had been appointed by princes, theologians, and canonists to the previous committee, for the sake of the churl, princes, and estates, should report their churl and prince to the estates of all actions, and give an answer to the committee of this part by virtue of the farewell they had taken with each other. Theologians and canonists were ordered to the previous committee by reason of the Electoral and Princely Princes and Estates to report all actions, and to give the committee of this part, in view of the parting which they took with each other, an answer to the effect that the matters are also to be submitted to Imperial Majesty for a common free vote. Majesty to a common free Christian conciliation, by virtue of previous imperial treaties, in the German nation; and if the Elector, Princes and Estates were inclined to talk about how a peaceful arrangement could be made between them and the reported conciliation, the Elector, Princes and the cities of this part would also be found quite inclined to do so.

1067. the papal otherwise cunning Lecture.

In Brück's History, p. 118 and in Müller, p. 819. Compare Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 301; there it is reported that "Doctor Eck went out" with this lecture.

1) Added by us after the previous number.

Because they could not compare with each other, they had orders from the Electors, Princes, and Estates to tell them, the Lutherans, that they understood that the Emperor's Majesty was quite inclined to make a concilium. Majesty would be quite inclined to make a concilium, but in such a way that all innovations, such as those in doctrine, church customs, and also others, outside of the approval of the common church, would be permitted and made in the lands and territories of the princes, princes, and cities of this part, would above all have to be brought back to the previous state, and thus the common church would have to be restituted. For it would be considered proper, because in world affairs, to restore and restore the appalled to their former state, much more would such restitution be due to the common church 2c.

1068. the Protestant's preliminary oral answer to this.

In Müller I. o. p. 806.

That the Elector, 1) Princes and cities of this part knew well, by the grace of the Almighty, that for the sake of unity and peace it was not their duty to break the Christian and good ordinances of the church without the common consent of the same, but since false and seductive doctrines, customs and ceremonies had been introduced into the church by the evil watch and guard of the prelates, as has been clearly indicated and proven in this part of the Articles of Confession, they would know that it is not only due to them, but that they would also be guilty before God and their conscience, at God's word, to permit Christian change therein, without any further unwarranted conclusion, 2) as the holy divine Scriptures, even the Pope's own rights, would have it for this part. Thus, as far as supplementation and restitution in secular and temporal matters of defense are concerned, there would be a separate difference with the matters of religion, as the aforementioned papal rights also show; it would also be unheard of that such a thing should ever have been sought in former times, that a trade or possessory in matters of religion should have been permitted.

1) "Der Churfürst" put by us instead of: "die Churfürsten". Edens0 again afterwards. - "Churfürst, Fürsten und Städte" are the Protestants. "Churfürst, Fürsten und Stände" are the Papists. Both are mixed up in the old edition.

2) The opinion will be: without waiting for a decision on this first.

3) "Deprivation cases"-cases that have been deprived.

of faith should be made. Thus, the Elector and Princes, together with the related cities, would not provide for this report of theirs, as having been made by order of the Electors, Princes and Estates, 4) about the parting which the Seven of Princes and others of this part had taken with the Seven of their part, and how they had offered at their request to promote the actions of the same committee with the Electors, Princes and Estates for the best. But they wanted to report the answer to their Electors and their relatives, who would order them to report what their graces and their needs wanted.

1069. the Lutheran part final explanation in the committee of the six, Sunday after Bartholomäi, the 28th August 1530, delivered.

This document is found in Brück's Geschichte, p. 120; in Chyträus, p. 273 k; in Müller, p. 821 and from the Margravial Brandenburg Acts in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 306. We have improved our copy after the latter. Latin at 0o6t68tinu8, tom. III, toi. 50 k and at 0k^tra.6U8, p. 281. Also in the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 452; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 109 b; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 237 and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 225.

(1) As you lords have allowed, we have presented this action to our most gracious and gracious lords of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the rest of their kinsmen in this matter; thereupon we have been commanded to report the opinion of their kinsmen and their kinsmen in this form.

(2) That their graces and they would remember how often, for the sake of peace and unity, they had offered to meet at this Imperial Diet in all that might be done with God and conscience. And because a committee of princes and other scholars of the Holy Scriptures and spiritual rights, fourteen persons, was assembled with the consent of both sides, the princes and other representatives of their part to the reported committee reported to them what means were proposed on both sides of the seven articles and their pending points, and what the representatives of this part gave in response, and for the sake of peace and unity, until further notice.

4) "happened" put by us instead of: "not provided"; for otherwise the "not provided at all" at the end of this sentence would be too much.

The two men have offered to promote the unity of the church in a council with the others of their kinsmen, with such an often told opinion that their graces and their associates have moved the matter to the utmost, and so their graces might have judged with them that on this part with God and conscience they should further yield to the indicated means, and raise the matter with their graces. They would have wanted to have reported this to them as soon as possible.

(3) For this reason they finally admonish and request the princes and the associates of the other estates to carry their reported communication and answer to the reported electors, princes and estates, and to promote the same in accordance with their given answer, together with a common Christian concilio.

4th Whereupon, after many disputations and speeches and rebuttals, reported princes and their associates of the other estates kindly and good-willedly offered to submit the matters in this manner, and to use and re-submit all possible and faithful diligence with notice of their intention.

(5) Nevertheless, and before the princes and their associates of the committee met again on both sides, the estates, which this part also did not understand otherwise than that it was meant kindly and graciously, sent some of their councillors to our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., with the request that the estates receive a report of the said committee's action. Now their Electoral and Princely Grace together with the other estates would be inclined to engage in further amicable action, and, as it is noted, by a narrower committee than the previous one would have been 2c., with friendly and official request that the Elector of Saxony would move and not depart; as one knows to be remembered on both sides.

6. And although the Elector of Saxony had to get such an opinion to 1) his fellow relatives, to decide with them on it, and to let the Elector of Mainz know the answer, he offered, on the evening of the said Vigil of St. Bartholomew, some of his own with the said cause, some of theirs with aforesaid cause, in which way the former protection separated from each other, and that one, according to the same parting, wanted to be sure of a reply, the aforesaid narrowed committee has been dismissed: so it is nevertheless, on all kinds of introduced doubts and for the sake of gloating, thus passed on to the Elector of Saxony, and the other

1) "an" is missing in Förstemann.

related princes and cities should ever be felt no lack, yet the previous farewell inconceivably, has been conceded subsequently.

(7) But since no other means have been prescribed by you than those which have been ordained for such an extended committee, especially for the sake of the most important articles, than those which have been proposed in the former committee, there would have been no need for this extended committee of their Church and Free Society. and their co-relatives, especially because it was sufficiently understood that these means had previously been considered to the utmost, 2) and it could not be found that they should be heard 3) further than happened in the previous committee.

(8) And we are therefore commanded by their sovereigns and sovereigns and their kinsmen to inform you that they are not to be added to, as if the lack of their sovereigns and sovereigns and their kinsmen were. If, however, you know of other means which would be more advantageous for this transaction, we have to hear them from you again, and again let us hear them from their sovereign and princely lords and their co-relatives. We will also, as you have heard from us, talk to you about a decency that would be useful for the peace and unity of a common free Christian council.

(9) If, however, you do not have an order for this, or if you do not receive a further report from princes, rulers and estates in response to this report, as our most gracious and gracious lords do not wish to do so, we have immediately reported to their sovereign and imperial authorities what you have reported to us by order of the estates of the Council in the event that further proceedings arise, namely that their sovereign and imperial authorities do not know any other way to promote the same with Imperial Majesty than that all changes and things should first be restored to their previous status. Maj. do not know any other way to promote it, than that first all innovations and things should be set and restituted to the previous state.

(10) Thereupon we show you, by the order of our lords, that the estates bear knowledge, from which the doctrine embodied in the confession delivered, together with the change of some abuses of the church, is caused. If the beginning and the reason of the same are to be discussed, this can be shown with many of the written books, as well as with indications and living documents, on which, however, no proper appointment is made by those whose office this was; in addition, this is shown by Pabst's Hadrian's Book.

2) Förstemann meaningless: "so before ... move".

3) Förstemann: "dorff", probably a misspelling or misprint instead of: doruff.

nus advertisement sufficiently, so at the Diet of Nuremberg by a legate has been presented. 1)

(11) At previous imperial congresses held by princes, princes, and estates, especially because of the conflicting doctrines and customs, a common, free, Christian council, to the extent now indicated, was considered necessary, granted, and the imperial majesty, our most gracious lord, requested it several times and finally granted it a year ago at Speier. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has been asked for it several times, and finally, a year ago at Speier, it was graciously granted, and also a disposition was made as to the time in which it should be announced and begun.

(12) Therefore, our most gracious and gracious Lords and their relatives will kindly and diligently see to it that the Estates, as those who have taken action in this matter, will promote the same general, free, Christian concilium to Imperial Majesty, submissively and diligently, as it was previously considered good without any such measure or difference, and as it has been approved by Imperial Majesty. Maj. humbly and diligently, as it was previously considered good without any such measure or difference, granted and requested from Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and that a resolution on this matter was passed at the first Imperial Diet at Speier, as every authority is to observe in these matters until a General Council is announced.

(13) For this reason, their Lord and Lady and their kinsmen appealed a year ago at Speier to the Roman Catholic Majesty and to the General Council in a legal manner, because of some changes in this part of the Confession, and because of what was pending in the matter of the eireots or oonssoutivs. Majesty and the General Council in a legal manner; therefore, this was intended to be an official attestation against their appeal to the Church and the Federation and their kinsmen, which was also unjustified.

(14) It would also be a novelty, which has not been heard of before in such cases, where matters have required a concilium because of necessity, that a concilium has been refused until the cause for which a concilium is necessary has been removed.

015 Where the same might have been done here in time past, such and such great matters would seldom have come to a concilio.

(16) Therefore, it is the gracious and obliging intention of their sovereigns, their fiefs, and their kinsmen to you lords, who will be diligent with the estates, where their sovereigns, their fiefs, and their kinsmen will have the inheritance, as their kinsmen, and their kinsmen, and their kinsmen will have the inheritance.

1) The remark by Förstemann: "in the margin is the year: 1524." - This year is wrong; it was in the year 1522. See Document No. 718 in the 15th volume. Hadrian died on Sept. 24, 1523.

If the members of the previous committee did not want to be accepted by the means indicated, that they nevertheless wanted to leave it at the previous half of the concilii, and contrary to the interposed appeal do not introduce any change by their chur- and F. G. action, the electors, princes, and their kinsmen of this part want to provide this kindly and humbly, and deserve this kindly, also completely humbly.

(17) If the estates which have often been touched are inclined to order you or others to let them speak of the above-mentioned peaceful parting in the middle of a council, so that peace and unity may be maintained and other necessary matters of the realm may be settled, of which there shall be no lack for the sake of their sovereigns and their relatives:

(18) Thus our most gracious and gracious Lords have also offered themselves to do so, and with the help of the Almighty will, in accordance with their confession, keep themselves without further ado in such a manner as their Lordships, their F. G. and their kinsmen hope to answer for in all subservience to God the Almighty and to Imperial Majesty the Holy Roman Emperor. Maj. in all submissiveness.

1070 Melanchthon's Report to Luther, What Happened in the Closer Committee. August 25, 1530.

The following three numbers are found in Melanchthon's epistolak, lib. I, p. 10 8^cj.; in Ooklkbtinus, torn. III, lol. 56 and 63; in the Oorp. Rkt., vol. II, 311,314 and 327; the first and third letters in Chyträus according to the German edition, pp. 424 and 436; according to the Latin, pp. 289 and 291.

By Cyriacus, that tomorrow shall depart, we will write more. Some questions are sent to you, of which we quarrel with the adversaries. Such arguments put them on the track, which are not useful for doctrine and true godliness, but only to provoke others against us. And our leniency in such matters only makes the hopeful dullards more defiant. There is no telling how they triumph. If I were present at these things for my own person, not in the prince's name, I would by no means suffer this defiance. Now I must tolerate all on account of the princes' and subjects' common danger. Our people's minds are either quite weak, or at the wrong time brave. But still I hope we will not do anything against the Gospel, D. Brück truly shows himself to be a constant

and pious hero. Bucer writes to you about the Lord's Supper, and wants to accept our opinion. He holds that the body of Christ is present in the bread. This is the summa. I had put propositions to him; but he, out of misgivings, has sent you his own propositions. I have not been able to write more. I pray you answer me presently. Farewell. Date August 25. 1)

1071 Melanchthon's Letter to Luther. August 26, 1530.

From the original in Scheurl's library this letter is found in Jlgen's Zeitschrift 1842, II, 186. The variants of the same are given in Burkhardt, p. 184. For the locations see at the previous number.

Translated from the Latin.

To D. Martin Luther, his most dear father.

I can't report the slightest thing about either public or private matters, because we've been working on a union for many days in a row, and yet we're getting nowhere. They insist on the private mass, and make proposals about other matters which it is not at all advisable to accept. I think you have already seen these from my previous letter; however, they are also throwing around terrible threats. Although I do not care about the danger I am in, I am sometimes concerned about the great weakness of our princes. But perchance all will be ended ere this letter reach you. For the messenger is slow. Why I cannot discuss anything now ^is this^: today a discussion was held, since neither I nor Pontanus knew what would be acted upon and presented and what the summa of the opinion of the princes would be. Truly, this hemming and hawing and doubtfulness seems to be of no less importance than the signs which the mob perceives. The Lord Christ deliver us from these dangers so great. Farewell, the 26th of August. Philip (---4^77^).

I'm sending you the picture of Emperor Charles.

l) In the 6orp. Rki. the list of the persons elected to the Select Committee of Fourteen is attached to this letter, which has already been communicated in No. 1041; thereafter the names of the six in the Select Committee, namely:

Bridge.	Corner.
Heller.	The Chancellor of Cologne.
Philip.	The Chancellor of Baden.

1072 Melanchthon's letter to Luther, before his answer to the previous letters had arrived. August 29, 1530.

See No. 1070, in 6orp. Rec. vol. II, 327.

(1) We have not yet received your concern about the counterpart's requirements, since we are most concerned about them.

(2) The whole matter still stands on these points. They ask us to confess that neither those who administer the Sacrament nor those who receive it do wrong. We have excused those who receive it, but of those who administer it we do not agree. The Concilium at Basle admitted the whole Sacrament to the Bohemians on this condition, if they confessed that one form could also be rightly given and taken. They also want to wrest this confession from us. Eck says that he insists on this because otherwise one cannot keep the common man in obedience/if we do not also free the consciences as far as one form of the Sacrament is concerned. To this we desire to hear your concern.

003 As to the application of the masses to others, postpone them to the Concilium, that they may show that they do not trouble us with the ungodly application of the mass.

004 And yet they would have us accept the Canon, but with a convenient and Christian interpretation. I see that they deal deceitfully with us, and could easily consider what I should do, if I should confess for my private person alone. But since this is a common thing that affects everyone, I respect that the voices and opinions of others are not to be rejected.

005 We are very severely contested by some of our own for restoring the jurisdiction to the bishops. For the people, who are now accustomed to freedom, and have once thrown off the yoke of the bishops, do not like to have the old yoke put on them again. And especially the imperial cities are very angry with the episcopal government. They do not ask much about doctrine and religion, but they are concerned about government and freedom. I am sending you a copy of the last demands of the countermand, so that you can then answer more easily. Date Uostriäis [29 Aug. 1530]. 2)

2) Burkhardt, p. 184 and the 6orp. Rec. dates this letter August 29. Walch offers: ckis

1073 Luther's Letter to Melanchthon. July 27, 1530.

This letter is here with Walch without time determination and exceedingly deficient. Walch has brought a piece belonging to it 8ud No. 999 of this volume, which we have omitted there, because we give the letter here completely. Only the piece found here with Walch is found in German (without date) in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 434d; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 147; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 277; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 192; the Brie divided into two pieces, as with Walch, with Chyträus p. 95 and 171 b. The end is in Latin without Lucia. Latin without the conclusion at Lu668U8, p. 159, and at Co6l68tiQU8, tom. II, toi. 230. complete at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 102, with the date: "July 20, 1530." Burkhardt, p. 181, reports that the copy in the 606th of the Hamburg library >Voit. O. 14 (114) has as its date toria IV. po8t 4uoobi, that is, July 27, which is no doubt the correct date. Köstlin, Martin Luther (3), vol. II, p. 658 ud p. 233, has also adopted this date. We translate after De Wette.

Newly translated from the Latin.

I am very sorry that I cannot be with you in body for this exceedingly beautiful confession of Christ. Our Staupitz said: "Whom God wants to blind, he first closes his eyes; too sharp is gladly chipped. " Indeed, I give no heed to this pretext, that for the sake of thanksgiving, or gratitude, the mass may be erected. 1) Hezekiah broke the bronze serpent, and cared not that it was kept for the memorial and praise of the work of the Lord. The godly king looked more to the certain abuse and evil occasion than to the doubtful and uncertain fruit of the praise. And now, since our adversaries have hitherto abused their masses for exceedingly wicked examples, and have not yet repented, they vainly ask that they may be permitted to keep them. For their pretence is evident, and without all repentance, therefore also a plain lie, though, as I have written before, they seek nothing right, but seek a complete tyranny of their abominations. First may they restore the doctrine of faith and works, afterward we may watch in regard to the ceremonies. First, let them restore the church and the ecclesiastics with their right offices, and the statutes

1) Compare Document No. l005l>, which also confirms the time determination assumed by us.

will arise of their own accord; mau kaun the thanksgiving in other ways and without danger and trouble in the church.

That the adversaries gather contradictions out of my books?) This they also do to show the glory of their wisdom. How can these asses judge the contradictions of our doctrine, who do not understand any part of the contradictory things? For what can our doctrine be but full of contradictions in the eyes of the ungodly, since it requires and rejects works at the same time, abolishes and restores customs at the same time, honors and punishes the authorities at the same time, affirms and denies sin at the same time? But for what purpose do I carry water into the sea?

Beyond measure, yes, beyond measure, your godliness and innocence is made glorious and certain by this manifest insolence of Satan, that he demands that all things be restored of you, that is, that you deny God, but worship the pope, and confirm all the abominations which he has created through them by so great murder, lies, and blasphemies. Here by every one of us a thousand bodies should be given for Christ.

Your Martin Luther.

1074 Luther's letter to Melanchthon.

See Appendix, No. 12 - Here Walch brings (with the wrong date: August 26, 1530) an excerpt from the letter communicated there completely. Since Walch has given incorrect locations in the table of contents, De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 145, Aum., unnecessarily racks his brains over this letter. It is dated September 15, and is found in full in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 164.

1075. another letter of Luther to Me lanchthon, dated August 28, 1530.

This letter is handwritten in Oo6.36n. d., toi. 114 and in Aurifaber, vol. lll, p. 79. Printed in LuUÜ6U8, p. 201; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 164 from the Bvrnersche Collection at Leipzig, and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 156. In Walch with the wrong date: Sept. 2. According to De Wette we have translated.

Newly translated from the Latin.

2) In a separate supplement to the Confutation, Joh. Faber compiled the passages from Luther's writings in which he should have contradicted himself (De Wette). See Document No. 997.

Grace and peace in Christ! My dear Philip, I answered these questions the day before yesterday. And what is this that they presume to demand such manifestly ungodly things, since they themselves did not teach such things before? And this they now invent for their own sake, that we may not see their past ungodly things, but that by this pretence they may again establish and fortify the same. In my opinion you could do nothing more right than to free yourselves from these coarse tendrils, saying that you would give to God what is God's, and to Caesar what is Caesar's. If, therefore, they can show that it is God's and Caesar's, let them do so; but if they cannot show it, say: besides God and Caesar there is no one whom you can obey, unless it be the devil, whom even they will not command to obey. What need is there that the matter should be thus divided and divided into questions? Let them themselves make it clear what they are submitting, that is, let them show that it is God's or the emperor's. Why do you suffer them to play their game with you, whether you want this or that? They themselves may say whether it is the word of God, and immediately they will have obtained that you will obey the word of God. But ye will consider this better, for I am perhaps too sure in such gross intrigues, knowing that ye can commit nothing there but some offence against our persons, that we are accused of being faithless and fickle men, 1) but which the constancy and truth of the matter would easily make right?) But I would not that this should happen. Nevertheless I speak thus, that if it should happen, we should not despair. For if we have escaped violence, after peace is obtained, we shall escape intrigues [and lies]; 3) and we

1) namely, in the case of excessive compliance. Compare Document No. 1058 towards the end.

2) Here we have adopted the reading of Sagittarius and Aurifaber.

3) A comma is to be placed after <Zoto8. This is a much disputed passage. Already the old translator has rendered the sense correctly, likewise Förstemann, Urknndenbnch, vol. II, p. 77. What Seidemann says in De

will easily make up for our faults, for his mercy is upon us. Act manfully, and let your heart be confident, all you who hope in the Lord. But ye hope, because ye lead his cause: how could that be without hope? Give greeting to all our people, and be at ease with them. From the desert on the day of St. Augustine [Aug. 28] 1530. Yours, Martin Luther.

1076 Luther's Letter to Spalatin. August 28, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in the 6oă. Isn. d., toi. 69, and in Aurifaber, vol. lll, p. 79. Printed in 6li^tra6U8, p. 295; in Lrulüsrm, p. 204, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 154. According to the latter we have translated.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have written before of these articles, 4) my dear Spalatin, which you have already sent for the second time; and, as I said, if the devil cannot be a lion, will he be a dragon?) Now you see for yourselves that our cause has to do with deceit, therefore it is not necessary that I write much about these things. For who could not easily beware of known intrigues? They seek that they may rule over faith and conscience, and by this artifice seek to draw you away from the word, which I see sufficiently; but I fear nothing, for if they continue with deceit, they will fall into our ambush. For if ye hold fast this owl, that ye will not, or have not, conceded anything against the gospel, what are their plots? For verily then will I deal with them very nicely, by using mei-

Wette, Vol. VI, p. 555 f., Note 5, is not correct. Read Document No. 1059 and No. 1076 and you will not doubt the correctness of our translation. Luther goes on and on about the Papists attacking first by force, then by intrigues and treachery. Whoever now wants to refer the clolo8 to the evangelical side, as the papists do, betrays a considerable lack of discernment. Whether inencZacüa is original or an interpolation has no influence on the meaning.

4) He may mean Concern No. 1061. (De Wette.) 5) That is, if he cannot carry out his undertaking by force, he tries it by intrigue and deceit.

I will make it clear to you by the art of speech that these great defenders of the faith and the gospel have dared to demand something from you against the gospel. And yet, if you also (which by Christ's grace you will not do) have evidently admitted something contrary to the gospel, and if in such a manner they have shut up this eagle in a sack: 1) then, doubt not, Luther will come, and gloriously deliver this eagle. As Christ liveth, this shall come to pass. Therefore, since you are already victors over violence, do not be afraid of these bubbles of intrigue, however the matter may turn out. Luther is free, Macedonia may also be free, 2) which I would not like to see, so that in such a way I can make a stand against intrigue, and Ishmael 2) against violence. Be strong and act manly. "It is not needful for them to deal with the blind handles."

Furthermore, especially in the article in which it is requested that we demand from the legate and the pope what they would allow us, I ask you to answer in some way, according to the manner of Amsdorf: "That the pope and the legate would lick us in the ars. Fare thee well, my dear Spalatin, and pardon this levity, which wrings from me the extraordinary indignation against these exceedingly wicked men. From the desert, on the day of St. Augustine s28. Aug.] 1530. Yours, Martin Luther.

D. Von Heyog Heinrichs zu Braunschweig Handlung mit den evangelischen Standen wegen der Religion.

1077. duke Henry of Brunswick's lecture to the Lutherans.

This and the following document is found in Müller, Ub. Ill, cmx. 31, p. 835 from the unnamed uutor. npoloZ. ILta.6.

1) This refers to a dream of Melanchthon's: an eagle had been transformed by sorcery into a cat and enclosed in a sack. About this Luther came in and commanded that it be let out; and so the cat is freed. (See Seidemann on De Wette, vol. VI, p. 449 f., note 8.)

2) Philip of Hesse.

Dear sirs, it is true, and so far I am well acquainted with the matter, that I would not willingly help with my own person, by action and war, that your lords, on account of the use of the sacrament in both forms, or of the one, and private masses, or priests' wives, and such like things, which drag on in the consciences, should be overdrawn, and blood shed; I would not willingly saddle a horse for this purpose; but you know the manner in which your lords have taken possession of the monasteries and monastic estates, which they have not restored to the monks until now, for which reason the Imperial Majesty, through the monks, has ordered the monasteries and monastic estates to be restored to the monks. Majesty is daily approached for justice by the monks and clergy, whose property has been taken from them, with cries and shouts that Her Majesty has no peace from it. And since this is a just worldly matter, concerning the deprivation of ecclesiastical goods, monasteries, and benefices, no one would ever contradict it, since the Imperial Office of His Majesty would extend to helping those who have been deprived of theirs and held against them to regain it, and in this every one would be obligated out of obedience, and could not in conscience avoid helping His Imperial Majesty, since it would be impossible for him to do so. Majesty in this, he would also have to help, and would be due to him, if he were required. If, however, your lords could be guided a little in the proposed means, so that some settlement might be reached, they would undoubtedly find better ways and means with the Imperial Majesty in the matter concerned, concerning the monasteries and ecclesiastical estates, through their diligence and that of others who would like to see peace in the empire, so that, except for a concilium of monks, nuns and such like people, no strife nor war might be awakened in the empire. Why, nevertheless, one should call Majesty, as a praiseworthy emperor, whose Majesty so faithfully meant the things of peace and unity, did not want to be compliant in such proposals. With such a further appendix, it is not dangerous: one would perhaps leave this part to the common crowd or people, as if one hoped to gain relief from them by rising up in the empire; however, if one wanted to consider it well, one could not take much comfort in the common people, because if it should lead to a revolt among the common people, it would not remain so, but this part of the danger must also be taken into account.

3) Deprivation - Deprivation.

1078. the Lutheran answer to it.

See the previous number.

For this he should have it, if all things were compared Christianly, and the truth established, but the untruth together with the abuses were stopped and reformed, and it were then to be done about the monasteries or monastery estates, then the things should be helped with the help of God then soon; they would like to say that for the sake of their lords and superiors. But that the princes, rulers and cities of this part, in which the monasticism and nunnery together with the angle-measuring attitude partly through the next peasant revolt, and then further through many self-willed turning out, also through Christian establishment, because the same is against the divine holy word, after which their ungodly state and seductive doctrines and customs have been attacked and severely trodden upon, to speak, to blaspheme, and also to make all kinds of harmful and dangerous division in the said states, lands, territories, cities, towns, and villages, they should fall, reestablish, and grant: They could not do this for the sake of conscience, because the comforting doctrine that had been led among them would be against it, as little as their sovereign and princely sovereigns with God and God's will. and conscience, to be turned into another blasphemy. Thus they also hoped that the Imperial Majesty would, before the end of the day, declare such a thing. Majesty would not request this of the estates of this part before the final decision of a general free council. For since it had often been indicated in the committees beforehand that Her Majesty and the pope were completely determined to call for a council, which was to take place in six months, and after that in a year at the longest, these matters could be left to rest for a little while, based on the requests and proposals that had been made especially in the committee of the fourteen by the seven of this part of such monasteries and monastics and clergy. Thus it should also be considered whether it is consistent with Christian love, since the same matters have now been pending for several years at a general, free, Christian council decision, that the Christian estates of this part should now, against their consciences, re-establish the essence, since in what concerns the monastic life, the monastery life and the clergy, the monastery life and the clergy have been left to their own devices, and ceremonies, the doctrine would be disputed and not settled, or in the case of refusal, they and theirs would be complained of, since it would still have to be done for a year or a year and a half, and in a concilio, by means of divine word, the division would be settled without such complication, blood, and so on.

shed, or otherwise could be reached to Christian peace. It was also hoped, for the reasons now indicated, that His Imperial Majesty, as a most gracious Emperor, would not be moved to do so. Majesty, as a most gracious Emperor, would not allow himself to be moved to do so, nor would he graciously consider it, even if the authorities wanted to pursue the matter against their conscience. It would be easy for everyone to hear what danger, further development, and burden this would cause between their subjects and the monks, nuns, and other clergy who wanted to show themselves against the recognized Christian doctrine with words, improper conduct, and ceremonies. So also in this part, one would not confess to monks and nuns that the monasteries and estates were theirs, and thus had been or would be deprived of theirs against God. For since their supposed divine service, according to which they directed and wanted to direct all their being, teachings, ceremonies, and deeds to meritorious works, was against God and his holy word, even without which this monastic system would not be a divine indication or planting, no one would doubt that the same goods, which were meant by founders and donors for the right Christian divine service, would no longer be divine enjoyment or custom. Let it be said that the property, according to their own rights, is not theirs, but Christ's, and that they should more reasonably refrain from such a search, for the sake of their consciences, than make it, especially for the reasons which St. Augustine has given in the same case, and especially until such time as it is determined in a general, free concilio with Scripture, whether their doctrine and monastic system, together with their seductive ceremonies, corner masses, and the like, are divine or not.

And it would nevertheless be an unchristian act and intention on the part of monks and nuns, as well as other clergy, that they should subject themselves, according to the form and occasion of things, and beforehand, because a concilium is to be held so conducive, to induce Imperial Majesty to take arduous measures. Majesty to take onerous measures, since it would not be possible for them to maintain their ungodly ceremonies and worship among the peoples who know the truth before the final act of the said council, without daily worry, risk, expense, and other danger. For this, the aforementioned negotiators should have it, if these matters did not concern God's word, honor, and conscience, but were to do with a part of their property, one does not doubt that one would have to rely on this part of the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Majesty's displeasure on that account; but in these

To grant anything against conscience would concern souls, which should be set before all other things of this world. Nor would it be proper for them that, for the sake of the other things of which it has been said, this part should renounce the truth they had known; for, as Christ himself said, there would not remain any trouble, but woe to that part which would give unjust cause for it, for this part firmly believes that their doctrine is the pure and truthful gospel and the word of God. Therefore they also knew that they were commanded by God not to depart from it for the sake of any offense; and if they then did so, that they were guilty before God, and it was not otherwise due them in their consciences, and the reproach wanted to hold on to that which was not due them, nor was it founded in Scripture, then they would have given cause to that which he had spoken of; For the right hand of the pope himself said, that it were more profitable to cause offence, than that the truth should be omitted for offence's sake. So also this part of the consolation would not be based on men, but on God, who through his word had commanded his Christians to remain with the truth, regardless of all men's danger, in the face of eternal condemnation. For what they were no less concerned about in the next arduous upheaval than someone from another class would have been easy to find out, so their electors and princes, together with their relatives, would have had to take care of them. Therefore, their electors and princes, together with their relatives, should not deviate from the truth, and should entrust the remaining care to God Almighty.

E. Of the Council's dissatisfaction at Nuremberg with the previous netigion handlings, whereby he has not been well to speak of Philipp Melanchthon in particular.

1079. the one of Nuremberg misgivings about the so called unrestrained and unassailable answer of the Protestants, in which they complain that more than fair has been conceded to the opposite by the Protestants.

In the German edition of Chyträus, p. 442, and in the Latin, p. 297. In Ooklöstinus, tom. III, x. 81, differing in some pieces from Chyträus.

(1) An honorable councilor of Nuremberg has the writing and means, 1) so from the Christian estates because of

1) namely Document No. 1047.

now most recently handed over to the papal decreed committee at Augsburg, moved for themselves with diligence, as much as may be done in haste, which also let consult with their theologians, and find the same writing placed in three ways or articles.

2nd First, on the articles which have been agreed upon in committee, and have hitherto been in dispute with the least part; which now rest upon himself.

003 Secondly, concerning the articles which have hitherto been in dispute, and which have not yet been united; where it is good, Christian, and just, that, for the sake of the same articles, in our part, we should still hold to that which has been publicly preached and held to be right and godly, and which is known in the confession delivered in the same form.

(4) Third, the articles, some of which are doubtful and some of which are incompatible. Now, as far as these incomparable articles are concerned, or, as the most recent list that has been handed over wants to call them, articles that are still doubtful, the same Scripture has this reputation with them, and also with their knowledgeable theologians, and, without a doubt, with other Christian persons as well, that a great deal has been left out in it, approved, and given into the hands of the papists, which is either injurious to conscience, not to be preserved in Scripture, or is in many ways burdensome and annoying to those who have hitherto confessed Christ and his Gospel. And to show these articles, and the vexation thereof, in one part, in one summary:

5. So it is not a little inconvenient for the Christian authorities to finally commit themselves and hand over that they should let all monks and nuns and the same monasteries remain quiet with their old nature and their old ceremonies, as they would have used them up to now; For it will follow in many places that the same monasteries will freely re-establish their old patrocinia, sermons, ungodly masses, brotherhood, funeralia, and what is much of the like, draw the simple people to themselves, seduce them, and cause such inequality with all church customs that nothing but a whole uproar will be to be expected from the common man, even before that from good communes, not to mention other mischiefs arising therefrom.

006 Secondly, it is not good, nor does it serve for a small error, that the papists should have their hitherto used doctrine admitted and confirmed in the article, as if there were three parts of repentance. For this needeth no doubt, the Papists hold eonksssionknn for their auricular confession, and satisfactiontzni for satisfaction with works. Now consider every one, if to them

these two pieces should be admitted as necessary two parts of the atonement, what they have gained with it, and whether the word of God and the Scriptures could always suffer this. And even if one were to gloss over the matter, to interpret it differently than the papists understand it, the common man will never be able to accept it, for the matter has become too plain and intelligible.

(7) Thirdly, that the sacrament should not be administered to anyone without prior oral confession would not only give rise to great scruple and misunderstanding, but would also be dangerous, thus binding communion directly to confession and obliging people to make the same. And what would it be otherwise than to force consciences again to oral confession, to which no man should be compelled by force or necessity, and thus again to erect a papal prison, and to press men to the point that they must be confined to the day of communion, and thus, at the pleasure of the pastors, for a definite time.

(8) Fourthly, with the fasting, eating meat, and forbidding meat, the article is quite disgraceful, and also somewhat detrimental. For in this way men would again be ensnared in keeping the gold fasts 1) and other days out of compulsion, and not out of their own good will, and Christian liberty, under the pretense of preserving peaceful unity and equality, would thus be hung on a nail, over which liberty one should not hall less than over another article of faith, according to the word of Paul, before one should hold such liberty's forbearance as a necessary statute, as the papists judge and desire the same in no other form.

(9) Fifthly, of course, there is no scripture from earth that can be found, or from which it can be concluded, that the dead saints or the angels in heaven pray to God for us. Nor is there any mediator, intercessor, or high priest before God, as all Scripture indicates, except the one and only Christ; of what use then is it, and what fruit does it bear, for the Popes to yield to and confirm this article, which they have hitherto tried to maintain as founded in Scripture, but of which Scripture bears no witness? What abuses also with the time from

1) Gold fasting or glad fasting or soft fasting are the fasts on the four days of Quatember.

of this article would be made, every person of understanding has easily to consider.

(10) In the sixth place, by this writing the bishops have their spiritual jurisdiction granted and yielded much more than they could ever have supposed, or even had before. And if this few article should stand, it would be the most subtle, the most right way, to even diminish and extinguish the gospel in a short time, that could ever be devised. For if the ordinaries should be permitted to rule over the priests, as before; item, if a priest commits a criminal offense, that the ordinaries have the power to punish him without hindrance, by virtue of episcopal authority; that also all priests, parish priests, and preachers should be presented to the ordinaries, as this article indicates in longer content and quite generally, even indefinitely, such episcopal authority: What else will follow from this, which could be assumed otherwise, but that the bishops would never allow a Christian, righteous presented pastor; or if they did allow him, they would lie to him every day with this or that self-invented excrement, cite him, kill him in ways, or otherwise act with them in such a way that none could remain? Or what preacher would allow himself to be placed there, so as to preach at a certain danger, and if the authorities would not have to protect him against the bishop, and to await all disaster and death and destruction? How could the authorities answer for it against God, in conscience, and otherwise against their congregations? If the preachers were thus tributed, picked out, not suffered, or driven away, where would the gospel remain in a short time, and how long also the Christian religion?

(11) And how could the Papists offer a more subtle check to the Christian estates, than by setting aside all the other articles, which are incomparable, until a future concilio, and accepting this one article of episcopal jurisdiction? For by so doing they would have obtained this way, and such a register, that they would soon master the gospel, and the same preacher and pastor. That they would not then be able to defend themselves against the imperial majesty, the empire, or the bishops. Majesty, the empire, or the confederate states by right, by grace, or by reason.

12th And in sum, these complaints and detrimental defects would like to be drawn in more articles, and in more places, from the above-mentioned handed over list: and where one can find the an-

should take, it would actually make much more evil, fearful consciences; it would thereby confirm a great part of the papal abuses, blaspheme the gospel, accuse the Christian estates of revocators, act too near to Scripture in many ways, and cause one mischief to another.

013 And though for the sake of Christian peace, which is temporal, one ought to yield, suffer, and tolerate much, yet by so doing one ought not to cause strife of heart and conscience; for it is a harmful peace, and not a good peace, which is sought and maintained with detriment to souls, consciences, and injury to the honors of God. So, as Paul saith, one ought not to do evil with knowledge, that good may come of it. And even though the matter may seem to be one of total discord, yet one should not act contrary to God, his word, or conscience, but should proceed in a just and Christian manner, and command the care of peace or discord to God; otherwise it would be called putting the gospel behind the door for the sake of temporal peace or escape from the cross. And if these articles should be so accepted, and Luther, as well as other preachers, as is evident, preach, teach, and write against them, as every Christian preacher, for the sake of his conscience, would not want to avoid such a thing, and will not remain without doubt, then everyone should consider what unity and peace, which one would have thought to seek and maintain by yielding, would always result from it.

(14) And it actually gives many people great cause for thought that the foremost of the Christian estates have shown themselves to be so brave and courageous in the face of Imperial Majesty's and the imperial estates' serious opposition. 14. And actually makes many people think that the foremost of the Christian estates have shown themselves to be so Christian, brave, and prudent, and also quite steadfast, in the face of Imperial Majesty's and the imperial estates' earnest persuasion, and that they should now go so far in the amicable negotiation, which alone is the friendliest, and without any seriousness or fear of future danger, without any need.

015 And though this list is so given, that it may be applied in many articles, then here, then there, even to our part, yet it would certainly not be understood by the majority, nor by the majority of all men, because even the Christian classes themselves may not draw such a clear understanding from it of the gospel part.

016 Moreover, that it is not good in such important high matters, concerning the honour, order, establishment, and salvation of all men, to be so fainthearted and unfaithful, but it is

It is necessary to act in such a way that public, disputatious, doubtful reason may not be drawn from it.

17. Now, one or more of these means are used, they are also rejected by the opposite party or not, but, as a reasonable person will never judge otherwise, they have been so completely ignored that not a little displeasure, suspicion, and annoyance arise for the Christian states among friends and enemies, and would actually be a great cause for the Popes to take a noticeable strengthening of all their abuses from it, and first of all to boast of great conquests; As Cochleus has already publicly written about himself in this city, and has made himself highly famous for many excellent concessions on our part.

(18) But how to act in this matter now, since the list is most out and handed over, that is doubtful; but according to the state of things this way is thought to be the best: that E. E. Rath's envoy to our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., and Margrave George that they had sent the list by mail to their lords and friends, who wrote to them that not only they, but also their theologians, with whom they had secretly consulted, had all kinds of complaints about some of the means and articles contained therein. Where they had been sent to them before they were handed over to the committee, they wanted to express to their Electoral and Princely Grace their deficiencies. and princely lords their deficiencies and complaints for this reason out of necessity.

(19) The council also considers the committee's negotiations, disputes, surrenders, and the like, to be completely inalienable and unallied, in such a way that without the prior express consent of both parties it cannot be considered valid, permanent, or acceptable, otherwise it would be detrimental, burdensome, and dishonest to the Christian estates in many ways, according to the council's concerns, and would also be annoying to the opposing party.

020 But because this would be a superior, important, and such a case, in which not only the welfare and salvation of the Christian classes, but also of many people, would be concerned, it would therefore be necessary to consider these matters with great diligence, so that nothing would be accepted, granted, or permitted which would be contrary to human conscience and souls, and would also serve to confirm the old abuses, and would be more conducive to further deepening and strife than to Christian harmony:

(21) Thus an honorable council would ask their Electoral and Princely Gn. who will graciously submit this transaction, and what has occurred between the members of the committee, to Doctor Martin Luther, as the one through whom God Almighty has most recently preached and established His Gospel in the most pious manner, and submit the matter to him, as an understanding theologian, whom this transaction also concerns in the highest and above all others, as a theologian of understanding, whom this business also concerns to the highest and above others, so that on the part of the Christian estates the more securely it would be walked and nothing would be approved and accepted that would be detrimental and injurious to the word of God, as, without doubt, their sovereign and princely graces, as Christian princes, have done. as Christian princes, would be inclined to do without it.

(22) For if, behind Doctor Luther, and unconsciously of him, something final and conclusive should be done and granted in this treaty, which is not strictly founded in Scripture, or at least doubtful, it is to be feared that the said Luther would not be silent afterward, but would write and preach against it; and other preachers would probably do the same. To what extent this would lead to proliferation, disparity, and inconstancy, they, the envoys, give their chur- and F. G. to consider. And so then an honorable council, their friends, and other Christian estates, on their chur- and F. G., as the foremost and highest estates, have hitherto had their regard in this transaction, they entirely provide that their chur- and F. G. will not take note of this request of a council out of disfavor, but out of mere necessity of conscience, and in the end of this trade, not less than in the beginning and so far, show themselves so Christian and gracious, that the widow would not like to take note of it in any other way than a constant mind of all Christian estates and co-relatives of this trade; that is what a council wanted to deserve.

23. And although it may be burdensome to go back again in the most recent means listed, because they have been handed over in writing to the Widertheil, and may be considered approved by the same, the greatness of the trade, also the burden of conscience, is to be considered here, and by no means to reproach with God's word, and therefore not to advise a council, or other fellow relatives of this part, that they still approve such means at this time; but, if the opposing party from the submitted list ever wants to insist on finally granting it, and to consider that for the sake of the Christian states it is accepted and permitted, that then

The Papists, on the other hand, would have their intention purified by the fact that this amicable negotiation of the committee by the deputies would be completely unallied and inaccessible to all parts, and would not be within the power of the same deputies; as the counterpart himself would have known for and for accepting anything in this without the special prior approval of the Imperial Majesty and all other imperial estates on both sides as principal approval; that also the proposed means would not be presented to any other opinion and would be presented for means, because as far as in other articles the principal approval of the Imperial Majesty and all other imperial estates on both sides is concerned. The Council of the Holy Roman Empire would not be able to accept anything in this matter without the special prior approval of the Imperial Majesty and all other Imperial Estates on both sides, as the principal approval; nor would the proposed means be presented to any other opinion and be considered as a means, as long as in the other articles, which are still disputed and not agreed upon, a fair and just equality would be found beforehand, and these would be approved and accepted by the other part according to the confession of the Christian Estates. For without this, this most recent list, as reported, would be inapplicable, and not to be considered approved in any part.

1080. Osiander's defense against the articles presented by the Roman Catholics.

This writing is found in Oo6l68tinu8, tom. III, toi. Osiander was the first Lutheran preacher in Nuremberg and attended the Diet. He was ordered by the council to write this Apology against the Papal Articles.

Translated into German by LI. A. Tittel.

001 In the first place, because the popes also accept the orthodox and Christian articles, and have no objection to them, only so far as they are confirmed and proved by the testimonies of Scripture, or of the fathers and conciliar conclusions, and even often add that the church has accepted and confirmed them: so it is easy to see that they are using them to deceive us, as if all the articles were neither valid nor to be accepted, if they were not confirmed and accepted by the prestige of the church. And they are, of course, compelled to act in this way, since in the disputed articles they have no other recourse than the church's constitution and reputation. This article, therefore, must be refuted and overturned on sound grounds, which may be done in the following manner:-

(2) The Church owes her origin and origin to the word of God, as John I says: "He hath given power to become the children of God to them that believe on his name. 1 Cor. 4: "I have begotten you through the gospel in Christ JEsu." Jac. I: "He hath begotten us according to a fine will by the word of truth, that we should be the firstfruits of fine creatures." So the church is put under the word,

and the word must judge the church, and not the church the word. Christ also compares the word to a net, and the church to fish. Now it is not possible for the fish to have power over the net, to know or to do anything with it, since they are caught and kept by it.

003 So also saith Christ Joh. 5, Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness of the truth: but I receive no witness of man. So then our faith must not be based on the testimony of men, but on the word of God. And the church does not bear witness to the word of God, as if its truth and certainty were based on her testimony and thereby revealed, but when she bears witness to God and his word, she confesses and declares that she accepts it, and thus gives others occasion to hold such divine testimonies in honor.

004 Christ saith, "My sheep hear my voice." So the Christian church bindeth not the consciences to keep and observe any thing actually, but heareth Christ alone, and keepeth those things which he commandeth, but avoideth and fleeth those things which he forbid; and those things which he leaveth free, they impose on none, but let them be free, according to the liberty that Christ hath made them free. Gal. 5.

5. we also believe a catholic church; therefore we see and know it not.

006 If, therefore, the church were free to raise and choose articles which must necessarily be obeyed and believed, who then could know what and where the church was?

7 Paul also rejects and condemns such doctrines and commandments of the church Gal. 1: "If an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

008 He saith therefore how he and other apostles ought to be called, and what they ought to be thought of. Now if the apostles are not to be heard preaching and preaching another gospel, much less is the church itself to be heard; though the church perceives and understands it not, but the people, who are falsely comprehended under the appearance and name of the church.

009 From all this it may be proved that the church bindeth not the consciences of men to any articles or commandments, and that, if it do so, yet no man is bound by such commandments.

Of original sin.

010 On the other hand, one sees from this their willfulness quite clearly, since they also maliciously falsify other articles, and more their evil intentions and

For when we say and teach that original sin arouses and causes evil lusts and inclinations, that we have no true fear and faith, they say and teach that these are real sins. For when we say and teach that original sin awakens and causes evil lusts and inclinations, that we have no true fear and faith, they say that these are real sins, if one does not trust and believe God and His word.

011 Then they teach and maintain that original sin is an infirmity and defect of original righteousness. But original righteousness is nothing else than what is called righteousness in our day, namely, the righteousness of faith, preceded by the fear of the Lord (for "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom"), and followed by the slaying of evil affections or lusts. Wherefore the defect of hereditary righteousness is fairly set forth and described in these three pieces, namely, that one is without fear and trust of God, has no faith, lives in carnal security, and feels evil desire (or lust). Which they should know from Augustino, who in the 2nd book speaks äs p>666uto, iri6riti8 ei reini88ioii6 (of sin, merits, and forgiveness): hereditary righteousness is to obey GOD, and to be without lust (or evil desires). But obeying GOD is nothing other than fearing and trusting GOD, because GOD's word either gives or gives away.

012 It must also be remembered that there is no other difference between original sin and real sin, than when original sin breaks out into action. For Paul calls both sin and original sin, and the difference is only the result of the pointed questions and disputes of a few enthusiasts and heretics. And as there is a silent and hidden fire in unslaked lime, which, when water is poured in, is revealed and falls into the senses, and yet is the very fire that was in it, so original sin is dead, and so long hidden, until it is revealed by the law, and is kindled, and breaks out into action; so that original sin becomes real sin, which is the same and the same thing as the former.

013 The error must also be punished, because they falsely teach that original sin is not only forgiven by baptism, but also entirely taken away, when every one feels the root and tinder of it even unto death. (Rom. 6.)

014 Therefore they know not what original sin is. For what is left of sin after baptism they do not want to understand of original sin.

(15) Thirdly, in the fourth article we must counter their false opinion with the saying Rom. 11:6.

If it be of grace, it is not of works: for then is grace no more grace. But if it is of works, it is not of grace," for then works would no longer be works. And Eph. 2: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and the same not of yourselves. It is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast."

(16) The saying 2 Tim. 4 ("Henceforth is unto me" 2c.) does nothing at all to prove the merit of works, as every one can easily see.

(17) Of other sayings, where there is something about merit, this may be said, that the words reward and recompense do not refer to any previous merit. For what God does or bestows by pure grace, we can never earn by works; and if he promises something before the deeds are done, he is bound to keep and perform it, not because of merit, but because of the necessity of the promise. Therefore the Scriptures call it, in a fancy way, an obligation (or duty); and so must all the sayings of reward be understood, which God also promises us in the Old Testament on account of good works, and that on account of the saying, "We are worthless servants," which permits no reward on account of merit, but on account of obligation and imputation.

018 Likewise the old testament promised the reward of works, saying, If ye will keep my commandments, I will be your God, and will give you all good things; that is, I will give you the reward. The New Testament speaks (because the Old Testament no one could keep, nor earn the reward, but all became unfit and lacked the glory): I will forgive sins by grace through Christ, and be your God. Which is just as much as: if you believe, not only shall your sins be forgiven you because of the transgression of the law, but also the reward promised in the Old Testament shall be abundantly bestowed upon you; that is, in the Old Testament it could justly have been called reward, if only we had rendered due obedience to the law. But in the New Testament it is called a reward because of the good things promised. For the very goods which have been promised to us as wages, but which are gifts (or offerings) to us, are given. For we deserve nothing, as the similitude of the vineyard shows, where he who has labored all day in it is punished, or reproved. This saying has nothing at all to do with the New Testament, but goes to the Old Testament, and belongs to it, like all others that deal with hired labor and wages.

019 It must also be remembered that there is a difference between some sayings. For this, He shall give to every man according to his works, is distinguished from this, which saith, He shall give to every man for or because of works: for a cloth also is done according to the cubit, or according to the same, but not because of or for the cubit. And though the reward be very much a reward, yet there is no merit in it.

(20) Fourthly, enough has already been said in answer to the 5th and 6th articles. It is only necessary to note this, in my opinion, that in explaining the saying, "We are useless servants," we should not look at the word "useless," but at the debt, or what we have owed, since no reward is due for what is done out of debt and necessity (or compulsion).

021 But if a reward is still offered, it is a sign of freedom, namely, that if the work 1) is not equal to and in accordance with the reward, one is still free to reject and do away with both the reward and the work (that is, not to reward the work as reprehensible).

022 For this is what Christ means when he says, "If you have kept all the commandments of God, you have not paid the debt, because he created you and sustains you and feeds you and protects you. He has already done you more good than you are worth. Your wickedness is so great, and your merits so bad and nothing, that all the good you have already enjoyed has been lost, not to mention that he still owes you more.

23 Fifthly, in answer to the seventh article, that the "church" is a common word, signifying every assembly and congregation which needs some special doctrine and commandments, and which is taken in three ways in Scripture. First, for the congregation of the wicked, as Ps. 26:5 says, "I hate the congregation of evildoers." Secondly, for the holy, catholic, and orthodox church, of which there is a report in the articles of our Christian faith, which is united, which comprehends in itself the elect and pious, both living and dead; for otherwise there would be more churches. It must also be holy, therefore all the ungodly, or who will not repent, are excluded from it. It must also be believed, therefore it cannot be seen or pointed at with fingers. Thirdly, it signifieth an outward and visible company or assembly of a few Christians and godly men.

1) xi'LkWium meroedi rsspontZsrs is wrong, it must be instead of xraernirn: oxns. (Walch.)

The first is that there are many blessed people, among whom are often mixed many wicked ones, and which are as many visible assemblies as there are parish churches and public buildings. Which speech is very different from the preceding, and cannot or must not be mixed or confused with it, which the popes endeavor to do in every way. For of the former it is said, "I believe a holy" 2c., that is, it must be only one. But of the latter it is said, Many churches, 1 Cor. 14: "As it is fitting in all churches (or congregations)." 2 Cor. 11: "That I may take care of all the churches" (churches). The former must be believed according to the words of the Creed; the latter must be known and seen, as it is there said, "If thy brother sin against thee, tell it to the church" (congregation). In the former all are holy, but in the latter not in the same way.

024 The popes would willingly confound and confound the second and third meanings, seeing that the propositions and evidences, that the church having the Holy Ghost cannot err, 2c. and likewise, that apart from her no man can be saved, 2c. are to be understood and interpreted by the other kind of church. But when they say, This is what the church teacheth, this is what she hath received and found to be right: they know also that such things are to be understood of the third kind of the church, which can err and be wanting. These same sayings are sometimes understood of the first kind, of which Paul saith, that they shall cleave unto the doctrine of devils.

025 These parables clearly show how the angels gather and build up the other kind of church out of the third, and that some wise virgins who are in the third belong to the other.

26 Sixthly, that they have said in the tenth article, if it be otherwise, that the body of Christ cannot be without the blood, and the blood without the body, must be utterly rejected and destroyed, because their drivel and poems are wholly and manifestly at variance with the first article of our Christian faith, which teaches and confesses an Almighty God.

027 For God being omnipotent is able to give us the body without the blood, and the blood without the body, that Christ may yet live, and that the essence of his body and blood may be unharmed.

028 As to the other, they confirm the error of Zwingli and Carlstadt. For if the body and blood of Christ cannot be specially given to us in the Lord's Supper, much less can they be in different places at the same time and at once, since it is more contrary to nature to be in different places at the same time and at once than that his body and blood should be given to us, each specially.

029 And though there be no body without blood, yet it doth not follow that they are at liberty and permitted to institute any new thing in the church apart from and contrary to the commandment of Christ, as was said in the first article. For though Christ, when he instituted Holy Communion, knew well how it should be with his body and blood, yet he established and confirmed that sacrament which he instituted. Therefore, it can also be said here that the disruption or destruction of this order instituted by God cannot come from faith, and therefore must be sin, Rom. 4, for no one can believe that this is not against God's command.

(30) Seventhly, also in the 11th article, as all other statutes of men, so also the Canon of both sexes 2c. may be easily rejected and refuted, because they have not hitherto proved, nor will they hereafter be able to prove and show, that it is founded in Scripture.

031 Eighthly, enough has been said and done about the twelfth article, and so they must be asked: which part is making vain efforts and wasting time?

32 Similarly, in the thirteenth article, we hold of the same points, that we believe what we ought to believe, and that all is but a dispute of words. For they call a sacrament a visible sign of invisible grace. If by sacraments they understand only such signs as communicate and present to him who uses them the signified things written in the Word of God, then there are only two sacraments, namely, baptism and the Lord's Supper.

033 But if they also understand other signs by them, which are only signs, and yet give or present nothing, then the sacraments will be more than a thousand, let alone seven; and even the ancient popes did not count them more than six, therefore in this case it is easy to answer.

34. in the 14th article we may thus answer the adversaries: that the faithful ministers of the Word and of the Church are not called and chosen by spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, but by GOD Himself, Christ saying, "Ask the LORD to send laborers into His harvest."

035 If therefore they be called of God, as Paul saith, it is well; but if he will have it done by men, as mediators, the power of election is in the church, as it is written, Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. And do not the ecclesiastical authorities

They are to appoint or confirm pastors and ecclesiastics, as far as they have to do with them because of one part, namely income.

(36) To the twenty-first article it may be replied, that the Scriptures speak not of dead saints, but of living saints; and that the opinions of calling upon the dead cannot be proved and expounded by any sayings of the Scriptures.

(37) What is objected on account of Cyprian may be refuted in the same way as Augustine refutes the teacher of the art of speech, Orsseoniuin 1^. 2. 6. 72. refuted; and though it were certain that the saints supplicate GOD for us, yet it would not follow that it was necessary to call upon them. For Paul says, there is but One Mediator; but they, according to their known impudence and boldness, teach the contrary, and thus bring many mediators into the way.

Of both shapes.

038 Of both forms of the sacrament it is not necessary to suppose that the breaking of bread signifies the holy supper. For the history of Eli's sons, who lost the priesthood because of fornication and other shameful lives, means nothing more than this: It will happen that our priests, too, will be expelled from the church and deposed from office because of their shameful lives in the celibate state, but that others who live piously and chastely will be promoted in their place, who, according to Christ's word and institution, will distribute both forms of the sacrament to all pious and Christian souls; and that, on the other hand, the impure priests will be condemned to only one form, to the perpetual remembrance of the unholy state apart from marriage. Apart from this, nothing else follows from this erroneous opinion and belief of theirs, if anything is to follow or be concluded from it.

39. for this reason it is not necessary to take up and keep the host (or wafer), since the priest has daily power to consecrate (or bless), as is evident from äseret. äe eonseerations, ckist. 25. rsluturn.

Of the priestly marriage.

(40) That they condemn and forbid priestly marriages as unclean is evident, because they have no grounds on which to excuse and defend their action; so they must be opposed by the chapter, "The Spirit saith plainly," 2c. and, "Be fruitful and multiply," 2c. It is a creation, not a commandment, and for this reason it penetrates more sharply.

From the fair.

41 The popes have nothing to defend the mass, but in this they are quite ridiculous and insipid, that they interpret the words "to do" and "to sacrifice" in the same sense, and that in all three languages. The sacrifices that are slaughtered are hewn from one another, and prepared in other ways before the sacrifice, so that the word "to do" may well apply; but therefore to do and to sacrifice is not one as much as the other. But if this be so, it follows that the apostles did not keep the Lord's Supper rightly, for it is evident that they did not sacrifice, since Christ says, "This do," and not, "I will do.

042 Likewise, if Christ gave out one figure at Emmaus, and it be a sacrifice, how may they be so bold as to forbid in decrees the acting of one figure only?

Of monastic vows.

(43) Nor have they been able to produce anything worthwhile concerning the vows of the monasteries. The king of Arragon serves as an example, that it is not divine right to keep the monastic vows, for otherwise no one could remit or absolve anything from them.

44 Likewise (the word): "Not all grasp this" 2c. (must be held against them); and even if one were to let all their grimaces and poems rest in their place, it is nevertheless more than too well known to all how the monks and nuns have lived hitherto and still live, and what vices of unchastity are going on among them.

045 The spiritual power and jurisdiction consist in preaching, the right administration of the sacraments, binding and loosing, and the punishment of manifest and reprehensible iniquities by excommunication; for otherwise they can obtain no other judicial power from the scriptures; but such no man will take from them, nor want to take from them.

46 Finally, since her imperial majesty not only considers this unfounded answer to be something certain and founded in sacred Scripture, but also refuses to hear others, the most advisable thing seems to be to bring to her imperial majesty's mind most earnestly and diligently that it is not for them to order or command anything in this matter. For it is written, "Pray unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." From this it is clearly evident that the church has its own affairs and business, in which the imperial majesty does not rule or speak and command at his own discretion.

can. And no one will deny that this matter is of such a nature, as the emperor himself has confessed in various letters. And even if he had some power in this matter, which he is entitled to by law, he would not have to compel us by force, but would have to convict us with the word of God; which Philip Melanchthon will be able to explain and explain more from the 14th chapter to the Romans, just as we have also, since we have been together, often and extensively spoken of this, and also at the recent Imperial Diet at Speier have acted long and broadly on this matter.

1081 Luther's Letter to the Clerk of the City of Nuremberg, Lazarus Spengler. August 28, 1530.

This letter is found in German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 433; in the Jena (1566) vol. V, p. 139; in the Eisleben, vol. II, p. 18; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 268; in the Leipziger, vol. XX, p. 183; in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 193; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 158; in Hausdorf, Leben Spenglers, p. 57, and in Chyträus, p. 172 b. Latin in Coolostiuus, tona. lll, toi. 62 b and in Buddeus, x>. 199.

Grace and peace! Honorable, prudent sir and friend, I have heard from your writing how sincerely you are moved that ours at Augsburg have gone a little too far. But I have already written about it once, and now I am writing again, hoping that it will not be necessary. For even though Christ may be a little weak, he is not therefore cast from his throne.

I have commanded the matter to God, and I have kept it in my hand so finely that no man may forgive me anything in it, nor may I neglect it, as long as Christ and I remain one. For if any thing should be left undone (as I am not), well, the cause is not lost, but a new war is begun, that our adversaries may be fully persuaded how honestly they have acted. For there will be nothing left but and above the gospel, which part insiäius keep the field. For in the reservation of the gospel there are other insiäius, for the adversaries now and then can reproach us; Hum guiä 68t supientia bomiiiis eoatru Osiim?

[For what is the wisdom of men against God? Therefore be content in your hearts: we will not yield anything against the gospel. But if ours yield aught against the gospel, the devil shall enter into that part; ye shall see it. The ^. uConsent s28. Aug.) Anno 1530.

Martinus Luther, v.

1082 Luther's letter to Justus Jonas of Sept. 20, 1530, in which he writes that he is not at all satisfied with the means of composition.

This letter is found handwritten in the 6od. den. b., toi. 126 and in Aurifaber, vol. ill, p. 98. According to the Jena manuscript in Buddeus, p. 206; in des Flacius lateinischer Briefsammlung; in Coelestiuus, toin. lll, col. 88, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 169. German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 433b; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 146; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 276, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 195. German in Chyträus, p. 453, and Latin, x. 311.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace! From your last letters I have understood, my dear Jonas, that you did not consent to what was demanded by the adversaries, and I have heard this with joy, and I expect daily that you will return, whether cursed [by the papists] or blessed. But, behold, in the meantime thunders and lightnings have come to me from some of our own, great and many, that ye have betrayed things, and for the sake of peace would concede more. Against this I say, I know that it has been written by ours that the means (eonäitionos) proposed by the adversaries have been rejected, and that the matter has been brought anew before the emperor. On this I stand, I believe. But since those so constantly and obstinately urged and cried out that Luther also was attracted to you, who would allow you all such things, and that more danger threatened the cause from you than from the adversaries, and it was a greater task to restrain you among yourselves than to act against the enemies: they have driven me to these words:

1) Instead of Ollinia in De Wette we have assumed oausain with Flacius and Buddeus.

"If it be so, then the devil hath wrought a pretty division among us." For I cannot suffer the conditions which you have entitled with the very sweet word, "Inexorable, indefeasible means," even if an angel from heaven were to press upon them and command them. For how do the adversaries deal otherwise than that they will not yield to us even a hair's breadth, but that we should not only admit the Canon, the Masses, the One Form, the celibate state, and the jurisdiction hitherto in use, but also confess that they have taught rightly, killed rightly, and done everything rightly, and have hitherto been falsely accused by us. That is, they have justified themselves by our own testimony, but want to condemn us, which is not merely a recantation, but to curse ourselves twice and thrice, and to bless them. But what shall I longer speak to thee of these things? as if ye yourselves did not see these exceeding infamies, and the insolence of those people, which is so abominable that it ought not at any time to be consigned to oblivion. And what would it be needful to provide so many means, if we would? Let us give them alone the Canon, let us give them alone the Anglican Mass: either of these two will be enough to deny our gauze doctrine, and to raise up that of those people. Next, if the bishops be given the former jurisdiction, all things are still more fully conceded; to be sure, while they remain enemies of the Gospel, they will tolerate preachers of the Gospel! But that this should be written by me, I am compelled to do so, as I have said, by the impetuous and vehement letters of ours; it is only to serve me as a testimony that I have written to you. For you know that I indicated beforehand how far, in my opinion, jurisdiction could be granted to the bishops, and reminded you sufficiently that you should not give more than you had 1) and to the prince himself I answered at that time extensively and particularly; but I tell fairy tales to the deaf. Therefore do me to know, my dear Jonas, whether more has happened in the meantime, which I would not like to see.

1) See Docs. No. 1058 and 1062.

For I do not see what harm can come from what has been done so far since the last letters, since the matter has again been referred back to the Emperor. But see to it that you do not do anything that might cause division among ourselves. Peace may be as great in our eyes as it can be, but the author of peace and the arbiter of wars is greater than peace, and more to be revered than peace. And it is not for us to suppose future wars; it is for us simply to believe and confess. I do not write this because I suspect that you will concede something, but the almost frightening vehemence of the letters with which ours have castigated me compels me to fear even where everything is exceedingly certain. Henceforth I too will not yield a hair's breadth to the adversaries, since I see how these exceedingly hopeful and wicked men play their game with us and mock us, puffed up and secure by our weakness. And I truly know the character of Eck, which is not by art, but by nature, so laid out that he is wont to lead away those who deal with him from the point in dispute and the cause at hand, until he tempts them into some snare against the cause. But enough of this.

I am almost bursting with anger and indignation. But I pray that you will cease this action, and desist from dealing with them, and return. They have the confession, they have the gospel. If they will, let them; if they will not, let them go to their own place. "If there be war, let it be; we have asked and done enough." The LORD hath prepared them for a sacrifice, to recompense them according to their works. But he will save us his people, even from the destruction of Babylon. Forgive me, I beseech thee, my dear Jonas, that I have poured into thy bosom this burden of my heart. But what I write unto thee, that write I unto all. May the Lord Jesus bring you back healthy and strong, and may he make you happy, amen. From the desert, September 20, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

1083: Hieronymus Baumgärtner's Letter to Lazarus Spengler. The 13th of Sept. 1530.

From the original printed in Joh. Friedr. Mayers älksertat. äs lenitats kick!. Llelnnektkonis, p. 40, from it (without the conclusion) in Salig's Hist. der Augsb. Conf., lib. II, 6Up. 8, p. 321.

To the honorable, wise Lazarus Spengler, town clerk at Nuremberg.

My kind willing service before. Dear Mr. Clerk of the Council! I cannot refrain from telling you, in good faith, what I consider the action of this Diet to be, as much as it affects faith. God grant that I am not found to be a true prophet in this. And first of all, it is not known to you from all the actions that have taken place so far what has happened to our part, now through this devil and then through another devil, who disguise themselves in a good form, even at times in the guise of angels of light, and transform themselves. Although the devil has never obtained his will, nor has the means proposed by our part ever been publicly accepted, we find so much that at present the opinion is still to bring such means into the parting for granted; and although this does not happen, they have never done any act in vain, but have always wrung something from us, which we have granted to yield. They will keep this indulgence for themselves, and one day they will make use of it when it is most inconvenient for us. God, however, has decreed by grace that the confession be given out and handed over once, otherwise our theologians would have long since confessed another, as they would gladly do if they were followed, even though they are unequal to one another. Philip has become more childish than a child. Brentius is not only clumsy, but also coarse and rough. Heller 1) is full of fear; and these three have made the pious margrave quite mad and fainthearted; they persuade him what they want, although I notice that he would gladly do right. The pious reeve 2) must have much spoken of him in his absence, as: if he were still here, so many good and peaceful things would not have been accomplished so far. The Elector has no one who understands this trade, except the one Doctor Bridges; but he has been brought to the point that he now also acts with worries, because he has no support from anyone. For the other Saxon theologians are not allowed to speak publicly against Philip, since he is the one who has the

1) "Heller" is the margravial chancellor of Brandenburg. 2) Georg Vogler, chancellor of Onolzbach.

He stretched out his head in such a way that he recently said to the chancellor of Lüneburg: "Whoever may say that the next means handed over are not Christian is lying as a villain. To which he was answered: He that saith the contradiction 3) 2c. And besides this, one does not cease to disparage in many ways those who show themselves Christian and brave in this, as then the Hessians, who have kept themselves quite well and honestly in this, have been publicly accused before us; see to it that we are also treated in the same way. In sum, if we do not soon receive a harsh, ungracious farewell from Imperial Majesty, then we would be in danger. Majesty, we would not be let go until we were brought into the fish traps, so that we would forfeit God's grace and not gain the emperor's. For the being has hitherto granted steadily: when often the princes with each other, then one comes ridden to the Elector, tells him how he means the matter faithfully and well 2c. He has understood this or that from the Emperor, and if one escaped alone in this or that piece 2c., the matter could still be helped. Philippus is there immediately, puts articles, glosses the 2c., that is then carried about in the meantime by Heller and Brenzen also in the margrave; if one then requires us to it and we do not let ourselves thus the pre-cooked porridge well taste, then it is of an unwillingness, and the theologians run around, say, we would not like to suffer peace, as if peace would be certainly to be received by our yielding. They only want to hit with the landgrave, whom they really disparage in this. What good must come of it in the end among ourselves, you must assume as an experienced man. For this reason I can again think of nothing useful, for I will soon depart. If it now goes out the rough way, as the emperor intends, then it is to be feared that the gospel will be taken from us by force, as we well deserve; and although this is highly burdensome, it is nevertheless easier to answer to God, than that we should freely grant arbitrary ways, by which it would be stolen from us with stratagems. Therefore, it is necessary to call upon God diligently to help the matter Himself, for it is truly beyond human reason. ksriit Isx a proplretis st 8upi6ntia a 8api6ntidu8. Some Schnepf still has a beak to sing Christianly and steadily, for which reason he has often been mocked scürriliter by others. Outside of him, for the sake of all theologians, we already wanted to be one with the Widertheil. I have told you all this.

3) To add: namely, that they are Christian, he is a villain.

as one who would like to see things well, no less than I, may not leave it undisclosed. I wish to express my willingness to serve Mr. Hieronymus Ebner, otherwise you will know how to behave towards others for the sake of the persons named herein. God grant us all his peace. Date Augsburg, Tuesday the 13th of September, Anno 1530.

Please, if you have a spare copy of the booklets from the school, send it to me by post for the money.
Hieronymus Baumgärtner.

1084. Philipp Melanchthon's Letter to Luther. Sept. 1, 1530.

This letter is found in Oü^trueus, p. 30ö; in Ooelestinus, torn. III, col. 63, and in the 6orp. Rec. vol. ii, 335.

Translated from the Latin.

To D. Martin Luther, his very dear father..,
Three days ago we concluded our conversation. For the means of comparison of the One Form of the Sacrament, of the Canon,
of the private mass, likewise of the celibate state, we do not want to accept. Now the matter has been brought before the emperor once again, so that I cannot know what will happen. Let us only ask Christ to guide the Emperor's heart to preserve peace, of which we are now in great need, not only we, but all of Germany.

You cannot believe how hateful I am to the Nurembergers, and I do not know what others are, for the sake of the jurisdiction restored to the bishops. In this way, our people are only fighting for their rule, not for the Gospel. Baumgärtner wrote to me: "I may have been bribed by the Roman pope with so much money, but no better way could have been devised to restore papal rule than the one we have done. I have not fahxed or dropped any doctrinal articles at this time. Only they were angry about the worldly things, which are not ours to take away from the episcopal power. I hope we will soon know what conclusion the Emperor will come to. Farewell. On the day of Aegidii [Sept. 4, 1530].

Philip.

Chapter thirteen, section nine.

Of the Emperor's action with the Protestant estates and further attempt at a settlement by various deputies sent to them.

A. How the Emperor personally summoned all princes, princes and estates on Sept. 7, 1530, and what happened there.

1085. lecture, in the emperor's presence by Count Palatine Frederick to the Protestants. 7 Sept. 1530.

The four following documents are from Müller's Historie, lib. III, 6ÄP. 33, p. 842. also in Chyträus, Historie der Augsb. Conf., p. 457. Compare Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 391.

It would have been Her Imperial Majesty's Majesty had entirely hoped that they would respond to Her Imperial Majesty's many kind admonitions. Majesty's manyfold friendly admonition, after having delivered
The two princes, who have made this request to her, have agreed with her Majesty to settle this matter in its entirety. And although her Majesty hoped for this in vain, her Majesty nevertheless graciously granted, at the request of several princes, that a committee be appointed by both parties and that a settlement be reached by the same, about which her Majesty again raised new hopes for a good agreement. Now, however, Her Majesty hears with great displeasure and complaint that they are at odds with the others in the most important articles, of which Her Majesty is not aware. For her Majesty could not have thought that they, who are so small in number, should introduce such an innovation against the ancient and holy usage of the whole Christian Church, and adopt a peculiar doctrine, which was taught by the Pope, her Majesty, King Ferdinand, and all the princes and estates of the Holy Land.

The kingdom, indeed the whole world's kings, and all their forefathers' doctrine and faith would be alien to them, and they would be allowed to remain so. But because they now desire to establish a concilium and a peaceful parting, her Majesty, who is inclined to peace, would be obliged to request the pope and other Christian potentates that a concilium be announced as soon as the place is settled; her Majesty also wanted to take this upon herself and promise them; but with this assurance that in the meantime they will also adhere to the religion to which her Majesty and other princes are attached. For that their Majesties should assemble a council, and no less leave the matters thus undiscussed, nor resist this innovation, nor abolish the same, every one could easily see how difficult such a thing would be for their Majesty and the others.

1086 Answer to the Protesting Estates. Sept. 7, 1530.

See the previous number.

You should have sent Imperial Majesty. Majesty's report with all due respect. And when Her Majesty had first reported how they, Her Grace and the others, had raised new sects and laws, and had undertaken to separate themselves from Her Majesty and other Christian estates, that they should have refrained from doing so, they gave this "most humble" report to His Majesty: that they were in no doubt where His Majesty had raised new sects and laws, and that they should have refrained from doing so. Majesty this "most humble" report: that they are in no doubt where Imperial Majesty is to be found. Majesty of all the actions as they occurred in the Committee, they would not find, if God wills, that they have raised some new sect against the Holy Scriptures and the Gospel, even if their graces should be sorry that they should have committed some new sect; Much less would it have been found in their hope that, according to God's word, they would not have wanted to compare themselves in the committees; for what the princes and others, who were appointed to the committees, would have indicated, that is clear from the Scriptures, which they delivered to the committee, which would undoubtedly have been delivered to the Emperor's Majesty. Majesty would have been handed over. That the Imperial Majesty also offered to set up a council and to take possession of the pope in it 2c., her electoral and princely graces together with their co-convenors expressed their thanks. graces, together with their kinsmen, in all submissiveness, in this way that they would be submissive in the hope that Imperial Majesty would establish and promote such a common, free, Christian council, also with the moderation of the Pope.

and in the Empire of the German Nation, as the decrees of the previous Imperial Diet and Her Majesty's approval of them, without distinction, also expressly and clearly state. For the aforementioned agreements, which speak without distinction and refer articles and disagreements on both sides to a general, free, Christian concilium as the proper way to act and decide such matters, do not impose on their electoral and princely graces, nor on the others, the right to act and decide such matters. Nor do they impose on the others to restore before the Council the abuses that have fallen by God's word and order, since they would not know how to do so with God and conscience, and it would be burdensome and quite impossible for their graces and for them. Thus, the three, who had been granted by their electoral and princely graces and princely graces had been ordered to the committee of the six, further reasons why their electoral and princely graces, together with their relatives, should not have done such a thing. They have indicated further reasons why their electoral and princely graces, together with their relatives, would not be obliged to do so, nor would they be able to do so in conscience. Majesty and a free Christian council of legal form a year ago, and against the decree, so that next there at Speier in some points against the abuses, which fell with their churl and princely lords and their relatives. and their relatives, has made innovations and wants to be attested. Where Her Majesty wished to insist on such a request, as they did not want to provide themselves with it, it would be contrary to the reported appeal and protest as 'innovation and inappropriate to the rights. For this reason they have most humbly requested that, after notification of the parting, and the Emperor's permission thereupon, they be allowed to proceed. M. to graciously promote and establish a general, free, Christian concilium in the Empire of the German Nation, outside of the desired settlement. And to graciously understand all this to their unavoidable necessity, the more their churlish and princely graces would also be the other kings. Graces also the other Caiferl. Majesty in all submissiveness with body and goods.

1087 Imperial replica to the Protestants by George of Truchsess. Sept. 7, 1530.

This document is found not only at the locations indicated in No. 1085, but also in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. II, p. 395.

The Roman Imperial Majesty should have sent the Elector of Saxony, the other princes, and the absent embassies, and their elector and princely sovereigns a letter to the Elector of Saxony. Gn. The Roman Emperor has graciously heard the answer of the cities, and has noted it on three points.

First of all, that their Electoral and Princely Grace apologized for the sect and new doctrine. They apologized and pleaded with the attracted sects and new teachings that they would not like to do anything or allow others to do anything that would be against God's word and the Christian church, and they should be heartily and faithfully sorry to separate themselves from the Christian church.

On the other hand, that their electoral and princely graces are against the Emperor. Grace towards Imperial. Majesty of the most gracious grant and promise of a concilii to be undertaken most conducively in subservience.

And thirdly, as to the difficulty and impossibility of their Electoral and Princely Grace to restore the old customs of the church in the meantime. Their Majesties have objected that in the meantime the old customs of the church should be restored to a council and all things brought back to their former state. Majesty had ordered him, Mr. Georg Truchsefsen, to report to her Electoral and Princely Grace. Her Electoral and Princely Grace.

And namely, as far as the first point is concerned, that Her Imperial Majesty has diligently considered all points and articles, as well as all actions, as they were taken by the fourteen persons for the first time, and subsequently by the six in the committee; but that the matters are much differently arranged and explained, than Her Electoral and Princely Grace have allowed themselves to be heard. and that their princely graces are still in many respects in the matter. They could not be sufficiently surprised that the members of the committee had gone so far and so deeply into the matter, and that they had given up so much, and yet the other part had neither considered nor wanted to accept it.

For the other point, as their Electoral and Princely Grace together with their relatives have drawn to a concilium without distinction and therefore to imperial agreements. Together with their relatives on a concilium without distinction and therefore on the imperial agreements, their electoral and princely lords and their relatives could not present or control the agreements made at the next imperial congresses held at Speier. and their kinsmen could not present or control the agreements made at the next imperial congresses held at Speier, as in those their lordships and princes and their co-associates could not present or control the agreements made at the next imperial congresses. They do not want to seal or execute them, but have protested against them and appealed to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty; which protestation and appeal Imperial Majesty considered a nullity. Majesty regarded as a nullity, and for that reason let it rest in its unworthiness, and for that reason her Electoral and Princely Grace did not bother with it. Therefore their electors and princes would not have to avail themselves of it, for at that time the lesser should have pursued the greater part.

And thirdly, because their Electoral and Princely ...together with their kinsmen...

Imperial. Majesty and Papal Holiness, Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, and other Christian kings, authorities and potentates in such small numbers, respect and hold their Imperial Majesty responsible for the fact that the lesser number would follow the greater. Maj. that the lesser number would follow the greater. Therefore, once again, it is the wish of Her Imperial Majesty that Her Imperial Majesty be granted. Maj.'s request that his Majesty's electors and princes... His Majesty's electors and princes discover their mind and give a clear understanding of whether their electors and princes will suffer further action. and Princely Grace intend to suffer further action or to rest on their answer; for if further action were to be permitted, Imperial Majesty would endeavor in his own person to have it done. Majesty would strive in his own person to think of ways and means that would be conducive and conducive to peace and unity in the meantime of a Council, and so that they would sit and remain with each other in good peace; but where their Elector and Princely Grace oppose this, they would not be able to do so. If, however, their Elector and Princely Grace should oppose, refuse, and insist upon it, their Imperial Majesty would still have to consider themselves as a "concilii". Maj. would then nevertheless have to show himself to be a priest and patron of the church; and since it is now somewhat late, 1) Imperial Majesty wanted to give her electoral and princely authority to the church. Majesty wished to grant her churlish and princely grace, together with her relatives. Grace, together with their relatives, until tomorrow at one o'clock, and at the same time they would appear again and give an answer.

1088. of the Protestants by the chancellor Brück the emperor put answer. The 9th Sept. 1580.

This document, in addition to the locations given in No. 1085, is also found in Govlsstinus, tom. Ill, tol. 75, and in Gtivtravus, x>. 314. This account is according to Brück's Geschichte, p. 139; another relation according to the Margravial Braudenburg Acts at Nuremberg, No. 39, Bl. 256 is found in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 4l0. On September 8 this letter was to be delivered to the Emperor, but by the Emperor's order the reply was postponed until September 9, when it was delivered orally by D. Brück.

Her Majesty has recently had it told, among other things, how all articles and actions of both committees have been reported sufficiently; but Her Majesty does not consider things to have been arranged in such a way that this part could have been heard. So this part would have known for certain, would also have been in the committee, where otherwise her Majesty would have been actually reported of all the same action as that which took place in the committees, and should also, to top it off, have been further reported by bestowal of divine power.

1) By D. Heller's hand is written in the margin: "Eodem die umb 7 oder 8 Horn In der nacht."

The Holy Father and the Holy Roman Emperor, by the grace of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, further decree in a common free concilio on the day of light that the doctrine, and especially the articles created in this part, are irrefutably founded in God's word, command and order, and that their sovereign and princely graces do not separate themselves from God's word and order in any way, nor do they allow any new laws to contradict it. They should also be heartily and faithfully sorry, if they had been or would later be convicted of this by God's word, that they should show themselves to be separated from the holy Christian church for a moment. For this reason, Imperial Majesty did not want to be ungracious. Majesty did not want to feel any ungracious surprise if the princes and others who had been appointed to the committees in this part had not been able to follow God's clear word, order and command in some of the proposals mentioned. And when the Imperial. Majesty gave her Electoral and Princely for the other point, and among other things, this opinion that Her Imperial Majesty is not a little astonished. Majesty is not a little astonished that the churons and princes, together with their kinsmen, want to draw to the next Speierian parting, if they have protested against it and appealed from it, which protestation and appeal their Imperial Majesty considers a nullity. Majesty considered null and void, and therefore let it rest in its worthlessness, may their churf. and princely lordships and the same be granted the right of appeal. and the same of their kinsmen should not have to help themselves to it, as they should have pursued it at that time, as the lesser to the greater part. Hereupon the princes and princesses, together with their kinsmen, have humbly notified their Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, of their intention to do so. Maj. that they protest against the aforementioned next Speierian decree, and that they further appeal to their Imperial Maj. Maj. and a common, free, Christian council, for the unavoidable and urgent reasons that have been forfeited at length in the protestation and appeal mentioned above; and, as the princes and rulers of this part may not otherwise remember, with this difference, as far and as the reported Speierian act, together with the parting, would be contrary to the doctrine and customs that are used and practiced among them by divine word, further or otherwise. In addition, it would be a great honor to know that the electors and princes have not so far and so completely concealed all the acts that took place at Speier: the electors and princes of this part would have been the greater part of their imperial majesty, as their allies. Majesty, as their most gracious Lord and Emperor, to subservience with the rendering of urgent aid, to resistance of the hereditary enemy, Christianity.
of the same name and blood, of the Turk; item, with entertainment of regiment and court of chamber, nothing less than other electors, princes, and estates submissively shown. Thus the Electors and Princes of this part know no other than that of their Imperial Majesty. Majesty's most gracious granting of the Concilii, which they had yesterday 1) been obtained by Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Instruction at the beginning of the aforementioned Imperial Diet at Speier, by Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Governor, Royal Dignities of Hungary and Bohemia, 2c. together with the orator ordered by their Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and the orators and commissioners appointed by them, and that some action had been taken before they appealed; and that such action had been submitted to their Imperial Majesty's most gracious permission. Majesty's most gracious grant has been directed primarily to the partings of the preceding ones proclaimed and held by Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty's Imperial Diet, in which it was unanimously acted and resolved to establish a general, free, Christian Council in the German Nation. That, nevertheless, the Christian Princes and Princes of this part have not been able to accept the foregoing agreements, together with the notification of their Imperial Majesty's most gracious permission. Majesty's most gracious permission (where they nevertheless should not have to comfort themselves at all of the next Speier farewell), namely the farewells at Nuremberg in the fourth and twentieth, then at Augsburg in the 25th, and at Speier in the 26th year. For this reason, the princes and lords, together with their kinsmen, hoped and did not doubt that their imperial majesty would have the opportunity to report to the court. Majesty would graciously consider the occasion of their necessary protest and appeal as a right-loving emperor; in particular, that such an appeal to their Imperial Majesty and a common Christian authority would be granted. Majesty and a common Christian council: for this reason Her Imperial Majesty would allow such an appeal to be made. Majesty would therefore graciously respect such an appeal, until due justification and vindication in the said council, which the Prince and Reigning Prince, together with their kinsmen, have offered to do there in case of necessity, in accordance with their lawful dignities. So also Elector, Princes and Cities without need to be, respect Imperial Majesty. Majesty with a dispute, whether they, as the lesser part, would have been obliged to follow the greater part in these matters at the next Imperial Diet at Speier, since this is one of the most important complaints and causes, for which they should appeal to Imperial Majesty and a Council. Majesty and to a council, of which they offered to do due justification in the said council.

1) on September 7. But because the communication of this answer by the Emperor was postponed to September 9, it no longer fits.

Therefore, it is in the most humble hope, and especially since the above-mentioned imperial treaties are unconditional and outside the scope of what their Imperial Majesty had announced to them yesterday, that a common, free, Christian council will be agreed upon by their Majesty. Majesty yesterday ordered them to conclude on a common, free, Christian concilium, that Her Majesty would graciously promote and establish such a general, free, Christian concilium outside of such measure, therefore they also ask Her Majesty, as their most gracious Lord, in all subservience. But when Her Imperial Majesty Majesty finally requested of the Elector, the Princes, and their kinsmen that they discover their minds and give a clear understanding as to whether their sovereigns and fathers and they, the cities, would suffer any further action in the Articles, or whether they intended to rely on the previous decision, then Her Majesty wished to make an effort in her own person, and to consider ways and means that would be conducive to peace and unity in the meantime of a concilii 2c. Thus the Princes, Princes and their kinsmen thanked her Majesty, her most gracious Emperor, most humbly, with further notice: Her Imperial Majesty had undoubtedly heard from the report of the action of both committees that those, as Princes and others, who had been appointed to the said committees, had allowed themselves to be heard in the same committees to the utmost, and as much as they might consider that could be proposed by them for consideration; so they had also heard from Her K. Majesty that they had been appointed to the same committees. Majest. They would also have understood from Her Majesty's remonstrance that Her Majesty They would also have understood from Their Majesty's reproach that Their Majesty was displeased that the others of the committee were so far and deeply opposed to this part. Therefore, the Elector, Princes and related cities may well take care that nothing else happens with the further action to be taken on this matter than that their Imperial Majesty endeavors to have the matter resolved, and that others are to be appointed to do the same. Maj. would be troubled, and other affairs of the Empire would be delayed in vain. But to act on a peaceful arrangement in the middle of the Concilii, so that external peace may be preserved, this is what the Lords and Princes with their kinsmen have hitherto humbly offered to do, as they have then once again completely humbled themselves to their Imperial Majesty. Majesty, to take action on this matter with the Princes, Princes and Estates of the other part, to arrange and settle it together; and that they also want to keep it in the meantime, as they had hoped and dared to answer to God and K. Majesty in the much-touched Concilio, in the most subservient hope and consent.

Her Majesty would graciously show his support for a general, free, Christian Council in the German nation by means of the above-mentioned agreements. Thus, they would also command their submission to Her Majesty, as their most gracious Emperor and Lord, with the offering of their owing, also willing obedience, and their most submissive services, with the extension of body and goods 2c.

B. Of Melanchthon's correspondence with a certain friend of the Chancellor of the Bishop of Liège.

1089. two letters from a certain friend of the Liège Chancellor to Melanchthon. Sept. 4 and 5, 1530.

By Oo6l68tiuu8, tom. III, lol. 66, and in 6orp. kek. , vol. II, 341 and 343. - The bishop of Liège was Count Eberhard of the Mark; his chancellor ^.6Aickiu8 aThe chancellor's unknown friend is according to Förstemann's assumption (Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 380) Otto Beckmann, formerly professor in Wittenberg, and at the Diet of Augsburg 1530 envoy of the Bishop of Osnabrück.

Translated into German.

I.

I. My dear Mr. Philip! I have spoken carefully several times, both in jest and in earnest, with the Chancellor of Liège on our behalf, who said that he had passed on to his master your concern about the articles that should be left until a future Concilium, and that he was very anxious to keep the peace. But he does not see how these articles can be accepted without offence by learned, honest, unsuspicious men, or, as you write, dissimulated, especially from the marriage of priests, from the Mass which is customary with us. If these, as you wish, were to be abandoned, then, to use your own words, the perpetual sacrifice and also the whole priesthood would be abolished. So he demands of you that in certain articles you make a true and pure confession of yourselves and yours, and say briefly and sincerely what you believe. He fears, as I suspect, that there is something evil behind it, and that you pretend something else with your mouths than you believe in your hearts. Neither is there any lack of such, which say evil things to the sincere.

He would not like to be accused of a careless disposition by the Emperor, much less do anything that would not contribute to the general peace and unity of the Church. Maj., much less undertake anything that would not contribute to the general peace and unity of the church.

(2) I understand that he loves both princes dearly, and therefore does not want them and their principalities to come into danger, but rather that they should compare themselves with the Emperor at this Imperial Diet, if only yours would also consider a means so that this may be done without annoyance before the world and without contempt for the Emperor, of whom you yourselves are convinced how highly he holds religion and church customs. This much is certain, according to my insight, he will not be able to be dissuaded from the old use of the mass in any way or manner, nor will he change his mind by persuasion, least of all by abolishing the private mass altogether, not even among your people.

(3) Therefore, my dear Philip, since you are considered the most distinguished of your part here, the bishop of Liège demands of you that you indicate only in a few words what you have recently done widely, how your public masses should and could be accepted with the approval of the imperial majesty and the papal legate (with whom the bishop of Liège has also spoken about your cause these days), and that private masses remain unabolished. Majesty and the papal legate (with whom the bishop of Liège has also spoken on your behalf these days), and that private masses should remain unabolished, but in such a way that the mob does not take advantage of the clergy who want to say mass. Consider, my dear Philip, that the general welfare, unity in the church, and calming of the minds is not only of service to you and yours, but also to the princes. I do not know whether I may say that the Emperor already has the sword in his hand, because every day he is more and more embittered by these and those, who otherwise cannot easily be harnessed; but then, once he is enraged, it is difficult to appease him.

4. I have also tried everything with the highest and most noble to make peace and preserve your honor. In some things you might see through your fingers, if there were not one circumstance or another in the way. Some say that some of you promise great things, but we believe that when it comes to war they will not dare to do a thing, but will soon turn aside this and that, abandon you in the midst of danger, and even become your enemies, whereas before they had made an effort to fight under your banner. And notwithstanding the assurance given, they will here and there plunder all, and to an all the greater
and inhuman defeat of yours, since the oath sworn to the emperor must serve them as an excuse and their procedure is considered by many to be right and praiseworthy out of a semblance of the greatest need. However, if they left you like this, you would have a lot to do, and many innocent people would be killed, as we have experienced more than once in our time. But I hope your cause may be settled without bloodshed, if you will act wisely. For I think that your public mass, at least the Latin mass, could be tolerated until a concilium, if only in the meantime the private masses were also read, and the priests, especially those who attend mass, were restored to their priesthood.

005 Beware, my dear Philip, lest any man have cause to say: This has been done by Philip's pretence. Be well, and greet your friends, especially Spalatin, who has sent me greetings in writing these days, in my name again in a friendly manner. September 4.

II.

To his dearest friend Philippus Melanchthon . to his own hands.

My dearest Philip! Yesterday, as I promised, I waited for you in St. George's Church, together with the Chancellor of Liège. I also recommended you to him in the best possible way as I was leaving, and explained to him how you were the one through whom peace could be established in the seemingly great danger, and the unity or at least the tranquillity of the Church could be restored, if some articles were accepted or left undecided until a future Concilium. To-day this man came to me and said that he had related our conversation to his Cardinal, and that he had answered very graciously and made known his desire for peace, if only the demands were not made too great. Be assured, my dear Philip, that I have tried my utmost out of an honest and righteous heart, so that only poor Germany, under the pretence of saving the evangelical truth, may not be afflicted with new disturbances and experience a far greater defeat than formerly in the miserable peasant uprising. And even if I were the very worst of men, you would not have to rely on any fraud or falsehood on my part, if only because at Wittenberg we have such a

(Z) just as I do not hope that you have ever been able to accuse me of any falsehood. It is only that I am too open-hearted in my joy, and that I gossip about many things at parties in jest, not out of malicious intent, but rather out of imprudence, of which it would perhaps be much more advisable to remain silent. No one has yet caught me in a lie or deception. I am not so far from the Wittenbergers, from whom I have enjoyed many a benefit, that I should not wish their cause to proceed happily, since I have at all times liked to see that everything was done by them in a modest way, not under the leadership of godless people in a seditious manner, and have not missed the simple evangelical sense in them, which does not deal with putting the world into turmoil. Therefore no one can or should suspect anything evil of me. If I am not able to do much with good progress, I would rather be regarded as a spectator in the meantime. I am not such a man as Philip should or could be deceived by; nor will your sincerity toward me permit me, as much as there is in me, to bring you to ruin or danger. The outcome will make it evident that I had no evil in mind, as some may suppose. The chancellor, if he can be trusted otherwise, seeks nothing else than the common peace of the church, even if it should be preserved by unjust means, that I use his own words. He adds that his Cardinal desires nothing else than to see the minds of the great united, especially in matters of faith, and peace established in the Church, indeed in the whole world, without bloodshed. I begged him that if the Cardinal, as a gentleman who is said to be unkind, should not be well disposed towards the sings to the Emperor, he would, according to his wisdom, for the sake of general tranquillity, appease him, perceive the present course, and think that things which have happened cannot be changed. And because I see that you alone are so concerned about peace, if it pleases you, draw up a few articles in which, in your opinion, something can be done, and send them to me so that I may send them to the Chancellor and ask him to take care of everything diligently and to inform me immediately what the Cardinal's attitude is at Liège. Fare you well. The 5th of September.

1) This confirms Förstemann's assumption that Otto Beckmann was the writer of these letters.

1090th Article, which Melanchthon sent to the above friend of the Chancellor of the Bishop of Liège on Sept. 5, 1530.

From Spalatin's copy in the common archive at Weimar RoZ- R, toi. 37,I7o. 2, Bl. 147. with several errors in Ooolostinus, torn. Ill, toi. 67. Latin also in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 381 and in Oorp. Rot. II, 345. German in Spalatin's Annals, p. 224. The chronology is according to Förstemann. We have corrected the text according to the Latin.

All that one admits in these articles appears clear from the writings so one has handed over.

Of both shapes.

Then we have excused those who take the one form alone. For since they have not the administration of the sacraments, they must take the sacrament as it is given them.

Therefore they take the one form alone without sin, and this excuse we are free to teach and preach. For hitherto we have also excused others, that they might have comfort for their consciences. But if we were to teach in general that one form should be required, it might be thought that we would hold the denial of the other form to be right. This we cannot do. We have also declared sufficiently that we do not want to give the one form to everyone without distinction, but only to those in whom we have noted that their consciences would be troubled to take both forms.

Of matrimony.

It is in the day that the prohibition of marriage grew entirely out of human rights, as the rights that have been invoked also testify. It is also the case today that the prohibition of marriage has not always been the same.

For there is a canon which says that the deacons remain in their church service if they have taken wives, and testifies that they are not able to keep chastity. But the priests resigned their office, and those who had taken wives were not therefore put under ban.

In two conciliar churches decrees and agreements were made that priests should not be forbidden to marry wives who had been taken before their priestly office.

But this notwithstanding, after that the pope Siricius forbade the priests to have wives, notwithstanding both previous conciliar separations and deacons.

crete. There have been many strange changes in this matter in Christendom. And such decrees have often been changed, not only in other nations, but also in German lands, as the histories testify. Therefore, if at this time, in view of the present occasion, such a prohibition of priestly marriages were to be alleviated, because it grew entirely out of human rights, the innovation would have a safer and better excuse, since the old decrees in this matter, which were in accordance with divine rights, have passed away.

For in this case ours have not done contrary to divine right.

Thus the necessity had to be taken into account. For many churches would have no pastors if married priests were to be deprived of their priestly office.

One would also have to think that the Christian religion would perish at the same ends if the pastors were deposed. Now it would be quick and unkind to let the whole religion, God's word and faith perish rather than to alleviate a few statutes or to see them at least through the fingers, when the same statutes, which are also burdensome in other respects, have been kept by very few priests in Christendom.

And it is a wonder that this statute is kept so swiftly and bitterly, as other innumerable statutes, for the sake of lesser causes, are eased and abated.

But this matter needs no disputation. For the matter speaks for itself, how hard this law is, and how few there are who keep it. Therefore it would have been right for this law to have given way to the divine law, which allows priests to marry as well as other people.

From the fair.

Messe halben has already been given an answer.

Namely, that ours keep the substantials and most noble parts of the Mass, as far as the Consecration is concerned.

But as for the other words, those who oppose them and those who oppose them indicate that they have some misunderstanding. For they put an interpretation on it that would not be necessary if the words of the Canon of the Mass were clear and loud enough.

But while ours teach that the application of the masses, and that the masses are to be said for good, comfort, and salvation, even to the

and not only to the living, but also to the dead, is contrary to the righteousness of the faith, as we have shown in our confession;

For this reason the words of the Canon are not read, from which the application of the masses is taken.

If we were to accept the words of the Application again, it would be as if we were condemning our own confession and doctrine.

Now we can by no means consent to this, contrary to our confession and the same reason.

Moreover, it is a matter of public record that there is not one canon held in the church everywhere, but in one church one canon and in another another canon. For this reason, the disparity of the canons does no harm to the faith.

Finally, because we do not teach against the faith, and we have offered such means as we believe to be just, we have provided that ours should not be further burdened against their consciences.

But since no agreement and peace can be made by the means to which we have offered ourselves, we ask that these matters be postponed until a future concilium, of which this German nation has been put off so often and so much, and that we now discuss how a peaceful arrangement can be decided and established until a future concilium.

1091. thirteen other articles, about which it is impossible to compare with the antithesis.

Latin at x. 323 and at 6o6l68tinu8, torn. III, col. 68. compare no. 1055. also in Oorp. Lkk, vol. II, 377.

Translated into German by Johann Frick.

The first, of justification, that we are justified before God by faith in Christ, not for our previous or subsequent works or merits, but by grace.

The other, that though good works be necessary, yet they merit not grace and righteousness; but faith taketh grace.

The third, that in confession the recital of all sins is not necessary.

The fourth, that though repentance be a necessary thing, yet for its sake sins are not remitted, but by faith are forgiven.

By this we believe the reckoning of sins, or the gospel. Therefore, in addition to repentance, faith must be added, which gives comfort in repentance and makes us certain that our sins are forgiven.

The fifth, that the canonical exercises of penance are not necessary for the remission of punishment.

1) The sixth, that for the true unity of the church not the equality of the statutes of men, but rather the agreement in the evangelical doctrine and in the use of the sacraments is necessary.

The seventh, that self-chosen worship, ordered without a divine command to merit grace, conflicts with the gospel and obscures the glory of Christ's merit.

The eighth, that the monastic vows and the services of the monks, which are instituted to the end that they should be a useful service to merit grace, are contrary to the Gospel.

The ninth, that though the statutes of the church, which may be kept without sin, and which are made for the sake of good order, are to be kept in the church out of love, to prevent offence, yet it is not to be supposed that they are a service necessary to salvation. And the bishops have no right to burden the consciences with such service. He, therefore, who refrains from such traditions without causing offence, does not sin.

The tenth, that because the invocation of the saints has no testimony in Scripture, it is an unwholesome and dangerous thing, and greatly diminishes the glory of Christ, whom Scripture presents to us as the only Mediator and Reconciler.

The eleventh, that those who will not admit both forms act contrary to the institution of the sacrament, without foundation in Scripture.

The twelfth, that the forbidden marriage of the clergy is contrary to the divine command, according to which, for the sake of fornication, every man shall have his own wife.

The thirteenth, that the Mass is not a work which, when applied to others, merits them grace *ex opere operato,* but that, according to the confession of the whole Church, the Lord's Supper is that sacrament by which grace is offered to him who receives it; which grace he really obtains, not by the mere outward work, but by faith, when he believes that grace and forgiveness of sins are offered to him there.

1) The sixth article of No. 1055 is omitted here, so only thirteen articles are counted here.

C. Of Duke Henry of Brunswick's conversation held with the Elector Prince of Saxony, Johann Friedrich, and the Chancellor Drück because of the monastery estates.

1092 Duke Henry of Brunswick's request to the Prince-Chancellor of Saxony and Chancellor Brück concerning the monastery estates.

The following three documents are found in Müller's Historie, lib. III, eap. 34, p. 858 ff.

He does not find anything else than that the Lutheran part must be allowed to stay with their articles until a concilium, as he therefore did not want to advise or help in any other way; however, while Imperial Majesty is being approached daily about monasteries, the Lutherans would like to consider whether it would not be expedient to keep the monasteries in the hands of the Emperor until a concilium. Majesty about the monasteries, the Lutherans would like to consider whether it would not be expedient to place the monasteries in the hands of Imperial Majesty until a concilium. Majesty's hands until a concilium.

1093. hereditary offer of Chur Saxony against Duke Heinrich of Brunswick because of the he united monasteries. 11 Sept. 1530.

This offer of inheritance is printed from Brück's Apology in Förstemann's "Archive", p. 150. A copy is found in the Margravial Brandenburg Acts at Nuremberg, p. 189. The time determination is according to Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 419.

Although for the sake of the monastery estates in the committee of the fourteen persons, His Elector's Grace also of the others, a favorable and sufficient notice and offer of their part has been made. The Elector of Saxony has given in writing to the committee set up for the supplications, and that for the sake of the monasteries it is not held by this part alone, but also by those who do not presume to follow this doctrine: nevertheless, so that God's word might not be denigrated, as if one sought on this part more one's own benefit than God's honor, His Electoral Grace would like to have the monasteries to be protected. Grace, for the prevention of such a condition, suffer a harmless sequestration, so that the same monasteries would be administered by secular honorable people of nobility and other of the princes' dominions, among which the monasteries are situated, and who would be patrons and advocates of such monasteries, so that the same monasteries would not be alienated in goods, interest, pensions, fees, also in competent woods; to whom a due salary would be paid for their effort.

together with the costs, also decreed to Imperial Majesty for the sake of the sale. Majesty of the sale, so that the same would not take place, and the patrons would at the same time be assigned duties, as one would have to unite in a form, for two years, in the hope that the General Council would be preceded in the meantime. They should also (in order to find out how such estates would be managed) give account and information to some of the patrons' deputies and those who have knowledge of their administration, but the advocate's right of attorney and other rights, which he has brought to such monasteries with services, consequences, prohibitions, and the like, are in all respects unrestricted and reserved. And that such sequestration, together with the steward's duty, on account of Imperial Majesty, has no effect. Majesty, for the duration of the two years in question, where between them the general, free, Christian Council has not preceded, without any further relaxation, shall be dead, unbundled, and cease, after the end of the two years, to turn the same into other Christian mild ways. Majesty would know how to procure the same with others who, as indicated above, presumed to be outside this part of the monasteries, so that equality would be maintained.

1094. counter-indication of Duke Henry of Brunswick, which after the Churprince of Saxony Departure 1) happened to the Chancellor Brück.

See No. 1092.

He did not want to hide his confidential opinion, which he also wanted to report to his lord, the Elector of Saxony, but that he would remain unreported: "After he had a speech with his elector's son, Duke Johann Frederick, he noted the imperial decree. After he had a talk with his son, Duke Johann Friederich, he noted Imperial Majesty's opinion on it. Majesty's opinion thereon: if innovations were to be made on this part, and everything were to be restored to the state in which things were before this discord, then Imperial Majesty would make a concilium. Majesty would make a concilium and not impose any punishment against this part of the estates, since it would be found that they had acted unjustly. If, however, they did not wish to make such restitution, Her Majesty would apply the same, and nevertheless also make a concilium, but if it were then found in a concilio that this part had acted unjustly, Her Majesty would then apply serious punishment. The aforementioned council should indicate this to the Elector of Saxony in a confidential opinion, so that he would think about what his Electoral Grace wanted to do. His Grace wanted to do.

1) The Churprince had departed from Augsburg on September 12. (Förstemanns Urkundenbuch, Vol. II, p. 450.)

D. From the Chancellor of Baden, Hieronymus Uhus, conversation with D. Drück and Philipp Melanchthon. The 10th of Sept. 1330

1095. lecture of the chancellor of Baden, against D. Brück and Melanchthon.

In Müller's History, Ii1>. Ill, eup. 35, p. 866 the four following documents are found from the unnamed uutor. upol. mtu.

Mr. Georg Truchsess, as a man of understanding, who likes peace and to see things well with all parties, who is also allowed to tell the king and some princes from time to time, more than others, sent for him on the previous Friday 2) at nine o'clock in the evening, and reported to him that things were not well with regard to the faith; for Imperial Majesty had offered to take further action in his own person against the Elector of Saxony and other of his electoral relatives. The Imperial Majesty had offered against the Elector of Saxony and other of his electoral relatives to take further action in his own person on the acts that had taken place in the committees, and not to let anything be lacking in all gracious diligence, so that these matters might be brought to Christian unity and peace; but the Elector of Saxony and his electoral relatives would not have done so. His Grace's kinsmen would have refused Imperial Majesty such proffered acts. Majesty had refused such offered actions, which would have greatly burdened Her Majesty, and it might perhaps happen that people would come to them who might have little opinion of peace on account of these matters, and that strife and all kinds of trouble might result for the Empire of the German Nation. For although Imperial Majesty Majesty would be a peaceful, benevolent Emperor, but nevertheless, since it would appear to her Majesty as if something were happening to her Majesty's contempt, as benevolent as her Majesty would otherwise be, she would again move violently in such a case. Now Mr. Georg Truchsess, as a good and born German, would not like it, if it were possible, to bring the matter to another way: for the two, as D. Brück and N. Philipp Melanchthon, could consider for themselves how it would be with Imperial Majesty, who would have given the Germans something to despise. Majesty, who would have little in their counsel of the Germans, so understanding as they were; the great multitude would be Spaniards and people of foreign nations, who would care little how the Germans fared. Because the Germans also do not want the Pope, France, and other foreign nations to have

2) This "Friday" seems to us to have been Sept. 9, on which Brück had given the Protestants answer, No. 1088, to the Emperor's bidding.

they might not see anything dearer, and they might faithfully advise them to do so, so that the Germans themselves would grow into each other and corrupt themselves. For this reason, Mr. George would have sent for him, the chancellor of Baden, as if he were known to him more than others, whom he also knew, and knew that he meant things no less well, and would have asked him to advise him how things might be brought about in other ways and to peace; for he had talked so much with the king today that he would have put up with him, as he would have put up with a foolishness from time to time in front of another. And whether the chancellor of Baden knew someone from this part of the people who would be more inclined to peace and unity than to discord, with whom one would like to come to further negotiations or discussions. From this the same chancellor would have answered Mr. Georgen that he really knew no one from this part of the people, and who would perhaps like to see these things to the best, because they, the aforementioned, Doctor Bridges and N. Philippen, for this reason Mr. Georgen would have called him. Philippen, for which reason Mr. Georg had asked him, because he had always been a good Saxon to the one before him, and had always had a gracious master in Duke Frederick, Elector, just as he had no less gracious will towards the present Elector, that he wanted to talk and hear about this with the aforementioned two, as they thought that the matters could be settled in a convenient way, but that he would like to remain unannounced by the two; for what he would do, he would do for himself, and out of faithful good opinion. For this reason, the aforementioned chancellor of Baden had both O. Brücken and N. Philipp Melanchthon ask him to inform them of this; now that the latter thought that the Elector of Saxony would be relieved if Mr. Georg were to support a mediation that would serve peace and unity, he would gladly use all possible diligence, and immediately began to specify means, and especially for the sake of both canons.

1096. answer of D. Brück and Philipp Melanchthon.

See No. 1095.

Although they had no knowledge of what matters he would have wanted to talk to them about, they nevertheless wanted to report to the Elector of Saxony, their most gracious lord; they did not doubt that his churfürstl. Grace would graciously note those of Mr. George and also the chancellor. But after they had noted from the Chancellor's account, among other things, as if Imperial Majesty should have taken it for granted that the Elector of Saxony and the Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire would be pleased. Majesty's displeasure that the Elector of Saxony and the others should have refused her Majesty's further action, to which they offered themselves in their own person: O. Brück would have been present, would also have given the answer to Imperial Majesty by order of the Elector and the other Princes, also of the envoys of the cities. Majesty, but it would not have been on it, as such would have been necessary to indicate that Imperial Majesty had so repudiated the action, as if this part would not suffer it at all, but rather, the most humble thanks would have been given to Her Majesty's gracious will, and it would have been appended to it, Her Majesty would undoubtedly have heard from the actions that took place in the Committee of Fourteen that the Princes and others who were appointed from this part would have allowed themselves to be heard several times, as they would have allowed themselves to be heard to the utmost, as far as they would have paid attention to them, so that it could have been done with God and conscience; But thereupon their Imperial Majesty Majesty would have let herself be heard, her Majesty would have been astonished that on this part the means proposed by princes, princes and estates would not have been accepted, that therefore her electoral and princely graces could well respect also the envoys of the cities, if, however, Her Majesty were to bother with further action in such a way that, for Her Majesty's sake, it would be a futile endeavor and an unprofitable delay for other legal dealers who were drawn upon it. Graces, also the others of their part, unwillingly give or want to be cause. Therefore the Elector of Saxony and his Electoral Grace would not like to be given cause for this. Therefore it should not be imposed on the Elector of Saxony and his electoral relatives, where perhaps the disfavored would like to interpret it, as if this part of the Imperial Majesty's negotiation were to be dismissed. Majesty's negotiation; it would also undoubtedly, since it is meant for the sake of Her Majesty, quite subserviently, that the Imperial Majesty should have no objections to this. Majesty would have no objections against this part. But as to whether it would be expedient for the Elector of Saxony to have a further mediation, which would serve peace and unity between them and the Conciliation, which the Emperor would be inclined to promote in all respects, acted without danger, the Chancellor would now have heard in what manner the Imperial Majesty has been informed by the Electors, Princes, and

The envoys of the cities have therefore themselves given a submissive answer, because their electoral and princely graces, as well as the envoys, considered it to be the utmost request of their sovereign and princely graces. The envoys, too, considered it that the utmost request had been made by their electoral and princely graces. They also feared that it would be a mistake for them to do so. They also feared that, unless a peaceful parting or a rite were negotiated, without the confiscation of the articles of faith, further negotiation would be in vain. Or, if one ever wanted to proceed in such a way, that convenient and reasonable means would be proposed and given to this party in consideration (which the two alone indicated for themselves), so that the councils and also the envoys of the cities, which lords would not be at the place, and the other electors and princes, who are present, may also discuss the same in a proper manner, and the other estates and cities, who do not directly belong to the empire, and yet have also accepted the gospel, may compare themselves with their electoral and princely graces. and princely graces. The aforementioned two see this as useful and good, since the Gospel has been accepted in several Saxon and maritime cities, and for this reason most things have been laid down at the beginning, so that things may be settled by the grace of the Almighty, so that nothing untidy is done, if the cities are reported such a parting by the Electors and Princes of this part, and that now on this day, approximately after Christmas, a day and time be appointed, then and on such a day Imperial Majesty, ecclesiastical and secular, may declare the Gospel. Majesty, ecclesiastical and secular princes, or other decrees, and the Electors and princes, or some of them, would also come there, and decree such things for the attached cities, so that this part, after the consideration that has been given, and the proposals that have been made, could finally be heard as to what they consider they could or could not do with God and conscience. At the same time, the Imperial Majesty Majesty, so that it might not be taken for a delay or hindrance to Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Majesty's decision, which Her Majesty might have intended to make with other estates at this Imperial Diet at Augsburg, conclude what Imperial Majesty has decided. Majesty. Majesty's objections to this; and in the event that Her Majesty is not satisfied with the answer which this part would give on such a day, to have Her Majesty's resolution and parting published in accordance with Her Majesty's objections and pleasure. according to her Majesty's concern and pleasure. One would also know by and by who would be those among the estates who would like to bring these matters to an unanimous vote.

Some of them, especially the Elector's cousin, Duke George of Saxony, have taken it into their heads as if they had sworn to govern the Elector's lands and wanted to do so; but the Almighty would not grant them this, whether God wills it or not; Imperial Majesty, as a most benevolent and wise Emperor, would not follow their will. Majesty, as a most benevolent, most wise Emperor, would not follow their will. As for the monasteries that have been disposed of, up to now nothing has been done with the Elector of Saxony, nor with the other princes or cities, nor has any notice been given as to what special complaint the Imperial Majesty would have on account of this, that her electors and princes and the cities would have to report it. and the cities should have reported it, and again reported their need. For the previous evening a prince 1) had talked about it with Duke John Frederick of Saxony, son of the Elector, and had also raised the article, the dissolved monasteries and the restitution of the same, somewhat high. To which the said Duke John Frederick also gave the same answer, with request that his Princely Grace be informed. Gn. Father would be free to offer and do such monasteries, so that it should not be considered as if some own benefit would be sought in it, if one would also act on the article that only things of faith would not be confiscated, no burden would bear on him in this part, the Two Eighths, as had often been indicated.

1097. replica of the chancellor of Baden.

See No. 1095.

Since 2) the Elector of Saxony, and his Elector. Gn. kinsmen, would be inclined to act of peace and peaceful parting, he would not save us: After before Imperial Majesty of the previous day 3) such peaceful decency as now against him by the said two would be indicated. Majesty the day before 3) such peaceful decency as might now have been indicated against him by the said two, it was said that Imperial Majesty would also do the same to him. Majesty would have received the same also to displeasure; for he wanted to speak it all there, Imperial Majesty would perhaps consider it that at Her Imperial Majesty's request to stand to peace. Majesty to act and not to act in peaceful decency,

1) Duke Henry of Brunswick. Sieve No. 1092.

2) "There" put by us instead of: "That" m the old edition.

3) "The previous day" will have been Sept. 9. See No. 1088. Accordingly, the documents No. 1095 to 1098 would have to be set to Sept. 10.

Her Majesty, as a wealthy Emperor, wanted to know well how to proceed. Therefore he wanted to ask the two aforementioned once again, as they had heard from him, to inquire of the Elector of Saxony, as the most proceeding, whether his Electoral Grace, together with the others, would allow Mr. Georgen [Truchsess] to have the same two as a doctor. Gn. together with the others would allow Herr Georgen [Truchsess] to speak with the same two, as Doctor Brücken and Magister Philippsen, about further means, if God would grant his grace. And even though he would have been concerned that the objection, as we have stated, would, even if it were to be acted upon, be difficult to raise with Imperial Majesty, since it was said that Imperial Majesty would be completely satisfied in the matter. Majesty would be quite inflammirt in the matter, so that her Majesty would want to receive science conducive to the end. Nevertheless, he did not want to refrain from talking to Mr. George about it, whether he knew something to be done by the Royal Majesty in Hungary and Bohemia, so that he, the Chancellor mentioned, would like to say that as much as he had been present at these actions, or had heard talk about them, he could not feel otherwise, because the fact that the King liked to see things well would also often bring his brother, our Lord Emperor, back to other ways, if the others would have moved Her Majesty a little at times. And if it would please the Elector of Saxony, then the two of them should come together with Mr. George himself, and the sooner the better, for delay would be detrimental, otherwise they would take leave of each other.

1098. D. Brücks und Melanchthons fernerweite Vorstellung.

See No. 1095.

As to the peaceful parting, and the Elector of Saxony, together with his Electorate. Gn. to report to the Imperial Majesty, would have been done in a completely submissive opinion by his Elector and the others. and the others, and not as if they wanted to offer peace to Imperial Majesty. Majesty wanted to offer peace, but so that princes, princes and estates on all sides might sit and dwell together in peace until a general, free concilio. But they wanted all this, without order, also without foreknowledge of their most gracious lord, the Elector, but for themselves, and without danger, also without obligation, to have talked with the Chancellor. And although he himself would have to consider what the Elector of Saxony might agree to for the sake of such a conversation alone, since the matter would also concern the other princes and estates:

nevertheless they wanted to report it to his elector. and if then it pleased his princely grace that they should dispose of Mr. George. If it pleased his prince's grace that they should dispose of Mr. George, then they would show themselves to be unrepentant on their part.

E. Of the new means of contract put forward by Baron von Truchsess and Vehus.

1099. of the Lord Georg von Truchsess and the chancellor of Baden, D. Hieronymus Vehus, proposed new means of settlement.

Sept. 10, 1530.

This writing is found in Latin at p. 318 and in Ooelestinus, torn. III, lol. 78. German in Müller's Historie, lib. III, oup. 30, p. 875; in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 416, in another redaction from the Margravial Brandenburg Acts at Nuremberg, no. 40, p. 263. The meeting took place on September 10 in the Moritz Church at Augsburg. In his history, p. 161, Brück speaks of a double copy of these articles, one of which was given to Chancellor Brück on Sept. II, the other to Margrave George of Brandenburg on Sept. 13.

These essays could be completed by 14 learned men, who are to be assembled for this purpose.

First, the compared articles could be brought into a special formal essay.

On the other hand, the remaining articles, for which there was either no agreement at all or only some agreement, should also be described and included in the agreement, but the decisión should be left to the future concilio.

Thirdly, that the monasteries still in existence be allowed to keep the ceremonies and rules that have been in use until now, and that nothing of the ecclesiastical goods be sold or used for other worldly benefits until the Concilium. However, as far as the empty monasteries and their revenues are concerned, these could be administered by certain Sequesters ordered by Imperial Majesty with all fidelity and diligence until the Concilium, but with reservation of the Juris Patronatus to which the Electors and other Collators are entitled. In addition, those persons who leave their order and profession are to be restored to their former status, and they are to be provided with emergency maintenance until a council is held. Since an abbot or prelate who has been expelled from the monastery with his brothers and driven into misery also demands restitution to the monastery, this is to be effected.

The monastery income, however, was not to be granted to them, but to others who had been appointed for this purpose, who were to manage the administration in such a way that the monks and nuns could obtain necessary sustenance from it.

Fourthly, as far as the masses are concerned, these could be held in the future with the clothing, singing, and other ceremonies that have been customary up to now, especially with the reading of the two canons, but that about which a dispute might arise could be reserved to the decision of a concilii.

Fifth, concerning the communion under both forms and the marriage of the priests, the Electors and other states related to the faith should show themselves in such a way that they may keep a good conscience and give account to Imperial Majesty as well as to the Concilio, but especially to God. Majesty, as well as to the Concilio, but especially to God. If, however, it should be found at a future Council that some have not remained within such limits, and thus have done or permitted something contrary to their conscience, they would also, as is incumbent upon obedient Princes, not refrain from seeking Imperial Majesty's judgment in this matter. Majesty's judgment in this matter.

Sixthly, in order that common peace, tranquillity and unity may be preserved, the Elector of Saxony, and other princes and estates related to his faith, should not change anything in matters of faith and religion until a general and Christian council has deliberated on the matter and defined something definite.

Seventhly, the Elector and his relatives in the faith should not take anyone into their protection and protection as their own subjects.

Finally, several reported Princes, Princes and Estates, like other Imperial Estates, should render obeisance to Imperial Majesty in these Imperial Diet matters, which are to be clearly named along with the others.

1100. Luther's remarks on the means of comparison advanced by Truchsess and Vehus. Middle of September 1530.

From 6o6l68tiuu8, toin. III, toi. 78. De Wette, vol. IV, p. 166 does not bring this concern, but verIve to Walch.

Verdeutscht.

To the other means.

To consider the first two articles properly, and to say in what unfaithful manner the pieces on which we agree may have been recorded, would, as you can easily imagine, be endlessly disputed, and would probably not be settled in two years. Therefore, one must never get involved in such quarrels. Our confession is clear, and the emperor was surprised that the popes gave in so much. Therefore nothing more is to be hoped for.

On the third.

The Concilium must be allowed as a human means.

This is what we must do, and if we do not do it, we commit sin and injustice. It is written, While men slept, the enemy came and sowed tares. We must therefore beware lest we sleep, and let tares be sown, which cunning men seek.

On the fifth.

That's bacon on the trap. That would be to confess tacitly that one has done wrong, and to take the punishment upon one's neck wantonly. We do not want to reach for the cross ourselves (or make it for ourselves); but if God sends it and lays it out, we want to bear it patiently.

To the sixth.

That is, to kill Christ, and to deny the word, that it should not continue, when it is written, The word of God shall not be bound.

Here's to the seventh.

Why should not a poor subject, who is persecuted by his tyrannical rulers, be received and lodged, when he goes from the same place to another, secure, and where the gospel is taught? This is to deny the word and works of love, since it is written, Save the widows, and judge the fatherless.

1101: The Margravial Brandenburg counsellors and theologians, D. Sebastian Heller, Joh. Brenz, Joh. Rurer and Martin Möglin (pastor at Kitzingen), six articles to obtain a peaceful farewell against the borrower Georg Truchsess of Waldburg. About Sept. 14, 1530.

Without giving their authors, these articles are found in Latin in (losltzstinns, tom. Ill, col. 79, and in Ol^lrnsus, p. 312. Afterwards in German in Walch. From the Margravial Brandenburg Acts, p. 270, in Förstemaniis Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 432, with the superscription set by us in a somewhat different relation. The contents are the same.

Verdeutscht.

I. That the articles of faith according to the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and the others on which there is agreement, be recorded by deputies of both parties and brought into the record or settlement.

II. That the articles on which there is no agreement at all, or at least not complete agreement, shall also be drawn up and entered in the bill, with the general condition (or reservation) attached: That these articles, on which there is no agreement, together with other articles and customs not specifically mentioned, which anyone does not intend to observe with a clear conscience, be referred to the decision and pronouncement of a general, free council, and that, however, each local authority should decree among its own that nothing be taught contrary to the common peace and tranquillity there.

III. that the monasteries and colleges (foundations), which have not yet been changed or abolished, be left free to keep their rules and ceremonies according to their conscience, with all their property and income, until the council; but that the monasteries and income of the foundations, which have been abolished, be administered honestly until the council by sequestri (or jnterimsverweser) appointed by Imperial Majesty. Majesty, shall administer them honestly until the Council, to which they shall also render account, but without prejudice to the right of the sovereigns, the patronage, the bailiwick (or bailiwick, xrutzkseturus), fiefs, and other customs (Herkommen), so that each prince, prince or estate had them before such change. Likewise, that the parishes, which are incorporated into the monasteries or foundations, and the schools are not deprived of anything; also that such expelled persons have their maintenance until the concilio.

IV. Masses are to be celebrated in the usual dress, chants, lections, and other Christian ceremonies, and all that essentially belongs to them. But what is in dispute
and is said to be burdensome to the conscience, shall remain at the discretion of the Council.

V. In regard to communion under both forms and priestly marriage, the princes and those who hold it with them in this matter shall do so as they intend to answer first to God and then to the Imperial Majesty in the said Concilio. Majesty in the said Concilio. And if it is learned in the Concilio that one of the two parties has transgressed therein, he will submit to Imperial Majesty's judgment and command. Majesty's judgment and order.

VI. to preserve Christian peace and unity, the Elector of Saxony and the estates of his part shall not start any further innovation in Christian religion until the Concilio.

1102 Melanchthon's Letter to Luther. Sept. 8, 1530.

This letter is found in OosIksUnus, torn. Ill, kok. 75 and in Oorp. Usk. Vol. II, 355.

Translated from the Latin.

Philipp Melanchthon (deprives) M. Luthern of his greeting.

Yesterday evening the princes were in the imperial court (palace) until half past eight. They received this answer: the Emperor wants to hold a concilium, but according to the old custom of the Roman Church, and perhaps outside Germany, because of the Emperor's business; in the meantime, everything should be returned to the popes. But this is not yet decided. If our people still have something to advance in the articles that are being disputed, the Emperor wants to sit for eight more days and hear it. Today our princes will thank the Emperor for this, and they will say that they cannot give way in anything. In Ferdinand's jousting (tournaments) (since he received the fief from the Emperor in the open field, according to Austrian usage and law) six men died in one day. Two died because the rifle burst, and almost all the bystanders were hit. One of the soldiers, since the rifle was not properly aimed and it went off, was hit so that the bullet flew through his mouth and right through his brain, so that he immediately fell down and was buried under the grass. Another was stabbed by a fierce Spaniard, whom he would not avoid. The sixth was pushed down and drowned in the crowd as he crossed the bridge. The Margrave of Baden was beaten by the horse, so that he could not escape from such a show.

1515

The king himself was thrown from his horse three times in the tournament. The king himself was thrown from his horse three times in the tournament, as the story goes, and the third time he is said to have been very wounded in one side. Fare you well. Given the 8th of September.

1103 Luther's Answer to Melanchthon's Letter. Sept. 11, 1530.

This letter is found in Latin in Lndäsus, p. 202; in Oo6l68tinn8, tona. Ill, col. 80 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 162. In Walch twice, namely here and in the appendix, no. 16; in the latter place we have omitted it.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It seems to me an age since you wrote to me in your last letter that the conversation was over, 1) so much am I weighed down by the delay of this uncertainty, in which I await the last, either favorable or unfavorable, decision of the Emperor. Long ago there was a very certain rumor here that the Prince had escaped from Augsburg. Some say that he has arrived at Nuremberg, others that you will suddenly be with us. In the meantime, I prophesy many things to myself here. At last I am led by my thoughts to think that there are some who would like to put their strength into the means, whether I could perhaps attain peace. These thoughts are followed by my prayer and sighing of the heart; if this heart is not heard, it would be surprising if the head of the bishops were not governed by a great doom, and not a good one at that. 2) I am beginning to yearn for your

I) Melanchthon had made this announcement in the letter of September 1, No. 1084 in this volume. He then wrote again on September 4 (6orp. kek., Vol. II, 340), but in this letter he only reports that the decision was still with the Emperor. The preceding letter (if it could otherwise already be in Luther's hands) also brought nothing new.

2) This passage is very puzzling. Assuming Aurifaber's readings, pc> 88int instead of po88irn, and rniki instead of nisi, the translation of the preceding would be something like this: "who would like to put their strength into the means, if they could perhaps attain peace. These thoughts are followed by my prayer and sighing of the heart; if this heart is not heard, it would be strange to me. The head of the bishops is governed by a great doom, and not a good one at that." The translation given by us above might be understood according to the almost parallel passage towards the end of No. 1107.

God would have you return, though cursed by the pope and the emperor. For there is another greater than the pope, and the emperor, and their God, which saith, [Psa. 3:9], With the LORD is found help, and thy blessing upon thy people." The Lord will avenge the perfidy and wickedness of the Sophists and Papists.

2) I will not answer your Martin Bucer. 3) You know that I hate their game of dice and their craftiness; they do not please me. Thus they have not taught hitherto, but yet will not acknowledge it, nor repent; rather, they continue to assert that there was no disagreement among us, namely, that we should confess that they had taught right, but that we had falsely disputed against them, or rather that we had been senseless. Thus the devil opposes our confession on every side, since he can do nothing by force, and is overcome by the truth.

3rd Other things thou shalt know by the deputies of the Luebeckers, that is, by thy kinsman. I do not like that Pomeranus is absent, and yet I do not see how it could have been denied them, at least for a time. For both our church and our school are in great need of him, especially since I suspect, out of my age and health, and more properly out of weariness of life, that I will not have to see and bear this cursed world much longer. You shall do here what the Spirit shall give you. But, what I almost forgot, I beg you, my dear Philip, do not torture yourself with the insinuations of those who either say or write that you have given in too much to the papists). There must be weak ones also among ours, whose ways and infirmities thou must bear, if thou wilt not despise Paul Rom. 15:1. They do not sufficiently understand the jurisdiction restored to the bishops, nor do they take heed of the circumstances connected with it. And yet God would have the bishops accept them under these conditions; but they have not accepted their

3) The Strassburgers sought to come closer to the Lutherans at the Diet.

4) Compare No. 1084.

Noses to their cause. Greetings to all of us, and be well in Christ. From the desert, September 11, 1530, Martin Luther.

1104. Spalatin's misgivings that the Elector of Saxony would interfere in further religious action ...shall not be admitted. The 14th of Sept. 1530.

This concern is first printed from Spalatin's own manuscript in the common archive at Weimar in Cyprian's Beilagen zur Historie der Augsb. Confession, p. 206 and thereafter also in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. II, p. 428.

Although one does not need my poor consideration, I will nevertheless gladly indicate my subservient good opinion according to my duty, and it is just this: Whereas Roman Imperial. Majesty will be very sorry with the restitution of the ungodly ceremonies, war and other burdens, that nevertheless my most gracious and gracious Elector of Saxony, princes and their relatives, where they otherwise consider the things to be godly and righteous, will be due, not to enter into any further or other actions and agreements with anyone, but to stand by their previous confession and appeal to a future free Christian council and not to be forced or persuaded to do so, for many necessary reasons.

First of all, that there is nothing fruitful in the
I hope to raise the opposite.

Secondly, that the opposite party intends to misuse God's word and this part of it, by engaging in further action, solely as a cover for their shame, to their own advantage, and to this part's greatest disadvantage, disgrace and harm, to raise up again all their ungodly nature, life, teachings and abominations, and to make people believe them to be right and godly.

Thirdly, that the other party's pretence is certainly full of deceit, fraud, and deceitfulness, and hopes to reestablish the abominable articles of the papacy, of purgatory, of indulgences, and other many other things, as if we approved of them all tacitly, and to preach and practice them as right, good, and salvific. Should it now come to further action, and the parting be established, then our part would have to contest the same articles with expressed words. They would not suffer this, and would come to great expansiveness, and yet nothing good would be obtained from them.

Fourth, what's the point of even thinking about the five...
What would have been the purpose of the present Concilium if all the articles in dispute, which is impossible, were now to be dealt with?

Fifthly, one should give way to the opposite and allow something contrary to God's word, which would cause eternal annoyance and eternal unbelief to the preachers of this part, as if one acted differently now than one had taught and preached up to now, it would also bring great diminishment to the princes and lords that they now so easily stepped out of their articles of confession out of human fear.

Sixth, first the tyrants would embellish all their murders with us, and if they attacked anyone, they would pretend that the Lutherans themselves had approved and consented to it at this Diet.

Therefore, there is nothing better than that no further action be taken, but that we otherwise offer ourselves most humbly to Imperial Maj. Maj. and ask for a peaceful decency, with notice that one, caused by many high moving urgent Christian causes, is not to get involved in any further way. So that Her Imperial Maj. Maj. and only to note that they do not seek anything unreasonable.

So they first of all offered to live peacefully with everyone, that only such victories would be done to them again.

Secondly, to obey Maj. in all other matters to all obedience.

Thirdly, to faithfully manage, until the Concilio, not to allow any continuation of erroneous doctrine and sects against the holy sacraments 2c. in their lands and territories.

Fourthly, to give a permanent account of the disposed monastery estates to Imperial Majesty. Maj. in future Concilio to make a constant and irreversible account, of which they shall, if God wills, be well satisfied.

Fifth, to keep both of them in the meantime with the "doctrine, ceremonies and everything else, as they hope to answer to God and Imperial Majesty. Maj.

But if all this would not help, but the Imperial Maj. would threaten with restitution, war 2c. Maj. would threaten 1) with restitution, war 2c., it is true that it would be frightening if war, bloodshed and destruction of country and people should come about, since God is before us in eternity, which we are all reasonably obliged to use our greatest diligence, nothing saved on earth, to prevent; but it is also true that it would be a thousand times more frightening to hand over God and His holy word out of human fear. For how could one come to this, that for the sake of time...

1) "dräuen" is missing in Förstemann.

For 1) the almighty God still lives and reigns with an unabbreviated hand, who bears this high title, that he is called the LORD God of hosts, who is mighty of all host powers. This same mighty Lord can keep the angry nobles at home and call them to keep their swords in the scabbard, even against their will, if they were still so angry, raging and furious. In ancient times, the mighty king Sanherib of Assyria was as wicked and stiff in his mind as our present tyrants are, and he knew no other way, for he wanted to devour both the king Ezechias of Judah together with Jerusalem and the whole kingdom of Judah. But God turned it around, as we read in Isaiah 37, that he told King Ezekiel, "Sanherib shall not reach Jerusalem, nor shall he attack it, but shall turn back and leave him alone. Yes, that the angel of God slew the same tyrant in one night 185,000 men. That also shortly thereafter Sanherib was stabbed to death in the Temple by his own sons, Adramelech and Sarassar. The same God can also do strange things to our great nobles and cause them so much trouble that they may forget us.

If not, we must nevertheless not surrender God and His precious, sacred Word to the devil and the Antichrist, but hold fast to it, and with God's help remain true to it, considering the manifold rich promises of God in the Old and New Testaments, and the eternal God granting His divine grace, spirit and strength to our pious princes, lords and their relatives, and to all of us, to praise Him and to promote His divine Word, Amen. Date Augsburg, Wednesday Exaltationis Crucis [Sept. 14] Anno Domini 1530. G. Spalatinus.

1105: The consultation of all Protestant theologians about the means "proposed" by Truchsess and Behus, Sept. 17, 1530.

Latin at Oo6t68tinu8, tom. Ill, col. 80, and imperfectly at 0üvtr-n6U8, p. 320. Completely in Oorp. Uek. vol. ii, 373.

Translated into German by Ll. A. Tittel.

(1) First of all, we must confess that it is dangerous to indicate by name the articles which are thought of, and at the same time (or together) to publish them.

1) In the original: "When".

Draw. For the opponents would like to draw up the other articles, which are not mentioned by name in the confession and yet are disputed, at the same time and consider them known and revoked.

(2) After this, there seems to be some annoyance and offence. For the list of all the articles would lead many to think or say that we have agreed with the adversaries, and have fallen in with them, and have gone over entirely into their camp, and that because we have made a stand with them they are also called brethren; and that, though we were not yet agreed in all the articles, yet we regarded such things as nothing, that thus their errors were padded, and they were strengthened.

(3) For these reasons and reasons, many think it better not to adopt a splch list of articles. But we think that, in order to preserve peace and harmony, we can finally put up with such a proposal, with the measure:

(4) If there is to be no danger, it is necessary that the articles in dispute, which are not mentioned by name in our confession, should be expressly mentioned, such as the Pope's supremacy, purgatory, indulgences, 2c., with an appended general reservation, which is found in the same document, since we were asked whether we wished to enter and defend more articles?

(5) As to the grievance, it is our opinion that, since this treaty is made only between princes, and concerns only the common and temporal peace and external tranquillity, it is a work without grievance, and that no just and sufficient cause can be adduced why this settlement of common strife and other grievances should not be made.

006 For we do not thereby include them (the adversaries) in the company and number of the brethren, but only testify thereby concerning which articles we are agreed, and concerning which we are still divided.

(7) For that one part should not publicly punish and condemn the other in sermons is not hereby decreed or forbidden; but the princes may only, for the sake of common peace, make covenants and settlements among themselves for the preservation of public tranquillity, which may well be approved with a good conscience. It has therefore seemed advisable to us to report and recount by name the disputed articles, of which there is no small number; as, of justification, of merits, of the doctrines of men, of confession, of pardons, of vows, of the power of bishops, of both forms, of the Mass, of marriage, of

Invocation of the saints, of the unity of the church, with the added reservation that some of our teachers consider such articles necessary and Christian.

(8) For in this way all will see that we do not agree or agree with their errors and opinions, and this reckoning will be, as it were, a clear confession of which we must give account to friends and enemies. For if the papal teachers want to know in which articles they agree with us, and in which they teach differently from us, then we must certainly declare and explain it, as we also did in Marburg with the disputed articles; but for this reason we have not included them in the number of the brethren, although the opponents have desired and earnestly asked for it. If, however, they do not wish the disputed articles to be remembered by name and counted, or if they wish to add any other burdensome reservations or conditions, such as that nothing of such matters should be brought up in the churches, then all such negotiations should be left undone. We also think that the opponents will not take up the matter so eagerly, but will soon give up the trouble of recording it, so that their ignorance and simplicity will not come to light before everyone.

(9) And though there are many things to be considered in this first article, of which it would be too extensive and tedious to speak separately, yet we all admit this, that in the said manner and condition the common peace may well be concluded.

010 But to the question, Whether the bishops ought to be allowed to abate and concede jurisdiction, and certain other things, so far as they do not dispute the doctrine in use in our churches, when they have already persecuted adherents of the same doctrine in other places? we answer that this is a dangerous thing, for many would certainly say that we were strengthening the other part by indulging in such things, that we were unstable, and that we could not in good conscience defend or protect the doctrine which we had once accepted to maintain, and that we were trying to restore the old customs and to reintroduce the papal doctrine into the church, which would turn many away from our doctrine.

(11) Likewise, that the bishops should be regarded as people under ban, and that we should not greet them; therefore we would do wrong to offer ourselves to their obedience. To this we reply that it is unnecessary to act on what concerns the presentation and ordination of ecclesiastical persons.

meets. For since the bishops do not accept our doctrine, but only tolerate it as a weed, as they call it, by silence, they will of course burden all who appoint (ordain) them with intolerable burdens and unjust oaths.

(12) Our preachers and church servants will also not be able to seek confirmation from them because of danger to life and limb, since they not only persecute, but also kill and murder those who are of our teaching. Therefore it is useless to deal much with this, unless the bishops themselves declare and let it be known how they are minded, and promise that they will confirm the preachers of our doctrine. But if the bishops will not confirm our preachers and ministers, they deprive themselves of their jurisdiction.

013 But if they desire to have jurisdiction in matrimonial matters, we think that they have no great objection to judge and adjudicate, if only they do not manifestly act contrary to the word and commandment of God. For the jurisdiction and obedience of the priests are not merely worldly things, which are due to the bishops from the custom and order of men; therefore, such is to be reasonably held in honor and recognized as valid.

(14) Nor do I see why the imperial majesty cannot entrust a secular prince with the recognition and judgment in matrimonial matters. First of all, the ban is something secular, although it actually belongs to the church and must be administered by a priest (or pastor). Everyone will know that the punishment of common and manifest sins belongs to the clergy and ministers of the churches. Nor is such authority and jurisdiction of the bishops burdensome or detrimental to any but those who sin, for whom it is, however, expedient that they be punished and restored.

015 But that some pretend that the tyranny of the bishops is thereby strengthened and exalted, it is to be known that by such an indulgence (or grant) we escape the censure of those who are always laying upon us I know not what kind of factions and divisions, which is very vexatious and distasteful to us.

016 If then we sat down with the bishops in this manner, we might easily restrain such talk as is spread abroad. For it is written, As much as it is in you, keep peace with all men. For Zacharias also is under the power of one Caiph, and many others under the power of another.

rannet confessed. And though we restore them to the jurisdiction of the churches, yet we do not approve of their doctrine, neither do we call them happy therein.

1106. fourteen articles presented to the Protestants on Sept. 21, 1530, in which they want to leave it alone.

These articles agree in all respects with those reported in Nos. 1055 and 1091, which is why they are omitted here.

1107 Luther's letter to Nicolaus Hausmann about the above last, but fruitless actions at Augsburg, and that the Elector has taken leave from there with the Emperor. Sept. 23, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in the Oock. oüart. 6otü., col. 451 and in Aurifaber, vol. III, p. 101. Printed in Luckäsus, p. 210 and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 171.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Although I believe, my dear Nicolaus, that you know everything that is going on at Augsburg, now that the younger prince has returned home and has undoubtedly brought everything with him in abundance, I will nevertheless, since you ask me to do so, briefly communicate as much as I have. I believe that you have heard that arbiters were chosen to discuss doctrinal unity and peace, among whom was Philip. But since they could not agree, the matter was again referred to the emperor, whose judgment is awaited, although in the meantime they wrote in their last letters that they were once more consulting with each other about the means of peace, which, however, they have not indicated. In the previous negotiation, the opponents demanded that we should permit the private masses, likewise that we should retain both [the major and minor] canons with a suitable gloss, namely, that the word "sacrifice" should be understood as a memorial sacrifice (gaoriütnum Memoriale repraesentativum), likewise that we should say that it is free to take both or one form.

They also said that monks and priests bound by marriage should be free to leave their spouses and return to the monasteries, and that they should not be taken for spouses. If we were to accept this, then they would admit us in both forms, and tolerate those married couples for the sake of the children born until the Concilium, just as one tolerates whore houses. Thou seest, my dear Nicolaus, the very sure hope of Satan, who presumes to propose such vile, shameful, and ignominious conditions as a tyrant proposes to his prisoners. Our people have not allowed any of this, but have offered to restore jurisdiction to the bishops, with the restriction that the bishops should see to it that the gospel is taught, and abolish all abuses, and also some festivals. But nothing has been done; the adversaries are determined to perish; an inevitable doom presses upon them.

As I write this line, a letter from the Prince arrives from Augsburg, in which the dear Prince indicates that he has been permitted by the Emperor to depart from Augsburg today, Friday. Therefore, we now expect ours to return. The Emperor Carl is a very good man; he hopes that he will be able to establish harmony and peace, but I do not know whether he will be able to do so, since he is surrounded by so many monsters of the devils. Farewell. From Coburg, September 23, 1530.

Martin Luther.

F. How one tried to make Melanchthon suspicious and hated again by the Nurembergers because of the new means of comparison.

1108 Hieronymus Baumgärtner's other letter to Lazarus Spengler, city clerk at Nuremberg, dated September 15, 1530, in which he accuses Melanchthon.

This letter is found in Joh. Friedr. Mayer's ckis86rt. äs ismtats ?üil. NsiaueiiOiouis, p. 48 and from it in Salig's Hist. der Augsb. Conf., Ub. II, oap. 8, p. 334. also in the Oorp. Lsk. II, 372.

My friendly willing services beforehand. Dear Mr. Rathschreiber! I have written to you in the next post about how some theologians in our part of the world are holding up in the matter of our holy faith. I hope you will receive it. Now there is no end to such theologians' peregrinations and unchristian practices, but since the next time we wrote, they have repeatedly discussed other means with them, and yet so far neither we, nor the Hessians and others from the cities, have ever been required to do so, and are thus more suspiciously regarded by them than by the opposing party. We are also often blatantly reproached for always relying on our theologians and scholars, and yet it is found that our theologians are quite different 1), but we do not want to follow them. Then they show Philippi's manuscripts, which he sends to them secretly, unquestioned by men, and makes suggestions that are not only unchristian, but also quite impossible to raise before the Elector himself; then they say, "If only we were gone," as if they still wanted to do what they wanted. But it is for the sake of the poor afflicted consciences, which would not only be annoyed by this, but would also give the tyrants cause to rage against those who desired to receive the pure word of God, much more sharply than ever before. I cannot sufficiently consider, let alone express in words, the complaints that result from this baking of cookies 2). Therefore, for the sake of God and His word, I ask you to do your part and to write to Doctor Martin Luther that he, as the one through whom God first reopens His word to the world, should forcefully confront Philip, and yet warn the pious princes, and especially his own lord, against him, and admonish them to persevere. For at this Diet no man to this day has done more harm to the Gospel than Philip. He has also fallen into such presumption that he not only does not want to hear anyone else speak and advise about it, but also goes out with clumsy cursing and scolding, so that he frightens everyone and dampens them with his authority. I do not like to write such things about him, because up to now he has been held in such high esteem by men, and I have left it at that, and have nevertheless often admitted much to him against my conscience. But now the test has come that, if God wills, neither Luther nor Philip shall be so dear to me,

1) 6orp. Rsk. : "guilty".
2) 6orp. lisk.: "Platzlein-Bachen".

that I will fall to them against God's word. Let us comfort and strengthen Mr. Hieronymum Ebner and all good-hearted people in this, for the tales we are writing about Mr. Georg Truchsess will not be so severe. For some of us only believe what Mr. Georg Truchsess and D. Eck tell us, do not consider that they are far too clever and courtly^) for us, and ever paint a devil at times; you understand well what I mean. My brother and I know that Herr Georg Truchsess said in another place that he might pledge to one's hand that the opinion of their part is not to start a war. God grant that we ourselves may not flee, he may hunt us down. I have not left all this unreported to you in good Christian faith, and hereby offer myself for your friendly service. Date Augsburg in haste, Thursday the 15th of September, Anno 1530.

Hieronymus Baumgärtner.

1109. Luther's letter to Wenceslaus Link, in which he acquits Melanchthon of the accusations as if he had given in too much. September 20, 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in Aurifaber, vol. ill, p. 200. Printed in Oosisstiri., torn. Ill, col. 881); in Luckäsus, x. 208, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 167.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! Be angry and do not sin. I have read, my dear Link, your very grave complaints about Philip, and if I had not learned from the letters which I received from our people at Augsburg on Saturday last [Sept. 17] that our cause is at the Emperor's decision, I would have been greatly disturbed. I hope, however, that in the meantime you too have perceived that our cause now stands differently than you now write. If this is not the case, then I am now writing sharp letters to those who are to be sent to them by Spangenberg, but I have also indicated sufficiently beforehand that my opinion is not to approve of such conditions and articles; whether they have been moved by such letters to reject the means, I do not know. I hold that they also have the full

3) Ooi-P. Lek.: "sent "nd hofgeschied".

We have to understand how shameful, disgraceful and sacrilegious the means are, by which the adversaries surely and hopefully have and mock our small and weak group of people clearly and obviously for the best. But Christ, who blinds and hardens them, so that they believe nothing of the gospel, thus prepares them for the Red Sea; their inevitable fate drives them. Therefore let them go and perish, if they will; the Lord will be with us. Therefore I beseech thee to cease thy indignation. Though Philip may have negotiated some means, yet none have been agreed upon, not even with his consent. But I hope that Christ has made use of this mask to "mock" our scoffers, that he may namely "scandalize" them by means of false
I am sure that without my consent their consent is null and void, and that without my consent their consent is null and void, and that without my consent their consent is null and void, and that without my consent their consent is null and void. Thus I construe the matter, and am sure that without my consent their consent is void. But even if I (which God forbid) should give my consent to these god-robbing, man-murdering, and faithless monsters, yet the whole Church and the doctrine of the Gospel would not consent. But pray for me and be well in the Lord. Give my love to your Eva and your children. From the desert, September 20, 1530, Martin Luther.

1) Instead of vers, we assumed vsro.

The tenth section of the thirteenth chapter.

Of the first parting of the Diet of Augsburg and the actions that occurred at it.

A. Of the intention of the Elector of Saxony to depart from Augsburg.

111V. Presentation why the Elector of Saxony could not stay longer at Augsburg.

This and the following document can be found in Müller's Historie, üb. III, eap. 37, S. 881.

After Imperial. Majesty has required his Electoral Grace by her other letter that his Electoral Grace would certainly arrive at Augsburg at the end of April. After His Imperial Majesty had demanded of His Electoral Grace by their other letter that His Electoral Grace should certainly arrive at Augsburg at the end of April, His Electoral Grace, as an obedient Elector, had wanted to be held and found against His Majesty's request; accordingly, His Imperial Majesty had raised himself to obedience and submission. Majesty has thus raised himself to obedience and subservience, that his Electoral Grace shall be granted a new sentence. His Elector's Grace would have arrived at Augsburg at the time requested by Her Majesty. Grace arrive six weeks before Her Majesty, and now in total twenty weeks, with burdensome costs, also for the sake of His Electoral Grace's physical comfort. Grace's bodily condition, until therefore he had moved, and lay burdensome; therefore
his Elector's. His Electoral Grace had their noticeable objections and complaints by some of His Electoral Grace's counsellors reported three weeks ago. His Elector's Grace had their noticeable complaints and troubles reported by some of His Electoral Grace's counsellors three weeks ago, with an account of His Electoral Grace's marital affairs, namely the burdensome expenses. namely the burdensome costs, item, his electoral grace's physical inconvenience. His Elector's Grace's bodily inconvenience. Grace did not know how to save his Majesty's necessities, at this time commonly fell into burdensome diseases due to the stone, therefore especially dangerous for his Electoral Grace. His Majesty's Grace would find it particularly dangerous and burdensome to remain there any longer; item, that the dying process in His Majesty's Grace's house would be a great burden. Gn. and especially the end of the year, when His Electoral Grace's young lordship and children are in the process of dying. and children were still at the time, for which his Electoral Grace, as the Lord of the Land, nevertheless had to take care of them. His Elector's Grace, as Lord and Father, would nevertheless also be obliged to strive before God, so that they would not be left in danger, but would be ordered to other, safe places. In addition, that all kinds of wrongdoings had begun to occur in his lands of grace, in which it was necessary to have due understanding. And although his churfürstl. Grace, upon the request made, two days, and then several days to

so his Elector's Grace, for the sake of his much-touched answer, has suggested many times and especially during the past week and almost every day. His Elector's Grace, for the sake of his much-touched answer, has suggested many times, and especially during the past week and almost every day, that Count Palatine Friederich, his Elector's Grace's counselor and servant, Mr. Hansen von Minkwitz, gave this notice to the Elector on the Thursday before. Hansen von Minkwitz, knight, on Thursday before, to inform the Elector that Imperial Majesty will certainly send a letter to the Elector on the following Friday. Majesty would certainly answer on the following Friday, or at the longest on the Saturday, but he believes rather on the Friday than on the Saturday; his Electoral Grace's mind would not be prepared for that. His Grace would not have been willing to leave without His Imperial Majesty's knowledge. Majesty's knowledge, for his Elector's Grace would have been anxious to leave on Saturday. His Elector's Grace would have been anxious to have some of His Elector's Councillors leave. His Electoral Grace would have been anxious to send some of His Electoral Grace's counsellors to Her Majesty for this purpose. Her Majesty would also know how it was customary with Her Majesty herself before, and how graciously Her Majesty would have shown herself if a Prince or Elector had indicated his objection and asked for permission. And although the Elector did not wish to indicate this to Her Majesty, in the opinion that the Elector wished to give or set a measure for Her Majesty, as to how Her Majesty should promote or carry out the affairs, for which Her Majesty announced the Imperial Diet, but that His Electoral Grace, the most humbled of His Majesty's graciousness, had the right to do so. Grace would be most submissive confidence, because it is with his Electoral Grace that the matrimonial primordial matters are to be settled. His Electoral Grace would have the matrimonial causes and opportunity, beforehand, for the sake of her body, that Imperial Majesty of His Electorate. Majesty of his electoral. His Electoral Grace's gracious permission, and that His Electoral Grace's departure... Grace's departure, as also his Electoral Grace, the Imperial Emperor. Grace Imperial. Majesty hereby ask again in all submissiveness, and would humbly put off to their Majesty 1) For so that for the sake of his Electoral Grace there would be no lack, his Electoral Grace would, as previously indicated, be allowed to leave. Grace, as indicated before, would be obliged to act for the same counsels there and behind them, with full power, as if His Electoral Grace himself were present in person. Grace himself were present in person, and that in other matters, for which the Imperial Diet was announced, their Majesty and the realm be considered for benefit, honor and welfare.

1111 The Elector of Saxony repeated his presentation of the departure, and requested to remain three more days.

See No. 1110.

1) "thäten" put by us instead of: "hätten".

Kaiserl. Majesty would have graciously heard why his electoral. His Imperial Majesty would have graciously heard why it would be most burdensome and impossible for His Electoral Grace to remain there longer, especially for the sake of His Electoral Grace. His Elector's Grace Imperial Majesty would have graciously heard why it would be most burdensome and impossible for His Elector's Grace to remain there any longer. Grace Imperial. Majesty to obedience and the most submissive will and good opinion, at their Majesty's description and request, come here to this Imperial Diet appointed by their Majesty, and where it is of their Electoral Grace that the Imperial Diet is to be held. Grace Caiferl. Majesty would not have meant submission and loyal obedience, there would have been matters before His Electoral Grace. His Elector's Grace would have had matters before him, and especially His Elector's Grace, as now a prince, would have been able to do so. Grace, as now a prince of years, would have had the marital responsibilities for the sake of his body that his Electoral Grace would also have been entitled to. Grace would also have been justified in making excuses against Imperial Majesty. Majesty, so that his Electoral Grace would have been in agreement. His Elector's Grace to be forgiven in the same way as others, and his Elector's Councillors to be forgiven in the same way as others. His Grace's counsellors in his Electoral Grace's stead. Grace's place, and to dismiss them with emergency force; but his Electoral Grace would have decided, in the absence of the Grace would have subdued His Imperial Majesty. Majesty's submissive obedience and favour, would not have allowed all this to be mistaken nor prevented, but would have sent His Imperial Majesty to the city of Vienna out of submissive obedience and favour. Majesty out of the most humble heart and will. Thus also the Imperial. Majesty would know that with their Majesty and their ancestors, Roman kings and emperors, as reported in the previous speech, it was otherwise customary for princes and princes to attend an Imperial Diet for their Majesties' favor and obedience, and had required an opportunity to depart again, he would have been graciously permitted by their Majesty and their ancestors, and would not have been so distrained, if he had wanted to leave his counsellors behind him with due force, as his Electoral Grace had always been obliged to do. Graciousness would have offered to do so, and would be inclined to do so. Thus also the Imperial Majesty of both Majesty of both the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Lüneburg would graciously take heed of this, so that Her Majesty would be more helped than helped in the realm. Since then the Elector of Saxony, as touched, at Imperial Majesty's request, is obedient to His Majesty. Majesty's request obediently and in such a timely manner, and has requested permission until the third week, and has also waited for Imperial Majesty's answer until the last ten days. Majesty's answer; but, as indicated by Count Palatine

Friederich to Hansen von Minkwitz, it did not fall on last Friday and Saturday, and for the sake of His Electoral Grace such marital bonds are to be granted. and that for the sake of his elector's grace such marital affairs had occurred that his elector's grace could not be forgiven any longer. His Elector's Grace that it would be quite burdensome and almost impossible to delay any longer.

moreover, that his churfürstl. Gn. cooks and waiters H and all behind would be dispatched, and the counsellors would be inclined to leave with sufficient force: so his electoral graces would not let him be ordered to do so, as if his electoral graces were to be the ones to do so. would not let it be imposed on him, as if his elector's grace would have been would be the cause of some disruption by his departure, if it should happen. His churl. His Elector's Grace also wanted Majesty most humbly, her Majesty wanted to ask his Elector's Grace. Gn. who might have wanted to impute such a thing to him, and to graciously allow his Electoral Grace to have the matter decided by the Emperor. and graciously allow his Electoral Grace or his Electoral Grace to leave. after such marriages have been granted to his electoral grace in all fairness and in all fairness to his elector's grace. His Elector's Grace in all fairness and justice. But if Imperial Majesty Majesty would ever have misgivings about this, his Electoral Grace together with the same. If, however, the Imperial Majesty should ever have any misgivings about this, if his Electors and their cousins, Duke Ernest of Brunswick and Lüneburg, should depart and not pass the desired days, the Elector would know that he and his Electors would be without glory. Gn. brother, then Duke Frederick, on account of their Imperial Majesty and the same. Majesty and the same ancestors and forefathers, he would be obligated to do so. This, as much as possible, his C. F. Grace would be inclined to do again, even to his grave. And although his churfürstl. would have to forgive the desired days with great inconvenience, he nevertheless wanted, together with his Elector's Grace, to be able to go back to his home. Gn. cousins, Imperial Majesty's most humble favor, not to be lacking in three days, but in such a way that the Imperial Majesty of his Electorate would not be lacking in three days. Majesty of His Elector. and Duke Ernsten now graciously permit him to depart thereafter on the following Thursday without further delay or delay, with the request that this be done for both their high necessity. and their High Necessity, and to be understood in their Grace 2c.

B. Of the publication of the first Neichstag treaty, and what happened from it between the emperor and the Protestant estates.

1112. note, issued secretly to the protesting princes, how they could behave after the publication of the parting.

From Müller's History, p. 893.

So the farewell given to the Elector of Saxony and his co-relatives, in which they have been given until the fifteenth day of Aprili.

1) In the old edition: "cellar".

they shall depart, and the Elector of Saxony, together with Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg and the Duke of Lüneburg, shall appear before the Emperor's Majesty tomorrow. Majesty before the Elector's farewell, and to present Her Imperial Majesty most humbly. Majesty most humbly request and entreat that the matter, in which they have been granted consideration, is excellent, highly important and great in itself, that then Her Imperial Majesty will so graciously grant them the right to a new life. Majesty may be so gracious to them, if after the expiration of the appointed time they petition her Imperial Majesty for further consideration. Majesty that Her Imperial Majesty will grant them the right to their subjugated Majesty will graciously grant them further consideration on their submissive request; thereupon the Imperial Majesty shall grant the Princes and the Princes of the Holy Roman Empire the right to the same. The Imperial Majesty shall answer the Electors and the Princes, insofar as they obediently live up to and comply with this request, which has now been given to them, that then Her Majesty, at their most humble request of the Electors, Princes and cities, will graciously grant them further consideration, but that in such consideration peace and unity will also be preserved, as then reported in the present treaty.

1113 The first decree of the Roman Imperial Majesty, concerning the article of religion, given to the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen, Thursday Mauritius, Sept. 22, 1530.

This document is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 450k; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 108b; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 235, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 224. German also in Chyträus, p. 296; in Müller, bd. III, aap. 39, p. 895 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 474 according to the Margravial Brandenburg Acts, bl. 290. Latin in 6b^tna6U8, p. 329; in Ooslkstinus, tona. III, lob 137, and in Goldast's aonstitut. Irnperial. p. 509 (so in Walch; in Förstemann: p. 599).

(1) After the imperial majesty has announced and proclaimed a general imperial diet and assembly on the eighth day of the month of April, next to the next, in the city of Augsburg, to act on all matters concerning the holy empire, common Christianity, and the German nation; and especially, among other things, how, as not the least grievance, the confusion and discord in the holy faith and Christian religion may and should be acted upon and decided upon.

002 And that such things may be the better and the more wholesome done.

2) In the old edition wrong: "Thursday after Mauritii", because Mauritius was Thursday, September 22.

to lay aside discords, to cease from unwillingness, to yield up past errors to Christ our Saviour, and to apply diligence, to hear, understand, and consider in love and kindness all every man's discretion, opinion, and opinion between himself, to bring them to one Christian truth and to compare them, to do away with all that would not be rightly laid out or done for both parts, to do away with everything that is not rightly interpreted or acted on both sides, to accept and keep one true religion by all of us, and, as we are all under one Christ, to live in one community, church and unity, and finally to decide, make, establish and maintain good unity, peace and welfare of the holy kingdom in these and other matters incumbent upon it; as then Imperial Majesty. The Imperial Majesty's decree of the same Imperial Diet contains and is able to contain all this and more according to its length.

(3) At which Imperial Diet of Her Imperial Majesty the Princes and other Estates of the Holy Empire appeared in person. Maj. princes, princes, and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire appeared in person, and by their embassy with authority, obediently before her Majesty, and thereupon also her Imperial Majesty, together with the said princes, princes, prelates, counts, estates of the Holy Roman Empire, and the same embassies. Maj. together with the said Princes, Princes, Prelates, Counts, and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, and their messages, the points and articles, in her Imperial Majesty's hand, to her Majesty. Maj. and especially the article concerning the error and division in our holy Christian faith, and, in accordance with the aforementioned letter of Her Majesty, next to anyone who wishes to bring forward something on account of such error of faith, and namely the Elector of Saxony, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg, the brothers Ernst and Franciscus, Dukes of Lüneburg, Philippsen, Landgraves of Hesse, and Wolfgang, Princes of Anhalt, also the envoys of the cities of Nuremberg, Reutlingen, Kempten, Heilbronn, Winsheim and Weißenburg, have graciously heard their opinion and confession in the presence of the other Electors, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, have advised them with timely and valiant counsel, and have refuted and rejected them with good reason through the Holy Gospels and Scriptures, and have thus manifoldly acted by their Majesty, also the aforementioned princes, princes and commoners in their own persons, as well as their committees of princes, princes and others, first fourteen, and then six persons, have had, practiced and cultivated with them most diligently, that they have come to an agreement with her Majesty and the other princes. and the other princes, princes, and commonwealths of the Holy Roman Empire in several Christian articles.

(4) But for some other articles, of which they did not compare themselves with the Imperial Majesty and the common estates of that time. Majesty and the common estates of this time, her Imperial Majesty has granted the Holy Roman Empire, the praiseworthy German nation. Majesty has granted the Holy Empire, the praiseworthy German nation, for good and welfare, so that peace and unity may be preserved therein, for the sake of her Majesty's clemency, and out of but her grace. and out of but mercy, the same Elector of Saxony, the five princes, and also the six cities, to confer between here and the fifteenth day of the next month of April, and to consider whether, for the sake of the other articles, they agree with the Christian Church, Papal Holiness, Her Majesty, and the other electors. and the other Princes, Princes and common Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as other Christian leaders and members of common Christendom, in the meantime of the discussion of a future Concilii, or not; and besides this, their Imperial Majesty wishes to devote himself for the same time to this matter. And that the Elector of Saxony, the five princes, and six cities, before the end of the fifteenth day of April, in which their minds under their seals ascribe and open to her Majesty, then she will report her Majesty against it and thereupon her opinion in writing.

(5) That the Elector of Saxony, the five princes, and the six cities decree in the meantime on this fifteenth day of April that nothing new shall be printed, sold, or traded in their principalities, lands, and territories. 5. That also the Elector of Saxony, the five princes and six cities, meanwhile on this fifteenth day of the month of April, decree that nothing new in matters of faith shall be printed, traded, or sold in their principalities, lands, and territories, and that thereupon it shall be the earnest will and command of their Majesty that all princes, princes, and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, meanwhile on this account, keep good peace and unity, and that neither the Elector of Saxony, the five princes, and six cities, nor their subjects, their Majesty, and the Holy Roman Empire, nor the other princes, princes, and commoners of the Holy Roman Empire, shall be in peace and unity. and of the Holy Roman Empire, nor of the other Electors, Princes and commoners' subjects, as has been done hitherto, to themselves and their sect; Also, whether some of the Elector of Saxony's, the five princes' and six cities' subjects, of whatever rank they may be, who still adhere or wish to adhere to the old Christian faith and nature, do not err in their services and ceremonies in their churches and places of worship, nor oppress them, nor initiate any further innovation therein; Likewise, the women's and men's religious should not in any way prevent them from attending mass and hearing confession, and from offering and receiving the holy sacrament.

6th And to this, that also the reported Chur-

the five princes and six cities, against those who do not keep the holy reverend sacrament, and the Anabaptists, with their imperial majesty, the other princes, princes and states. Majesty, the other Princes, Princes and Estates, and not at all to separate themselves from their Majesty and their loved ones and them, but to advise, encourage and help what and how action is to be taken against them; as all the aforementioned Princes, Princes and Estates have granted and consented to their Imperial Majesty to do all this, as is evident, so far as it concerns each of them. Majesty and have promised it.

(7) And because no common council has been held in the Christian Church for many years, and yet many abuses and complaints may have occurred in common Christendom among all heads and estates, ecclesiastical and secular, for a long time, that after all this, and for a Christian reformation, their Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, and the Holy Roman Emperor. Majesty and all Princes, Princes and Estates, now assembled here at Augsburg, have finally resolved to decree with the aforementioned Papal Holiness and all Christian kings and potentates that a common Christian council shall be held within six months, the next after the end of this Imperial Diet, the next after the end of this Imperial Diet, and that it be held in the most beneficial manner and at the earliest within a year of such notice, in the good hope and confidence that by this means common Christendom will be brought into lasting good unity and peace for the sake of its spiritual and temporal affairs.

1114 Answer given to the Protestants by the Chancellor Brück. September 22, 1530.

This document and its continuation, No. 1116, is reproduced after Brück in Müller, lib. III, enp. 39, p. 899; German also in Chyträus, p. 298; according to the Margravial Brandenburg Acts in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 481. Latin in Coelestinn8, tom. III, col. 188 and torn. IV, col. 85, and in Cü^trnens, p. 322 and 369.

The Elector and the same's co-relatives would have given the understood imperial. Majesty. Majesty, and have reported therein, among other things, of this part's confession and creed, as if the same were to be confirmed by a confutation, drawn up by Imperial Majesty and the imperial estates for this purpose, with the Holy Gospel. Maj. and the estates of the realm, had been sufficiently rejected and refuted by the holy Gospel, this part nevertheless held without doubt that the confession in the holy Word of God is the only confession of this part.

1) also considered it to be divine truth to such an extent that they hoped to be able to stand before God's last judgment. This part also wanted to have the aforementioned confutation, where they might have been copeed with, thus answered for and trumped up, so that Imperial Majesty and the people would have felt it. Majesty and all men should have felt that they could not do anything against the reported confession. So that such a confutation would not remain unanswered by this part, they would have undertaken and allowed themselves to be heard to answer for the same, as much as they could note in a hurry from the reading; as they had intended to do long ago, but had nevertheless been prevented from doing so by much negotiation since then, until such responsibility was now also made. And even though it would have been impossible to provide the same for all points of the Confutation, this part nevertheless hoped, where the Imperial Majesty had seen and mentioned it, to be able to provide the same for all points of the Confutation. Majesty had seen it and considered it, she would have found that the confession handed over still existed unharmed, with humble request that Her Imperial Majesty would have the same writing and apostles. Majesty would graciously accept the same writing and apology.

1115. apology of the Augsburg Confession, which was presented by the Protestants at the same time, but not accepted.

See above the 1030th document. - Spalatin in his Annals, p. 197, reports that when Brück presented the Apology, the Emperor reached for it, but King Ferdinand made him "flinch back again" and did not accept it.

1116. continued answer of the Augsburg Consession relatives by D. Brück.

This continuation is found besides at the locations given in No. 1114 also in Förstemann, "Archiv", p. 185.

Concerning the peace, the same is accepted by their Electoral and Princely Grace together with their kinsmen with submissive thanksgiving. Together with their co-relatives with humble thanksgiving, with the obedient and willing offer to live up to the same. And as further indicated that nothing new is to be done, also not to be printed, have feil.

1) The following to the end of the sentence is missing in Förstemann.

2c., in which the Elector of Saxony, and his relatives, at the recent Imperial Diet at Speier, had quite duly offered to do so, and also intended to keep themselves unprovoked in this. Thus this part also would not be related to any sect, but what they believe and hold, that would be in the Word of God constantly with reason and so dedicated that it would be the right true Christian faith, and no sect, in and with which they also could not err. And even though this is the case, they have not yet compelled anyone to their faith, nor do they intend to do so, and in this they know how to keep themselves Christian and proper by the grace of God. As for the sects of the Anabaptists and those who did not believe in the Sacrament, they had not tolerated them in their lands and territories, but had acted against them with Christian teachings and sermons, had severely punished the Anabaptists, and had thus ensured that the same sects were not heard or found in them by the grace of God, much less rooted, and still wanted to prevent it with all the diligence in their power. Because this would be an excellent and most important matter, in which the welfare and misfortune of souls would be at stake, which would require good care and caution, and also because some from this part would not be here, nor would be to be met, and because the need of the counsels and embassies would also require that this parting be diligently considered and contemplated, the Elector of Saxony, together with other princes and fellow relatives, would request Imperial Majesty the Most Hospitable Grace of the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty most humbly that they will graciously deign to deliver to them the farewell copies reported to them, and that they will graciously allow them to consider the matter in general until the appointed time of the 15th day of April, so that they will in the meantime consider, deliberate and consult the matter, and then submit it to their Imperial Majesty, if she has the right to do so. Majesty that they have made up their minds.

1117 Luther's judgement of the above imperial goodbyes.

From Ooelestinus, tom. Walch explicitly notes that this document "had not previously been included in the collections of Luther's writings". In the only edition published after Walch, the Erlanger, it has not yet been included.

Translated from the Latin by LI. A. Tittel.

(1) As often as they speak of things that are to the glory of God, the holy gospel, and our Christian

If we are to be justified before God by true and pure doctrine, we can separate doctrine from doctrine, and works that proceed from a true and hypocritical heart from false and hypocritical works, and we can be justified before God by true and pure doctrine, and works that proceed from a true and hypocritical heart from false and hypocritical works. For if we are justified before God by true and pure doctrine, we can discern and judge doctrine from doctrine, and works that proceed from a true heart from false and hypocritical works.

002 It is therefore necessary that we believe the gospel with our hearts, and confess it with our mouths. And 1) Not only is this required, but our confession must also be directed to be made before the unbelieving world, that they may be severely punished, and their works and doings not approved. The Holy Spirit must punish the world for sin, but we must sing the verses Psalm 26:5, 16:4: "I will not approve the assemblies of the bloodthirsty, neither will I take their name upon my lips."

003 Wherefore for the confession of the gospel we must do, suffer, forbear, and accept all things, whereby nothing escapes faith and confession, and such things are not approved which the contrary will teach and do contrary to the gospel.

(4) Because Imperial Majesty has ordered to act to restore and maintain peace in the Holy Roman Empire and also to advise religion. Since His Majesty has commanded us to act in order to restore and maintain peace in the Holy Roman Empire, and also to advise religion, we must diligently see to it and strive to prevent our part from approving or yielding to anything that is contrary to the faith, the Gospel, and divine honor, for the sake of anyone or for the sake of any cause. Namely, in this way:

5. i. The first article, in which peace is promised to those who signed (or defended) the Confession and Apology presented at Augsburg, and freedom from all danger, if only they would not henceforth begin anything new, and those who, enlightened by divine grace, would accept the true doctrine of the Gospel, would not be received or cherished, is by no means to be taken for granted.

1) "is" put by us instead of: as.

ligen. For it concerns faith and confession.

(6) And if it should be objected that the Emperor is now dealing with the Elector of Saxony and his religious relatives, but not with those who may join him in the future, and that the Elector of Saxony has no care for others, and that he or his kinsmen have nothing to say about subjects of other dominions, but only about his own.

(7) Likewise, that enough has already been conceded in this, that if those who teach unjustly of the sacrament still (at the present time) sign the confession, and leave the error, they should also be included in the conclusion (soil. of the Diet), the answer is, and it is well to consider, that the antithesis wants to hinder the course and propagation of the gospel, and thus make it impossible for the word of God to go forth. But if we were to say yes to this, it would be just as much as if we were to say: Christ shall not live, but be crucified again. In addition, we must confess that the doctrine preached and handed down at Augsburg is the true and lawful word of God, and that all who believe and keep it are children of God and will be saved, whether they believe now or are enlightened later; this confession will last until the end of the world and the Last Day. For it is written, He that believeth and calleth on God shall be saved.

008 And not only of them which are yet to come, but also of the Christian church which preacheth the word, and of ours which are the members thereof, must we observe. For it is written in Gal. 6:16, "As many as walk according to this rule," 2c. by which saying no one is excluded. Are therefore all who believe and live according to the doctrine of the Confession and Apology, according to such faith and doctrine our brethren, and is their danger as much our concern as ours. Nor can we leave them as members of the true church; they may join us when they will, they may do it in silence or publicly, they may live among us or in foreign lands. This we say and confess.

009 Thirdly, if Christ prayed John 17 for all who would believe the apostles' doctrine, why then should we leave those for whom Christ prayed, and not take heed?

010 Fourthly, since the Lord says, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against the church," and yet such gates do not rest, it necessarily follows that the doctrine is not bound to any certain time, place, or person, but will always endure and remain for all those who either already believe or will hereafter believe.

(11) Fifthly, it cannot be denied that this doctrine, which has been preached and presented at so many imperial congresses and meetings, has always converted a multitude of people to God, who, since the Holy Spirit enlightens them, and yet they are to be rejected and separated from the doctrine, would have to fear that they would 1) resist the Holy Spirit Himself, who so evidently testifies and makes known that such works and actions please Him.

12. II. The other article belongs to the third part of the Gospel, namely, that it must not be approved nor accepted. For by naming only the Zwinglier and Wiederbäufer, they wish to go forth freely, and to be exempt from it, as if they never taught anything contrary to the gospel and the holy sacraments. This, however, cannot be done without violating the conscience and honor of God.

(Thirteen) Therefore, as has been done, we must generally understand all who hold and preach anything other than our Confession and Apology concerning the Doctrine and Sacraments, among which they also belong, so that we do not approve or justify anything of this kind that wounds and offends God's honor and conscience. Say what you will about peace, but you must not buy it with the neglect of God's honor and the loss of religion.

(14) (III) The article of Concilio is to be believed, confessed, and adhered to only in so far as it admits that our doctrine, which we confess, is true, and that no angel from heaven can judge or change it.

1) Here we have erased "not".

The Church is not allowed to judge and change them, much less are emperors, popes, and bishops allowed to judge and change them. Thus in a concilio nothing can be approved or spoken rightly except what agrees with the word of God and is according to it. St. Paul did not yield in the least to those who considered themselves pillars of the church, which example of St. Paul also belongs here. Otherwise one must confess before councils, kings, princes, and all the world that no part acts contrary to faith and confession when he desires that the word of God and preaching be measured, since the word of the Lord cannot nor should be bound. The disciples are commanded in the Acts of the Apostles to remember nothing but the name of Christ; but we hold to their answer, saying, "Judge ye yourselves, whether ye obey God more than men," or Caesar? "For man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth by the mouth of GOD."

IV. Nor can it be admitted and approved that the sacraments should be administered, but that the ministry of the word should be separated from them, since both must go together. For the Lord saith, "Go, preach," and then, "Baptize. And St. Paul saith unto the Corinthians, When ye come together (to preach), let the sacraments be administered.

(16) Nor can it be approved or accepted in good conscience, and without injury to divine honor, to desire that the mere text should be recited to the people without much explanation or exposition; for in this way the edification of the church, and the gift of prophecy, so necessary and useful, would be abolished, since Paul writes to the Corinthians that without the gift of prophecy and exposition of the Scriptures the Christian church cannot exist. Moreover, without prophecy the hearts and consciences are neither awakened nor revealed. For if this gift is gone from the Church, no one can worship and call upon God, or give Him due honor, nor say that God is with His Church. The same is true of all the articles which are in the same way derived from the Word and Sacra.

ments, and not to approve them.

017 In other regions and countries therefore it is not necessary to usurp dominion, but yet to show love and friendship to all men, as Paul saith, "If it be possible, as much as is in you, keep peace with all men." Therefore let us give no occasion to discord and unrest. Pliny writes of the Christians in the time of the emperor Trajani, that their modesty and discipline were admired by other nations, which, of course, is a glory to the gospel.

18. v. The article concerning the preachers and ministers of the word is to be directed that they teach according to the word, "Let your wisdom be known to all men, and teach the word of God with all gladness and meekness." Likewise, "A servant of the Lord needeth not quarrel." 2 Tim. 2:23. Though outward peace be given us, yet disputes about doctrine will always remain, and not be settled. For the gospel will remain a vexation to the Jews and a foolishness to the Greeks, and will take captive (or overpower) all power that opposes God. For this reason we can make (and keep) peace concerning things and goods of the flesh and of the earth, but because of doctrine we must suffer persecution continually.

(19) VI. As to spiritual jurisdiction (or church government), the matter seems to have an inequality, and the equality of ceremonies to serve for the betterment of the church; but against such delusion is this, that the church rulers compel us and our priests in many grievous things, and still like to compel us. To hold many things contrary to the Gospel and conscience. Therefore the jurisdiction and power of the church can by no means be restored to them, nor can they be approved; and it is better that there should be some inequality in dress, ceremonies, and other church customs. For such things belong only to fine order and prosperity, but are in themselves nothing essential. Wherefore the consciences cannot be entangled and made to feel as if they were necessary to salvation.

1) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. IX, 1034, § 65-.

The aim of the project is to link the two, as has been done in the past and is still being done in some places.

VII If it is desired and demanded that the monks who still live in monasteries should not be expelled, lest the mass and other ceremonies, which are a dishonor to the divine name, should be abolished before a general and Christian concilium takes place, we cannot consent to such a desire at all, for the following reasons:

021 He who acts contrary to conscience paves and prepares for himself the way to hell. But it cannot be hidden from anyone that the adversaries consider monasticism and the observance of mass to be useful and necessary for salvation, since they have taught that through such works they would become righteous and blessed before God. Which highly disparages and degrades Christ's merit and suffering, not unlike the fact that it would not be sufficient for the attainment of salvation, nor would it be able to reconcile us to the Father. Next, Hezekiah, king of Judah, is praised for breaking and shattering the bronze serpent, which had been erected by command of God, because it gave rise to idolatry. Thus much less can the mass, as the greatest abomination and detestation of all the abominations that can be named, be approved and admitted.

(22) If it is the duty of the temporal authorities and Imperial Majesty to punish seriously and severely all those who sin against the other table, and to banish them from human society, then the disgrace of the other table must of necessity be punished. If it behooves the temporal sovereignty and imperial majesty to punish severely and harshly all who sin grossly against the other table, and to banish them from human society, then the dishonor of the divine name, and the sins that manifestly and truly dispute against the first table, must necessarily be punished and scolded. And although in some places, because they are ordered and instituted by emperors, the masses are to be tolerated, yet they can and should neither be approved nor justified.

23 VIII. Concerning church goods, revenues, tithes, and interest, because they are secular things, the jurists will be able to pronounce on them, and it seems that it will serve greatly for the restoration and preservation of peace if a forgetfulness (amvssUa) of all that is past is introduced. For we find in the Histories that much the like is done among the heathen also, and that it is much for the confirmation of the

Peace in Athens. It is to be hoped that everyone will admit that such a thing is very necessary even now; namely, that he who possesses something may keep quiet possession, and that the dispute may not be increased over things that must be lost and given back again. For if everything were to be restituted, it would cause much disorder, which would be bad for peace.

(24) IX. If it should be desired to be released, according to every man's conscience and pleasure, to enjoy one or two forms, this can by no means be entered into or accepted. For in this way we absolve from sin those who receive only one form, contrary to the institution and command of Christ. For many godly consciences would be offended at this, since innumerable holy and godly men have been imprisoned for this very cause, and have almost come into danger of life and limb, and have even been banished and actually killed. If, however, one were to emphasize at once what benefit and promotion the common peace and nature, all pious people, the German nation, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Christian faith would derive from this, if one were to yield somewhat in a few pieces and articles, and, at the same time, cite what defeats, damages, and hardships would result if war and upheaval were to break out, because in this way religion and evangelical doctrine would perish on both sides, and the most miserable confusion of all laws and orders would take place, and the Turk and other kings and princes would overwhelm the German people, who are divided and disunited among themselves, for which reason it would not be necessary to break and tear up the peace for the sake of minor disputes over a few articles:

025 It is therefore evil to answer such objections, saying, Let it come to pass that which is right, though all the world fall to pieces over it. For I say that peace is to be relegated to the lowest hell, which is bought with the damage of the gospel and of faith, and hinders and injures them.

026 Hereafter, although such pretence has a fine appearance, yet in the reason of the doctrine which God would have us to have, and we know that it is true, and for the sake of which we shall be preserved in all wars, hardships, and dangers, we must not lose a hair of our heads.

broadly give way, for the sake of temporal and common peace, because such a pretext can easily seduce and deceive us all.

27. Third, since we are commanded and enjoined to confess the word of God, and not easily to depart from that commandment, all danger that may befall us because of the confession of the gospel must be committed to him who, even without our counsel and instruction, already knows how to protect his church in the time of the fiercest tyrants, as he did before these times in a world that was full of tyrants and zealots (namely, in the time of Arii and other heretics). He therefore, who hitherto, when no hope of salvation hath looked forth, hath helped and counseled, and will continue to do so, govern and lead us thus, that we may confidently confess the pure and sincere doctrine of the gospel; to whom be glory and honor for ever and ever. Amen.

(28) If, however, since God is in favor, Imperial Maj. Maj. should, at the instigation and incitement of zealous (restless) people, insist on the words and opinion of certain articles, e.g. of the Concilio; of those who in the future still wish to sign and accede to our Confession and Apology (or Defence); likewise of both and one form, of monasteries and masses, and would have them not abolished, but remain and be tolerated until the time of the Concilii, and that by perfect power and the rule due to her Imperial Majesty: then it is to be considered that their power and authority by no means extend so far. Majesty: it must be considered that their power and authority by no means extend so far. For this would be the case if a matter were to be decided between lands and estates, and the boundaries were to be set, and the dominions were to be separated from one another, since her Majesty would want to mitigate and rectify the settlement and its contents. Here, however, one acts before doctrine and confession, what is to be recognized as right or wrong, to be approved or rejected, as Jerome writes of the woman who was struck seven times, 1) and of whom the Savior says: "Be without falsehood, as the doves."

1) Luther cites the history Oe mutiere septies per6U88A several times as an example of constancy; namely, an innocently condemned woman has been beaten by the executioner seven times without his being able to behead her.

(6) Of the harsh and threatening speeches that were made to the Protestants on the day of the trial by the Elector Joachim of Prandenburg in the name of the Emperor, and how steadfastly they responded to them.

1118: The sharp speech of Elector Joachim of Brandenburg to the protesting estates. 23 Sept. 1530.

The following four documents are found in German in the supplement to Brück's Geschichte, p. 464; in Chyträus, p. 301; and in Müller, lib. III, onp. 39, p. 903. Latin in Oo6l68tinn8, tom. IV, tot. 8o, and afterwards at 00^trg.6N8, 372. - We have used the bariants given at Förstemann, Urknndenbuch, vol. II, p. 607 f. from Brück's Geschichte.

The Imperial Maj. Maj. had heard after the Elector of Saxony and his Elector's Grace related Princes and cities. Her Majesty could not be sufficiently surprised that they might so presumptuously represent that this part of the doctrine and confession handed down was founded on holy divine Scripture and the Gospel, in accordance with God's order; for Her Imperial Majesty would have found them through the holy clear Gospel and the Fathers' Scripture, according to the brave council of many. Maj. would have rejected the same by the holy clear Gospel and the Fathers' Scriptures, according to the brave counsel of many scholars of the Holy Scriptures, not of one nation alone; so also the same doctrine, and all that which the Elector of Saxony and his electoral relatives preach, would have been rejected. G.'s fellow preachers, had been recognized as heretical and unchristian many years ago in many Christian congregations, for which it would again be regarded as such. Maj. would have to be surprised that this part of her Maj. would want to ascribe to it as if she and other princes, rulers and estates were mistaken and did not believe rightly. For if it were the opinion that her Maj.'s noble ancestors, emperors and kings, also other noble electors and princes, especially also the elector of Saxony and other princes' noble ancestors, in whom this holy, lawful and true, Christian, well-founded, long-established faith was planted, should also be considered heretical; for which reason her Maj. cannot be persuaded nor led into this way, and it is by no means true that the Elector of Saxony and his Electoral Grace will not be persuaded to accept this faith. Gn. and his electoral relatives is based on the Gospel in such a way. But because the Imperial Majesty Majesty, who ever loved peace in the Holy Roman Empire and in all things

wanted to see this farewell to the Elector and his Electorate. Gn. If the Elector and his electoral relatives, out of but mercy, and more than she deserves, have this parting made, it would be her Maj.'s gracious request that he, 1) the Elector, and the other relatives in this matter, accept this parting, which even Imperial Maj. and the other estates could by no means change. Maj. and the other estates could by no means change, as then the other Electors, Princes and estates of her Maj. Maj. had accepted and approved the same, considering that, if this did not happen, what complaint, discord and disagreement they, the Elector and his merchant relatives would owe to God would come about. Nor could one find in any Scripture or Gospel that one would take away one's own by force, and then say that one could not in good conscience give it back. As far as the list handed over to Imperial Majesty's Confutation is concerned, it would not have been possible in good conscience to reproduce it. Maj. Confutation, Her Majesty had previously let it be heard that she did not wish to enter into any dispute, as it was also not her Majesty's duty to do in matters of faith and was not her office; therefore Her Imperial Majesty did not at all agree to accept it. Maj. has by no means consented to accept the same, for if this parting were not accepted by them, Imperial Maj. Maj. would, as her Majesty is well entitled to do, cause it to be kept 2c. In addition, the Electors, Princes and Estates would have ordered him to speak, if ever the Elector of Saxony, together with his electoral relatives, had accepted this parting. G. did not want to accept this farewell, that they should turn to Imperial Maj. Maj., as obedient princes of the empire, to offer their body and goods, land and people, and all their property, so that this cause may be helped, as then also Imperial Maj. Maj. again gave them a consoling promise to surrender all their property and also not to leave the Holy Empire until this trade was brought to an end. By order of all the other princes and estates, he would thus have wanted to announce this to them.

1119. the answer given to the Protestants by the chancellor Brück. 23 Schi. 153".

See No. 1118.

Most Sublime Emperor 2c. The Elector of Saxony, together with my most gracious princes, as well as the other related persons in this matter, have, without any danger to your Imperial Majesty, expressed their opinion and their wishes.

1) "he" put by us instead of: ehe.

Answer by my most gracious lord, the Elector of Brandenburg, skillfully, terribly, and in such a way that I would not know how to extend it for my own sake, and also that it would give rise to futile prolongation, humbly heard. Thereupon my most gracious and gracious lords here present, together with the other relatives of these matters, your Imperial Majesty, give this most gracious report. Maj. this most humbly report and answer, that their Supreme and Federal Governors and the others have submitted their confession in writings at the beginning of this Imperial Diet, as yesterday their Supreme and Federal Governors and they also reported to your Imperial Majesty. Maj., are so founded and dedicated in the divine holy Scriptures and in the holy Gospel, as the Scriptures and the reasons which have been introduced and given beside them sufficiently, also loudly and irrefutably testify, that against them, as against the Word of God and the holy Gospel, the gates of hell cannot stand nor be held fast, as is also the case with their Major and Federal Governors and the rest of their kinsmen, for the rejection of Your Imperial Majesty. Maj., as much as may have been gathered and retained from a speedy reading and in haste, even as it were in the air, since their Lord and Lady and they could not have obtained the same Confutation in any other way than to the extent desired by Your Imperial Majesty at that time. Majesty's request at that time, and yet to their electors and princes. and to them, in such a way as to have been highly burdensome, have had them assembled, and Your Imperial Majesty has graciously, in this way, made it possible. Maj. graciously, as a praiseworthy emperor, will have to note that their electors and princes, as well as the co-walkers, have been able to take over the matter. Your Imperial Majesty, and also your fellow relatives, herewith once more in all submissiveness. Maj. with all submission and humility. But as far as the farewell is concerned, which Your Imperial Maj. Maj. yesterday held against my most gracious and gracious lords and their kinsmen, let your Imperial Maj. Maj. shall undoubtedly take it for granted and respect that their sovereign and princely sovereigns are ever submissively inclined. Your Imperial Majesty shall consider it without doubt and take care that your Highnesses and Princes are ever humbly inclined, in all that is possible with God and conscience, to respond to your Imperial Majesty's request. Maj.'s request; but for what most important and most valiant reasons their sovereign and princely lords, as well as their co-relatives, are not willing to be submissive. and princely graces, as well as their kinsmen, their consciences, and the most touching Christian confessions made before Your Imperial Majesty. Maj., it is burdensome for them, even impossible, to grant such a read-out parting, or to accept its contents, is this morning presented to my gracious Lord, Mr. Georgen Truchsess, your Imperial Maj. Maj. Councillor and Servant, and the Chancellor of Baden, who have met with my gracious Lord, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg.

bürg, also the other councillors appointed by my most gracious and gracious lords, and the envoys of the cities, have been admitted for the purpose of discussing such farewells, and have been notified according to the length which their churlish and princely hope of your imperial majesty, the prince, and also your fellow kinsmen, have hoped for. G. also of the co-relatives hope of Your Imperial Maj. Maj. and Royal Dignity of Hungary and Bohemia, Princes, Princes and Estates, my most gracious, gracious and favorable Lords, have reported such causes and complaints without doubt according to necessity. However, if this does not happen, my most gracious and kind lords and their relatives are requested to bring the same complaints before your Imperial Majesty and Royal Highness. Majesty and King, also Princes, Princes and Estates, and to have them reported themselves. And therefore my most gracious and gracious Lords' most humble request of this part is once again, as it was yesterday, your Imperial Majesty's most humble request. Maj. in all submission, that they wish to grant their Lordships and Princes, also you, such a request. They also, as their most gracious Emperor and Lord, graciously send them copies and transcripts of this farewell, which has been read out, in the most gracious consideration of this most important transaction; as Your Imperial Majesty, without this, for the sake of the articles, so unparalleled, by virtue of the same farewell, graciously gives consideration to their Electoral and Princely Graces. Your Imperial Majesty has graciously granted that, without the articles of the same decree being so incomparable, their Electoral and Princely Graces may diligently and urgently consider, deliberate and consult the articles of the same decree, together with all acts done, and the envoys may deliver and bring the same to their lords and friends by whom they have been appointed, and in all things may be found in good counsel, that their Electoral and Princely Graces may also bring the other covenants to the attention of their lords and friends, and in all things may be found in good counsel. Gn. also the other kinsmen, may, shall, and may always do, or not do, according to the divine word and conscience, for the sake of love and unity, and Your Imperial Majesty may, between the appointed time and the appointed time, give the same to their lords and friends by whom they are ordered, and in all things as may be found in good counsel. Maj. between the appointed time, as the 15th day of the month of April, henceforth to make known to your Imperial Majesty by their sealed letters what their minds and concerns would be thereon. Maj. by their sealed letters, and also wish to show all submissiveness to Your Imperial Majesty. Maj. in all submissiveness with body and goods, and all that is inviolable for the sake of conscience, and, no less than other Princes, Princes and Estates, to all owing, also entirely willing obedience. But when Your Imperial Maj. Maj. by the Elector of Brandenburg, my most gracious and gracious lord, together with their co-relatives in this matter, have furthermore indicated how your Imperial Majesty is to obey their sovereign and gracious lordship. Majesty of her Electoral and Princely. Gn. and Princely Grace a great astonishment, that

their consciences are also drawn to the others by their sovereigns and princes, although it is not written in any place in the Word of God or in the Gospel that one should take away one's own 2c. and their kinsmen, agree with your Imperial Majesty that such a thing is contrary to the law. Maj. that such would be contrary to God and his holy word. But their graces and they know themselves to be quite free and certain of the same from the graces of God, and that they have not deprived anyone of what is his (who would like to put it on with reason and conscience). Where it might also be meant and intended for the dissolved monasteries, your Highnesses and F. G. also humbly remember the others, inasmuch as by those who have been appointed in their part to the Committee of Fourteen, a written request has been made for the sake of such dissolved monasteries and estates, and against your Imperial Majesty, also before this, and against the other monasteries and estates. Maj. also before, and today against Mr. Georgen Truchsess and the Chancellor of Baden, in this form and always, for the sake of their chur- and F. G. and the others, namely, that they want to keep and show themselves between here and a general, Christian Concilio, so that your Imperial Maj. Maj. should have to decide that they neither seek nor desire their own benefit therein, so that then in the said General Concilio such monasteries and estates may be transferred to your Imperial Maj. and a Concilii christii. Maj. and a Concilii Christian concern, such monasteries and estates may be ordered and turned to other Christian things and ways, as the Elector of Saxony has also done on this account, free, unprovoked report, also due submission, on some clergymen's unfounded handed over complaints, to those who deserve the Supplication on these Imperial Diets, with attached permanent causes of the administration and maintenance of indicated disposed monasteries, all this his Electorate has done before Your Imperial Majesty. G. before Your Imperial Maj. Maj. herewith repeated. As much, however, as is touched upon concerning the Electors and Princes, my most gracious and gracious Lords, so in the negotiation, of which some of your Electors and Fathers, together with some absent embassies, undertook on various days at this Imperial Diet, almost the same report has been made to their Electors and Fathers and to their relatives. and their kinsmen; however, their Supreme and Federal Governors, with a necessary reply, have in turn had the matter heard without reference, which Supreme and Federal Governors and the embassies have at that time, for the sake of a more equal retention and hearing, been served with writings and publicly read out, which have undoubtedly been presented to Your Imperial Majesty. Maj. that there was no need for such a reminder from the Elector and Princes. And for this reason

my most gracious and gracious Lords, also their related cities, that Electors, Princes and Estates would burden themselves with such a burdensome obligation for the sake of their Supreme and Federal Governments, as spoken of by the Elector of Brandenburg; for their Grace, and the other undoubted hopes, 1) if their Supreme and Federal Governments also do not give the Estates cause to do so, as they would also unwillingly do so again for the sake of inequity. Gn. do not give the estates cause to do so, as they would also unwillingly do again to the inequity, with again most humbly request to your Imperial Majesty, that they will comply with the requested obligation. They want to show themselves merciful to the requested copy, also for the sake of a precarious time limit, towards their Lord and Queen and their relatives, and against them, over such manifold requests and entreaties, by no means let themselves be moved to disfavor, but be their most gracious Lord and Emperor. This they offer in all submissiveness for the sake of Your Imperial Majesty. Maj.

1120 The Emperor's more distant and still more severe notice by Churbrandenburg. 23 Sept. 1530.

See No. 1118.

Emperor! Her Majesty would again have listened to this part's rebuttal, and her Majesty would not admit, as we would slowly persuade her, that our part's faith and confession is so founded in the Gospel. For her Majesty would also have a conscience, and would be much less likely to deviate in her opinion from the holy Christian church, and [from the] long established holy Christian faith, than the Elector of Saxony and his electoral kin. Grace's fellow relatives 2c. But as far as the parting is concerned, where the Elector and his kinsmen, whom, as he has placed, also Imperial Majesty has no change of the Christian faith. Majesty does not tolerate any change, then it would be there; if not, then Imperial Majesty would let it remain with the answer given before, with the appendix that Her Imperial Majesty, after the expiration of 2c. 2) after the end of this Imperial Diet, with Princes, Princes and Estates, how to proceed with the matter, to finally decide on a Christian farewell; also wanted to seek advice from the Pope and other Christian kings and potentates on what Her Majesty, as a Christian Emperor and protector, should do in this matter for the preservation of the old true Christian faith, and that this new error and sect should be completely eradicated and the German faith should be strengthened.

1) The text is not in order here.
2) In the old edition: "change" instead of termination --- termination.

Nation to be brought back to Christian unity. But as far as [the] Prince, Princes and the other estates of the empire are concerned, the matter would not be so pure as presented by the widow's remarks; For the princes and sovereigns would have been given sufficient cause by the fact that the preachers of this part, who aroused the peasant revolt, overthrew and strangled a hundred thousand people because of it, just as some princes and sovereigns have met with all kinds of insults and tolerated all kinds of things in the same cities, both clerical and secular, to diminish their honors; therefore it would not be so pure that they would not give cause. And it would be the Emperor's Majesty's serious command to restore and reinstate the abbots, monks and others who have been spoliated and expelled, because 3) Her Majesty would be solicited in many ways by Supplication 2c.

1121: The repeated declaration of the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen. 23 Sept. 1530.

See No. 1118.

The remonstrances made by Imperial Majesty to the Elector of Brandenburg and the other princes and estates of this part. Majesty by the Elector of Brandenburg 2c. the Elector of Saxony and the other Princes and Estates of this part, their Electoral and Princely Graces and they, the cities, have listened in submission. Their electoral and princely graces and they, the cities, would have listened in subservience. And it would be their necessity to let themselves be taken again with responsibility according to the length. But the estates of this part would think that it is a little late in the day, and that Imperial Majesty has already been delayed a little. Majesty has already been delayed a little long, which is why they wanted to shorten the matter as much as possible. And first of all, as far as the read parting and the offered replica are concerned, even though the princes and princes together with their kinsmen stood in the most humble hope to the imperial majesty that her imperial majesty would grant this part of the treaty. Majesty would send to this part the requested copies of the aforesaid farewell, together with the questionable time limit, also the offered replica, which is to be sent to the Emperor. M. [Order], and the read Confutation, compiled by sovereigns and princes, together with the cities related to this part, would not have refused, but nevertheless Imperial Majesty of her sovereignty would not have refused. Majesty has granted their most humble request in the

3) Here the Margravial Brandenburg manuscript continues thus: "where this does not happen, her Maj. would cause a fair understanding to do so herself". On the other hand the words following here in the text are deleted.

Not inclined to give, they would have to leave it at that. For the estates of this part would not give the Imperial Majesty, as their most gracious lord and emperor, any measure in this matter. Majesty, as their most gracious lord and emperor, no measure to give in this, but they have wanted to comply with their previous request with the replica; but for what constant and important causes the princes, princes and cities of this part do not know how to grant in the aforementioned parting, the Imperial Majesty has asked Mr. Georgen Truchseß and the Chancellor of Baden to give their consent. Majesty has received sufficient report from Mr. Georgen Truchsess and the Chancellor of Baden, as this part would understand. Nevertheless, the Elector of Saxony and his electoral co-relatives, the Prince of Saxony and his electoral co-relatives, wished to have a report from the Chancellor of Baden. Nevertheless, the Elector of Saxony and his electoral relatives, princes and cities wanted to discuss and move this part of the treaty with them between now and April 15, and to show themselves in all that they can, should, and may or may not do with God and conscience, out of love for Christian unity, to serve this part, and to show themselves against the imperial majesty, under their electoral authority. Majesty, under their chur- and princely grace. With a Christian, unquestionable answer, let the matter be heard within the time concerned. And thereupon it is once more humbly requested that Imperial Majesty will not bear any burden of this, but will graciously regard and consider this part of the Prince, Princes, and related cities' need, together with the greatness of this trade, as a most gracious Emperor. After that, when the Electors, Princes and Estates, on account of the other part, by the Elector of Brandenburg, and especially the Elector of Saxony, before the Imperial Majesty, have imposed a treaty on the Emperor. Majesty, as if his Electoral Grace had acted against the other Elector. His Elector's Grace has not shown himself to such an extent against the other Electors and Princes that there is no reason for them to turn to the Imperial Majesty, as has been said before. Majesty, as mentioned before, that also the matters of his Electoral Grace are not quite pure. Grace's things were not quite pure 2c. Such unfriendly imposition and complaint before Imperial Maj. Maj. from the princes and princes of the other part, as his electoral graces lords and friends. The princes and estates of this part would also know where their Imperial Majesty should hold out longer. Maj. would have good reason to postpone all of this, purely and continually, as the Elector, together with his Electoral Grace, and all of his friends, have done. Grace, would be innocent of all reprimands before God and men. For if anyone among the princes and princes of the other part were to accuse the Elector of Saxony or the other co-relatives, and thought that he did not know how to obtain justice for them in kind.

The Elector might not have been aware of the right to ordinary courts, of which also his Electoral Grace and the others were reluctant to refuse. and the others would not have liked to refuse; therefore the Elector should have been spared such a suit besides the others of his Electoral Grace. Grace's fellow relatives should have been spared. But besides this, the estates of this part ask to be heard by the Imperial Majesty as their lord and master. Majesty, as their Lord and Emperor and as the authorities decreed by God, now and herewith once more to an abundance, that they will bring to the attention of the Imperial Majesty or of the same Majesty, the Princes and anyone who thinks to accuse the Christian estates of this part, or who thinks to have some matters in dispute. Majesty or the courts ordered by the same, or as is always due, be of the right, and have the right knowledge shown and divorced, and in everything that is legally known and proven, want to keep duly and obediently, in comforting and good hope, Electors, Princes and Estates of the other part, Princes and Estates of the other part will in one part recognize that the manner in which one shows and holds oneself towards his Electoral Grace, also towards his fellow relatives, lands and subjects, must be that which is sufficiently to be shown, where it would have time, of the unlawful, 1) which also the Elector of Saxony wants to condition and reserve for him before Imperial Majesty. Majesty has conditioned and reserved for him. That also the Elector of Saxony wants to be basically blamed by the other part of the estates and causes of the next peasant uprising to several disparagement, that would have been much less provided for this part. It is also the duty of the Elector of Saxony and his electoral relatives before His Imperial Majesty to further discredit him. Majesty, because the Elector of Saxony has given neither advice nor action, or some cause for the same sedition, which would also have to be understood from this, because such sedition is not less burdensome to the Elector than to anyone else of the Electors, Princes and Estates. Thus also the estates of this part, but for their glory, have not shown themselves with less earnestness and expense to quell the same rebellion than anyone else, and to all this the Elector does not know any other way (although his Electoral Grace will have it changed), than that four years ago the smaller number in the 26th, at the first Speier Imperial Diet, which the Imperial Majesty proclaimed there. Majesty proclaimed, an instruction was issued and discussed, also by the royal dignity of Hungary and Bohemia,

1) In the preceding, the text is corrupted. Gin sense would be produced, if one instead of: "the Elector of Saxony, to" read: "recognize that". We have put the latter into the text, since it agrees with No. 1127.

as Imperial Majesty's governor and brother, together with other commissaries then ordered by Imperial Majesty. Majesty, also Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, had been unanimously approved and resolved, whereupon also a stately brave embassy to the Imperial Maj. in Hispania should have been made. In this Instruction the Causes, whence or from whence such Rebellion arose, have been clearly expressed and incorporated by the Electors, Princes and Estates of Saxony, whereupon the Elector of Saxony, in order to ascertain such Causes, wishes to have referred and drawn, that therefore his Electoral Grace and related Princes of the Empire are to be granted the same. His Elector's Grace and the princes and cities related to him should therefore have been spared and spared. And finally, the consolation and hope of the Elector of Saxony, as well as of the other princes and fellow relatives, in all this is to God the Lord alone, and also to the Imperial Majesty, as a praiseworthy God. Majesty, as a praiseworthy Emperor, in the most humble hope that Her Imperial Majesty will give these matters an opportunity. Majesty will graciously consider this matter, and will not be moved to disfavor the Christian estates of this part, but will be their most gracious Emperor and Lord, and offer themselves against the Imperial Majesty to the same no less than for the sake of the Emperor. Majesty no less than anyone else, in all things due or due, even above their due duty, their body, goods and fortune; is also Electors, Princes and Estates above the aforesaid of their Electoral and Princely Grace. and Christian hereditary and legal commandments, it is not necessary, for the sake of this part, to obligate themselves against Imperial Maj. Maj. for this part. And thereupon they have pledged themselves to the Imperial Majesty in all submissiveness.

1122. Imperial Majesty's final conclusion.

23 Sept. 1530.

The two following documents are from the unnamed auat. upol. rutu6. reprinted in Müller's Historie, lib. Ill, 6Np. 39, p. 919.

Emperor! Majesty was based on her opinion, which she decided with Princes and Estates, and how it would have been indicated to the Elector of Saxony and the other Princes and Estates of this part; and she would not have considered changing the given agreement this time. What has also been reported to this part, and especially to the Elector of Saxony, would have been done by all Electors, Princes and Estates in general, together with what they have offered in writings also against the Imperial Majesty. Majesty shall henceforth remain and be based.

123 Repeated request and entreaty of the Augsburg Confession relatives.

23 Sept. 1530.

See No. 1122.

Their Electoral and Princely Graces, also their fellow relatives, wish to have their most humbly given notice, request and entreaty, so that the Imperial Majesty would not be delayed any longer, raised again most humbly. Majesty would not be delayed any longer, again also most humbly, with most humbly request, that Imperial Majesty would in his graciousness Majesty, in gracious consideration of them, would not be moved to disfavor them, but would be their most gracious Emperor and Lord, which they wanted to deserve for their Majesty's sake with body and soul. Majesty, as the Elector of Saxony in particular did before, manly, be he ecclesiastical or secular, before the Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and as was due, to be just, so that no one would have to complain on their account.

D. Of the Elector of Saxony's Departure from the Diet together with some Protestant Princes and what was done after it with his envoys left behind because of the arduous departure.

Luther's letter to Lazarus Spengler, in which he thanks God that the Prince has once been released from hell. September 28, 1530.

The original of this letter is at the fortress of Coburg. From another, alleged original in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 64; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 174 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 194. We have inserted the variants of the original according to Burkhardt, p. 185.

To the honorable, prudent Mr. Lazaro Spengler, the City of Nuremberg Syndico, my favorable master and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, careful dear lord and friend! I have received my letters, which I sent to you, again through M. Vitum. And that you are concerned that M. Philip might have been more distressed by them, you do as a good friend, although [I] had not named anyone in them, and the like had been mentioned to me before by many others.

was announced to great gentlemen. And I think they would have given us credit for taking such care of this matter and writing something serious, and I am also willing to let them read these letters. But God has promised that our dear Prince will one day be released from hell. God willing, he is uutoi- pueis ot urbitor belli. We have done enough, he who does not want to have peace, God can create discord enough for him. I will also write without this, if you desire, to the pious prince Margrave Georgen, admonishing and comforting both. May the merciful God also strengthen your dear Lord, together with you, your preachers and the entire congregation, amen. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. From Coburg 1530, on the evening of St. Michael's Day [Sept. 28].

Martinus Luther.

ther's Letter to Lazarus Spengler. October 1, 1530.

This letter is in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 64; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 177; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 195.

Your honorable, prudent Mr. Lazaro Spengler, the city of Nuremberg Syndico, my favorable lord and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ! The farewell in Augsburg, my dear Lord and friend, which you R. Vito indicated in writings, has been revealed to me orally and in writing by my beloved Duke of Lüneburg. I mean yes, that is called "worldly wisdom. Let it be understood that our Christ, condemned by them, is nevertheless so powerful that he can govern not only washers but also fools. And how should or could it be otherwise, where they rage against God's public wisdom, than when they disgrace God and mock us, as the other psalm sings? But there is no end to it, they must also experience the following little verse: lo^uotui- uä oos in ira sua. So they want it. Isiut, osuoä potitur. We are pardoned, and have done enough. LunAuis ooruiu sit super euput ipsorum. I also wrote D. Wenceslao, for my good old confrere and monastic, Mr. Martin Glaser, that he may be with you and others.

wanted to promote his cause. For this reason, please also ask your fathers to command him, for I do not know how he is doing without him writing to me that he must leave the preaching ministry for the sake of armuth, which I do not like to see. May the merciful God strengthen and guide you by His Spirit, and may He help us to be happy together there, Amen. From Coburg, on the first of October 1530, Martin Luther.

Luther's congratulations to the Elector on his departure from Augsburg. October 3, 1530.

The original of this letter is in the joint archives at Weimar. Printed from it in Müller's ; History, lib. III, omzi. 4l, p. 926; by Cyprian in his Beilagen zur Hist. der Augsb. Conf, p. 299; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. I78; and in Förstemann, Urknndenbuch, vol. II, p. 667. Further, in the Eisleben 'Ausgabe, vol. II, p. 19; in the Altenburger, vol. V, p. 528; in the Leipziger, vol. XX, p. 179; and in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 197. The postscript is missing in Müller, in the Eisleben, Altenburger, Leipziger 'editions, and in Walch. The supplement in De Wette, Förstemann and in the Erlanger belongs to "No. 929 in this volume. Only the first. Half of the letter is also in Latin in Ooolostinus, tom. I V, toi. 92 and in Luüüon8, 212.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Johans, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord,

in S. C. F. G.'s own hands.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I am heartily pleased that C.F.G. has come from hell to Augsburg with the grace of God. And even though the disgrace of men, together with their God, the devil, can almost be regarded as sour, we nevertheless hope that God's grace, which has begun, shall also henceforth be all the stronger and more with us. They are in God's hands as much as we are, that is not lacking, and they will neither do nor accomplish anything, let him have it, nor will he harm a hair of our head or anyone else's, for God Himself will do it mightily. I have commanded this thing to my Lord God. I know that he has begun it; I believe that he will bring it forth. It is not in the power of any man to begin or to give such teaching. Because it is

If God's will is that all things are not in our hand nor in our art, but only in His hand and art, then I will see who will be those who want to overtake and surpass God Himself. Let what is done be done in the name of God. It is written [Ps. 55:24] that the bloodthirsty and the false shall not be brought to judgment. Let them begin, and let them threaten; but let them finish, and let them perform. Christ our Lord, strengthen E. C. F. G. in a steadfast and joyful spirit, Amen.

Also, most gracious sir, because I have kept house here in Coburg this half year, I must report several defects to E. C. F. G., please E. C. F. G. not to complain, for I acknowledge myself guilty of such reporting, and E. C. F. G. not to complain. C. F. G. no more trouble than to give a serious order to the officials and whoever is ordered to do so. I have not only seen it from lesser people, but also through myself. So E. C. F. G. can find out all this from Hansen von Sternberg 1) and the Kastner, both of whom have secretly complained to me about it themselves, and as pious faithful people (when I experienced them) have great displeasure with it, and yet can do nothing. Will present such deficiencies here in the enclosed note 2) to E. C. F. G., and have humbly requested that E. C. F. G. would use some seriousness for once, and thus order that one would have to take it for an order. Date at Coburg, October 3, 1530.

E. C. F. G.
blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

[Postscript.]

The heads of the common caste have also asked me to hand over and promote this application to the C.F.G., which I do not know how to refuse because I am a guest here. E. C. F. G. will know how to graciously show themselves.

1) On August 27, 1530, Luther assigned to him the interpretation of the 117th Psalm. See St. Louis edition, Vol. V, 1132.
2) This note has been lost.

1127 Report of the envoys of the Electorate of Saxony to the Elector of the Excuse of the Elector of the Palatinate because of the troublesome speech of the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg.

September 24, 1530.

This and the following document are found in Müller's Historie, lib. III, 41, p. 927. - This document is found as an enclosure to a short letter of the Councillors to the Elector in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 0I4.

After the deputies of the Count Palatine, Elector, had heard the arduous speech, after the given farewell of Roman Imperial Majesty, of yesterday's day against our most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony, also the other princes. Maj. of yesterday, against our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, as well as the other princes and relatives of this matter, they would have been willing and willing, immediately in the presence of Imperial Majesty, Royal Duke of Hungary and Bohemia 2. Majesty, Royal Duke of Hungary and Bohemia, and the other princes and rulers, to speak against it, that such a thing had been brought forward without their knowledge and consent; yet they would not all have been together, and even those who were present among them, could not well have come together in the press of the interrogation and talked it over. For their lord would not have known how to attract our most gracious lord, nor the other princes and relatives, in such matters; therefore their lord would not have tolerated it, nor would they have suffered it, nor would they have been commanded to do so. But immediately after the end of the interrogation they had come together and discussed the matter with Duke Frederick, Count Palatine, and were first of all of the opinion that they should inform our most gracious lord as soon as possible, and before his Elector Palatine departs. They had first of all the opinion that they wanted to ask our most gracious lord as soon as possible, and before his electoral majesty departs, with a touching apology from their lord. Majesty and King Ferdinand beforehand, which was also done in this manner, and reached both lords, the Emperor and King, on the day of yesterday, Friday [Sept. 23], as a matter of necessity, with notice, as is evident, that this had happened without their knowledge and will, and they did not know our most gracious lord in this. 3) In addition, they had been informed today, Saturday, that they would be leaving the country. Furthermore, today, Saturday, they also appeared before the other sovereigns and princes who were together in the town hall, and publicly made a special report and apology to each estate, although one of the princes, whom they did not name, answered that they would present or report this to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty or to report it. Whereas the

3) Förstemann: Knowledge.

Palatine would have let it be heard again, they let it happen well, are not afraid of it, for it would have been announced to the Emperor and the King by themselves without this before. M. and the King without this having been opened and made known by themselves. Besides that, they did not want to save us from the fact that Emperor M. was on their side. M. personally answered to their request in this matter: "It was wrong and it was too much. For this reason 1) we finally asked that we would like to make such a report and apology to our most gracious lord, for it would have happened without her knowledge, and would also have no order to grant it, for her lord would have known his electors and the other princes. They also wanted to present such a complaint and apology to Margrave George of Brandenburg and the landgravial councillors as soon as possible on this day. To which we replied, after due consideration, among other things, that we wished to have such a request and application made to our most gracious lord without delay, without doubt that his C. F. Grace would graciously take note of it, and that his Electoral Grace would be pleased with what had happened. His Grace would graciously note it, and that his Electors would not have had anything else to do with the Christian, lawful, and high inheritance that had occurred, except that it would not be their will and opinion to approve or give chance to such burdensome and seriously disadvantageous undertakings, considering all the opportunities and careful circumstances that might arise and occur from it; moreover, that we have noted our most gracious Lord's mind of the friendly will towards their Lord, where his Electors would have been unconcerned about legal inheritance. We have also noted that our most gracious lord's mind of kindness towards their lord, where their gracious lord would like to be charged with an unjust complaint about a legal inheritance, that our most gracious lord would show himself to be a friend and prove himself to be a friend; as their graces on all sides would be well obligated to each other in matters of their proper and sincere inheritance, so that everything that would be beneficial and detrimental to everyone would be well taken care of.

1128. electoral saxonian rescript on prei

report. The 28th of September 1530.

See No. 1127. with Förstemann I. c. P. 638 from the original in the Weimar Archives, Lkg. L, toi. 37, no. 3, pp. 92 and 94.

1) The subject of this sentence is: "the Palatine counsellors".

To the well-born of our ranks and dear faithful, Albrechten, Count and Lord of Mansfeld, Hansen, Noble of Plaunitz, Christoffen of Taubenhaim, Knight, and Hansen of Dolzigk 2c.

...in general and in particular...

By the Grace of God John, Duke of Saxony, and Elector 2c.

Dear Councillors and Faithful! We have received your letter, dated Augsburg, Saturday after Mauritius [Sept. 24], yesterday, Tuesday thereafter, towards evening, here at Nuremberg; and that our friendly dear cousins, Count Palatine Ludwig, Elector 2c. We have understood this from them as a special gracious favor, and that our friendly dear cousins, Count Palatine Ludwig, Elector 2c., in place of and on account of his love, according to the enclosed document sent to you, have so shown themselves and kept themselves to us. And although we had no doubt at all about our cousin, the Count Palatine, that his love's mind, opinion and disguise 2) had not been in such indications, as has nevertheless been publicly and grievously brought forward against us by our grandfather, the Elector of Brandenburg, on account of all Electors, Princes and Estates in general: It is a special pleasure to us that we should have heard this on account of his love, and we request that you inform the Palatine Councillors of the fact that you have let us know of their presentation and gesture, which they made on account of our dear cousin, and that we have reported our friendly good confidence, which we have towards our cousin, the Palgrave, their Lord, the Count Palatine, their lord, we thank them graciously, with the offer, with which we know how to show honor, love and good to his love again, that we, as cousin and friend, will gladly do so again with body and goods, even without that of our blood relationship, and will not forget this again in good. What else you will learn of this and other matters, you may send to us for our attention and make known to us; in this you do our pleasing opinion. Date at Nuremberg, Wednesday after Mauritius [Sept. 28] Anno Domini 1530.

2) "Verhellung" - consent set by us instead of: "Verheelung".

E. How the decree of the Diet has been published to the cities as well, and what they have done for an explanation from this.

1129. declaration of the cities which have accepted the parting, but only conditionally.

The following three documents are found in the common archive at Weimar. Printed in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 640 ff., namely this document from the Margravial Ansbach Acts No. 55, the other two from the archives at Weimar, L, toi. 37. further with Chyträus, Bl. 305 b and with Müller, lib. III, onp. 49, p. 936. Förstemann places all three documents on September 29, and lets these declarations be the answer to No. 1131, while it is the other way round with Walch.

When on account of Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, by the most illustrious Highborn Prince, our most gracious Lord, Duke Frederick 2c., a further most gracious telling, request and demand was made yesterday, which the required free and imperial cities heard in all loyalty, and on approved consideration, further consulted, and considered that which your Imperial Majesty had done in all loyalty and faithful opinion. Majesty has done in all loyalty and faithfulness. And although it is a burden to them, at your Imperial Majesty's Majesty's most gracious request, after the opportunity of the runners, to give a more truthful answer, however, to be subservient to Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty's most subservient favor, the cities hereunder will, upon such request and petition common to Their Imperial Majesties, give a more explicit answer. Majesty's common request and desire, most humbly comply. With the most humble confidence, Her Imperial Majesty. Maj. will, in addition, give the highest and most gracious consideration to such report and request as they have given before, and will undertake ways and means everywhere that will serve peace and rights, as well as administration, government, and the prevention of disagreement, and, in addition, will have the most gracious understanding as to whether, at this and other Imperial Diets, such a thing would be undertaken that would be burdensome, unpleasant, and not deceptive to the cities mentioned; not that they would like the same thoroughly badly, as has been presented to their Imperial Majesty. Majesty, but that they should also be heard in their complaints and most humble presentations, and that the charge should be acted upon, as has also been done before in the old imperial diets, and especially what is subsequently done here in the resolution and decree, that they should also hear the same, and that their necessity should be brought forward against it, then they will do everything that can be done for them in the most humble manner.

The most obedient obedience will be possible, and at the same time to live up to the Speierian farewell in all submissiveness.

Your Imperial Maj.

most subservient

Cologne.	Regensburg.	
Hagenau.	Eßlingen.	
	Colmar.	Noerdlingen.
Goslar.	Offenburg.	
Ueberlingen.	Rothweil.	
Kaufbeuern.	Schweinfurt.	
Schwäbischwerd.	Augsburg.	

1130. declaration of the cities of Frankfurt, Ulm and Schwäbisch-Hall that they cannot accept the farewell without having orders from theirs.

See the previous number.

Most Sublime Emperor, although we have no doubt that your Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, will be our lords and friends. Majesty, our most gracious lord, our lords and friends, what serves for the handling of peace, justice and Christian faith, with all their property, body and soul, as obedient subjects, but since the matter, for which we are requested to give further answer, may reach further in itself and in the action already taken, than we may now think, also for this reason no order from ours, as they do not provide for this case 1) according to their reputation, then Imperial Majesty may graciously accept that we, behind the aforementioned our friends, in such an important and great matter, are to be given the order of the Emperor. Maj. graciously accept that we do not know how to respond to the aforementioned friends of ours in such an important and great matter without an order. Maj. would graciously grant us, as the envoys, such to no disfavor, but according to our necessity and for the above-mentioned reason, and to let such reach our friends behind them, 2) most graciously. For the sake of Her Imperial Majesty, we are obliged and inclined to do so.

Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty's Most Humbled Envoys to the Honourable Imperial Cities of Frankfurt, Ulm and Swabian Hall.

1) Förstemann: "Raths".

2) These cities would hardly have dared to make this request after the Emperor's resolute declaration in the following number that he wanted to "give no consideration". Therefore, this document will have to be set earlier.

1131 The Emperor's answer to the declaration of the cities on the question whether they wanted to accept the parting or not. Sept. 29, 1530. 1)

See No. 1129.

On Thursday Michaelmas kais. Maj. gave this answer to the cities:

First of all, that Emperor Majesty acted with the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen. Majesty has acted with the Elector of Saxony and his co-relatives, not as an imperial state, but as a Roman Emperor, to find ways and means with his advisors to bring the matter to peace.

On the other hand, to preserve the peace of the land, her Majesty is inclined to all peace, and has also made peace everywhere where he has been; but because an error and discord has arisen in the holy faith, her Majesty must expiate it as he may.

Thirdly, Her Majesty is inclined that a Concilium be held, and his desire is also to help to manage the same.

On the fifth) that the cities request a consideration to bring such behind them to their sovereigns, so far the usage has not been to give them no consideration, not to bring anything behind them, but what common estates with the sovereigns have come to council, that the cities shall accept and stay with it, and it is still her Majesty's gracious request that the cities want to indicate whether they want to stay with her Majesty or not, as they were also held out to them before.

1132. imperial lecture to the city of Augsburg, in which it is harshly urged to accept the imperial decree for the sake of religion and, in the case of of the Catholic religion. The

13 November 1530.

This document is found in the supplements to Brück's History, p. 483 and afterwards in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 825. Latin in Ooslsstinus, tom. IV, x. 99 and from it German in Walch.

Translated from the Latin by I. F.

1) That this document cannot be the answer to the declarations of the cities given in the two preceding numbers is obvious from the contents of these documents. In the Weimar archives, the declaration of the cities follows only after this answer of the Emperor. In the Acts, our writing has the external inscription: "Was von wegen röm. kais. Majesty has been held up to the honorable free and imperial cities in response to their given answer on Thursday Michaelmas, and they have replied to it."

2) To the fourth point of the cities the emperor had no objection. (Förstemann.)

(1) The Emperor Carl, always greater, our most gracious lord, has listened to your opinion that you cannot accept the religious renunciation, and is most astonished that you want to reject it from you, since you have not brought forward any sufficient moving causes for your action and resolution. For the Emperor's Majesty Majesty never believed that you would separate yourselves from his Majesty as Roman Emperor and your rightful head, and not rather follow in the footsteps of your forefathers, the Imperial Emperor and his predecessors. Majesty and his predecessors the due obedience and reverence.

(2) Moreover, you cannot be unaware of how many and great acts of mercy the Emperor Maximilian, of blessed memory, and the whole House of Austria have done for you in former times, which will no doubt still be fresh in your memory, because they are far too well known and important, and for that very reason should be before your eyes every day.

(3) Accordingly, it is the command and will of His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Majesty, our most gracious lord, command and will that you, after mature consideration of the matter, accept the religious agreement, as you also formerly accepted the Speirical 3) agreement, and from many testimonies of holy Scripture it can be proven and made clear that this conclusion is entirely in accordance with the old religion and Christian doctrine, as your ancestors also approved and accepted it, especially since it refers to the pronouncement and the prestige of a future, free and general concilii.

(4) You are therefore again earnestly commanded by the most invincible Emperor not to refuse to take leave, and not to separate yourselves from his Majesty, your lawful lord. For the most Christian emperor, our most gracious lord, is as concerned about the salvation of his own soul as others, and because he seeks to keep his conscience pure and unharmed, he would, as is easy to see, unwillingly deviate from the right path of truth, much less knowingly lead others into error.

5th If this cause should stand in your way, that you would gladly accept and approve the parting for yourselves, if citizens and subjects did not oppose it, then the Imperial Maj. assures you by his loyalty not to arise with his protection and power, and to help to ensure that the rabble, if it

3) In the old edition: "Spanish" instead of: "Speirifchen".

4) "unwillingly" shredded by us instead of: against our will.

may retain the upper hand, as he also prevented and averted in the peasants' uprising. For your Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, well understands that such a dangerous uprising would be regarded primarily by you, as brave, just, rich and respectable men, and would affect you the most.

(6) Therefore, his Majesty is entirely of the opinion that, if you set an example and rid yourselves of the suspicion of the cause that you seem to protect and defend, the citizens could easily be kept in obedience and in check, so that they would not separate from Imperial Majesty and their authorities, but would follow in the footsteps of their predecessors. Maj. and their authorities, but would follow in the footsteps of their predecessors. But if, after this kind reminder from the most gracious Emperor, you nevertheless continue to act obstinately and contrary to his wishes, and out of guilty obedience to his Majesty do not accept the farewell, then you alone will have to ascribe all the blame to yourselves, [since] your office entails punishing and restraining the rebellious, disobedient, seditious subjects, as we still remember having happened in the Peasants' Revolt.

(7) Moreover, you can easily assume that Imperial Majesty's honor and reputation will be greatly diminished by such proceedings. Maj.'s honor and reputation will be greatly diminished by such a procedure, as you are not afraid to do such things in their presence, and thus also cause others to disobey and be cold-hearted. Which, since it was ordered by God to His Imperial Maj. Maj.'s office and the prestige conferred upon him by God, is immensely diminishing and detrimental, so Imperial Maj. wants and commands that you do not do such things in the presence of others. Maj. earnestly commands you to consult diligently on the whole matter, and to make known your opinion of it by a clear answer. Done on the Saturday after Martinmas, on the 13th day of November, in 1530.

F. Of a new peace treaty between the papal and Protestant envoys, whereby again no settlement was reached.

1133. means of settlement proposed by Margrave Ernst of Baden. The 3rd Oct. 1530.

This writing is found in Müller, lib. III, enp. 43, p. 941 and from the common archive at Weimar, ltsA. L, col. 37, no. 3, p. 196, m Förstemanns Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 664. The date results from a letter of the churfürstliche Räthe of October 6, ibid. p. 680.

When the Imperial Maj. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, on the next Thursday after St. Matthew the Apostle's Day [Sept. 22], has had read to the Elector of Saxony and other relatives of the matter, a concept of a farewell, in matters concerning the Christian religion. The said Elector and relatives, however, with notice that these matters are important and great and concern their consciences, have humbly asked for consideration until the fifteenth day of April, but this has been refused to them by Imperial Maj. Maj. refused them. But since the said Elector and relatives have ever gladly submitted to the Imperial Maj. Maj. in all possible ways, they wish to accept the aforementioned parting in all articles as it is read to them, as they ask the Imperial Majesty to deny them their request. Majesty may graciously hear from them. Namely, as Her Imperial Majesty Majesty reports in the first article of the aforementioned farewell, how Her Imperial Majesty has responded to their letter of request. Maj. has taken notice of the irregularity and division of our holy Christian faith, and in addition to any one who has wished to present anything on account of such irregularity of faith, and named the above-mentioned Elector of Saxony and relatives, 2c. their opinion and confession in the presence of the other Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, graciously listened to them, advised them with timely and valiant counsel, and refuted and rejected them with good reason by the Holy Gospels and Scriptures 2c. Since the Elector of Saxony, the five princes, and six cities consider that such is the mind of the Emperor. Maj. is in this article itself, that what would be against such article, that the mentioned Elector and relatives do not reject respect with the Gospel and holy scriptures, that should be put to the decision of the Concilii. As it is further reported in the above-mentioned agreement that the Elector of Saxony and relatives are to consider between the 15th day of April whether they agree with the Christian Church and Papal Holiness, and with the Imperial Majesty, also Electors of Saxony, in the articles which have not been settled. Majesty, and also princes and rulers between the Concilio or not 2c. Although the Elector and his relatives, of their own understanding, cannot consider or know that they hold anything in their Articles that is against the Christian Church, for which reason they now want to have the permitted consideration written off, they do not, however, want to insist on their opinion finally or self-willedly, but to have their Articles and their contents put to the subsequent Conciliar decision.

As they then also hope and believe that the Imperial Maj. Maj. gracious opinion and reserved consideration also have this understanding. And after further in the farewell given to the Imperial Maj. Maj. that the Elector concerned and his relatives are not to print anything new in matters of faith, and that peace is to be kept by all the estates of the realm in the time of the above-mentioned intention, they humbly hope that Imperial Maj. Majesty's gracious opinion that also in matters of faith nothing new shall be printed by their opponents or counterparts contrary to that which the Elector of Saxony and his relatives' scholars have written so far in the same matters, so that they may keep their scholars the better off and prevent their subjects from having anything further or more distant printed in matters of faith. Likewise also concerning peace, since the above-mentioned intention has been rejected, that in the meantime peace be kept with the Council by all the princes, princes, and estates of the realm. Item, as further indicated in the aforementioned agreement, among other things, that neither the Elector of Saxony, the five princes or six cities, nor their subjects will be held in peace against the Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty, the Holy Empire, or the subjects of the Electors, Princes, and Estates, as has been done hitherto, shall draw or compel them to their sect. 2c. But because the said Elector and kinsmen would not remember that anyone had appealed to them in matters of faith, they have not yet set up a special sect, but consider that their detractors have brought this to the attention of the Imperial Majesty. Maj., for which reason they herewith humbly apologize, and do not wish to cause anyone's subjects or relatives to take their position, according to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. However, they do not want others to do the same against their subjects. And in addition, the reported Elector of Saxony, the five princes and six cities, have declared themselves against those who do not keep the holy sacrament, and against the Anabaptists with their Imperial Majesty, the other electors, and the other electors. They should by no means separate themselves from their Majesty and their loved ones, but should advise, encourage and help them as to what and how to act against them; as all the aforementioned Princes, Princes and Estates have agreed and promised their Imperial Majesty to do, as far as each of them is concerned. Maj. and have promised it. And because no common council has been held in the Christian church for many years, and yet in common Christendom, among all heads and estates, spiritual and spiritual authority has been given.

and secular, many abuses and complaints may have occurred a long time ago, that after all, and for a Christian Reformation, Her Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Empress, the Holy Roman Empress, the Holy Roman Empress, the Holy Roman Empress, the Holy Roman Empress, the Holy Roman Empress, the Holy Roman Empress, the Holy Roman Empress. Maj. has, in addition to Papal Holiness, also resolved with all Princes, Princes and Estates, now assembled here at Augsburg, to decree with the aforementioned Papal Holiness and all Christian kings and potentates that a common Christian council be held within six months, the next after the end of this Imperial Diet, the next after the end of this Imperial Diet, and that it be held in the most beneficial manner and for the longest possible time within a year of such notice, in the good hope and confidence that by this means common Christendom will be brought into lasting good unity and peace for the sake of its spiritual and temporal affairs.

1134 The Protestants' answer to the proposal of an even, or, in the absence of it, of a peaceful farewell.

This is a passage from the letter of the Electoral Councils to the Elector of October 6, mentioned before, in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 681 f., which arrived in Torgau on October 12 and was answered by the Elector on October 15. Also in Müller's Historie, lib. III, eup. 44, p. 946. The following two numbers are excerpts from the answer of the Elector.

Because their speech and presentation were noted in two ways, namely, to act for the sake of an even farewell and, in the absence of it, for a peaceful farewell. As far as a peaceful parting is concerned, we know that our princes and relatives on all sides would like nothing better than to have peace, to which they are highly inclined, and which they have sought and asked for several times in action, as is evident. Therefore we would be willing to enter into action with them in that case; for our, the Saxon, authority would be, among other things, to act and advise in all articles and matters not concluded by the realm, which might be conducive to the peace and welfare of the realm, in addition to other princes, princes and estates. But as far as the other article is concerned, for the sake of the equal parting, in which we noted that perhaps religion should also be included and meant, we did not want to reassure them that we really had no command to act in it, and presumably out of the desire of the people, we would not be able to do so.

the reason that such a request for the ungracious and swift farewell was by no means to be assumed, therefore they [the Imperial Deputies] would have to judge for themselves and assume that it would not be proper for us to act outside of the order.

Excerpt from a letter of the Elector to the Councillors left behind at the Imperial Diet, concerning the religious and peace treaties. October 15, 1530.

From Müller's History, lib. III, eap. 44, p. 948. complete is this letter from the communal archives at Weimar, Ii,6A. L, lol. 37, No. 3, p. 143 printed by Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 741. This extract idick. I. 6. p. 744 ff.

Concerning the fact that Margrave Ernst of Baden, through 1) Count Georgen of Würtenberg, has spoken to you about the farewell, we have read together with the delivered declaration or measurement, on which the Imperial Majesty of his hope should act; and that you have taken the same action on measure as you indicate against our grandfather, Margrave Ernst. And that you have averted the same action, to the extent that you indicate against our grandfather, Margrave Ernsten, although we do not understand such indication of his love in any other way than friendly, is also a favor to us from you. For in addition to the fact that we have not considered that we and the rest of our kinsmen would be granted a leave of absence based on such a proposed declaration and opinion, we have sent the list to Doctor Martin Luther and several other of our scholars in Wittenberg, with the request that they consider it and inform us of their concerns. Among other complaints, they point out to us why such means could not be accepted: For first of all, it would not be understood from this whether such a declaration should be expressly stated in the agreement, or should be executed by an act alone, for if it should not be expressly stated in the agreement, it would be an inadmissible act; but nevertheless such a means or declaration would be burdensome, if it should be expressed by any article in the agreement. For by such a declaration, for the sake of the first and other burdensome articles of the read parting, it should be done for the good of ourselves and our kinsmen,

1) Förstemann wrong: "also", as the letter of the counsels in Förstemann l. c. shows. p. 679 shows.

the doctrine, which we profess to be Christian and certain, would again be called into doubt against our conscience, and the devalue of abuses would thereby be raised to certainty and tacitly admitted. Furthermore, as far as printing is concerned, with such an opinion we would agree not to print the doctrine that has been written and taught among us until now, which would be nothing other than to ally and bind God's word against the holy Scriptures. Thus, before our departure from Augsburg, we spoke with Mr. Georg Truchsessen and the Chancellor of Baden about another declaration, namely, that no new doctrine should be printed here than has been taught up to now. Thereupon they indicated to Imperial Majesty. They then indicated that His Majesty's mind would not be otherwise; only that to include such a declaration in the decree would, in their opinion, be a burden on him; but that Margrave Ernst of Baden wanted to repeal such an act, so that even the righteous Christian doctrine would not be printed, which could by no means be approved without violating conscience. Furthermore, in such and similar negotiations, it has always been felt that what concerns the truth on our part should be put to a concilii decision, and thus be considered, in which way Imperial Majesty would order a concilium. Majesty would be inclined to institute a concilium, that it should be made solely for the sake of abuses and reformation in head and members, but not at all for the sake of doctrine 2) and to be thoroughly traced by the same, from which and the like it may well be inferred what is sought thereby). And this we have not wished to leave undisclosed to you, whether it might be possible to get further with the same or similar suggestions to you, so that you might have some knowledge of it, and our mind in it, besides what concerns the lack of authority. And although we may not respect what the Palatine Court Master and the three Chancellors and Princes, who spoke to you on behalf of the Elector, Princes and Estates, may have meant by the words "equal parting", Since our minds and those of our kinsmen have heard sufficiently before that we are burdened with such articles as are drawn to faith in a parting, your answer, which is given to the aforementioned councils everywhere, is pleasing to us. And since they have made such inquiries of you, as of princes, rulers, and estates, we doubt not that they will be informed of it by

2) Förstemann: "Doctorin".

3) In the original: "became".

The men who have commanded their loved ones and the others will no doubt have continued to deal with you or will deal with you in the future. And although we know nothing else than that before our departure you were given a short, harmless opinion as to whether, by the decree of the Almighty, things would be suitable or occur in such a way of a peaceful farewell or decency, on which the substance of such a farewell is to be safely directed, we nevertheless send you herewith once again a harmless opinion or copy of our previous consideration. For how such a parting might be made, so that it would be useful for the preservation of external peace, and inviolable to conscience and faith, should have no shortage of ours, as no doubt our kinsmen in agreement to grant, will also well, as much as is conducive to action, and that it cannot be interpreted as if it were done out of special fear, know how to use all convenient diligence to see whether the Almighty God will grant a common peace to the kingdom for the sake of these things; for there are nevertheless, on account of the Turks and otherwise, troublesome affairs enough before us. And we consider it acceptable, if a peaceful decree were to be made and established against us and our distant kinsmen, that Imperial Majesty, upon the arrest of the others, should grant us peace. Majesty, at the behest of the other princes, princes, and estates, would nevertheless, upon opinion, as your letter reports, make an arduous and serious departure, as a deterrent, so that the Gospel may not break in further, or be accepted. Now it is not for us, Your Imperial Majesty. Majesty to set a standard in this, so everyone will have to keep to it, so that he does what he is obligated to do first against God, and then against the authorities. And if you will receive a copy of this arduous parting, which you have partly seen, then, according to your request, send it to us without delay. And even if the decency to peace, of which the above-mentioned counsels have spoken to you as a way, on the other side should decline again, as we nevertheless want to provide ourselves to some of our friends that they will promote the things, to the benefit of the realm, with diligence, but that the aforesaid grievous parting should be publicized and publicly read, we nevertheless consider, for several reasons, that without this, for the sake of the matter of faith, you have no authority from us, as well as from our fellow councillors and envoys, for which reason you also have no authority from us.

1) "all" put by us instead of: "main".

your silence in this may be to no disadvantage. So you should also have a mandate for such a protest, without which you would be addressed; to the effect that the protest is invalid in the absence of such a mandate, it would be more convenient 2) that the protest should remain from you, rather than that it should be brought forward. For we, and our kinsmen, have nevertheless the time, that we may protest, and also appeal, after the report we have received, and within ten days a tsmxors notitias 3) against it; but we would shorten ourselves in this, if we should have a mandate protested by you, and yet it would not be possible, within ten days, the next thereafter, to appeal in full power by you.

And if further proposals come to you, or if requests for further action are made to you, we are not opposed to your listening to such proposals as you have done up to now (that you have no power to act on account of your faith, and that you cannot be heard behind the other of our fellow envoys), or to what action should be taken. For if you find that there are ways which would serve peace, and yet be inviolable to conscience, you, and also the other counsellors and skilful men, may work on them, so that it may also be permitted to get the things back, and to await orders thereon 2c. Although we do not doubt, as soon as you find that some points of faith are to be confiscated, you will judge for yourselves whether the things are worthy to be returned or not. All this we did not want to do on your report to you gracious opinion again. Date at Torgau, on Saturday after Dionysii, the 15th day of October, Anno Domini 1530.

Whether some of our fellow councillors and commanders, because of the peaceable decency, so indicated to you, the Almighty grant his grace to it, would perhaps want to apply complaints on their masters' behalf, which would not be drawn into the consciences, or because in such a parting, or since in such a parting, if it were to gain a progress, we and our kinsmen would not be put to any disreputable disgrace, but that they would say that it was a burden on him to grant such a remonstrance, unless the opposing party also admits the gospel, or does not wish to pursue it: Let not this be contested, but consult with the rest of the relatives of these things, and be agreed with the same.

2) In the original: "to be".

3) Förstemann: "motiue" instead of: notirias.

We will compare the two, so that the outward peace may be established by a comfortable farewell or special action with us and the other kinsmen. Where the peaceful parting is to take place, and such a parting is to be made public, of which your letter reports something, you will also know how to take note, so that it 1) is included in this Reichstag's parting for our sake, as you would have agreed to an article with the other for our sake. For we want to know how to keep ourselves in other matters, that it should not be reproachable to us, as then also happen to the next Speier farewell from us, if we also did not want to behave towards you. Date ut supra.

1136 Further excerpt from the same letter of the Elector to the Councillors at Augsburg, concerning the aid of the Tyrol.

See No. 1135. Förstemann l. c. S. 742 f.

For since (as Margrave Joachim next spoke against us and our kinsmen) the King [Ferdinand] together with his followers, for the preservation and re-establishment of the old faith and the suppression of the eternal, indestructible word of God, have offered to surrender body and goods to Imperial Maj. Maj. offered, we will take care that the royal dignity will be much more willing to offer the body and all the property of their royal dignities, without any withdrawal or objection, especially since they are more obliged to use force against the Turks and the Mahomet's faith for the salvation of their poor subjects before God than against us, together with all their appendages. Thus it has been done for our good pleasure that you, together with the other princes and the six princes, as well as the assigned councillors, have considered it good that such help against the Turk should not be considered good, if the king intends to persist with the pope's pardon, so that he should have to deal with the spiritual goods and jewels in the German nation. For if such goods are to be attacked and used for the resistance of the Turk, it is more reasonable that we, and other princes and rulers, use and sell the same goods ourselves for this purpose, since all of us and the whole realm, for the sake of the war waged by the king and for the sake of the irritation, are now above all counsels and friendly objections which the king has before the king.

1) Förstemann: "ir".

The monasteries in our principality, which have been denounced in the Hungarian war, must not be less afraid of the burden of the Turk than he himself, than that such should be granted to him, and finally be wasted on duties without benefit. Therefore, we want to diligently keep up with the other estates for our sake; for although the disposed monasteries in our principality can be used more cheaply for other and more godly and charitable things, to which we also offered ourselves many times at this Imperial Diet, but rather than we could suffer that the king should have to sell such monasteries and associated properties, we would rather and much more gladly sell them ourselves to knightly people or otherwise distribute them to serve and act against the Turk on our behalf; But this we point out to you alone, so that you may know how to dispute such opinions for yourselves, since it is convenient to do so, since they want to seek much glory against us in restituting the abbeys.

1137 Article of the Peace read to the Confessors of the Augsburg Confession. The 22nd of October 1530.

This document is found in Chyträus, Bl. 307d; in Müller, lib. III, eax. 46, p. 960 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 753.

(1) We, the princes, princes, prelates, and estates, who have accepted and approved this treaty, have agreed that no estate, ecclesiastical or secular, shall overreach, force, or require the other, nor shall any authority have its interest, rent, tithes, 2c. stolen or held against it, nor shall any one take the other's subjects, either for faith's sake or for any other cause, into his protection and shield, with penalty of our imperial peace. We have herewith fully observed and enforced the peace of the land.

(2) Furthermore, we have agreed and united with princes, rulers, and estates, and they in turn have agreed and united with us, as far as our ancient Christian faith and religion is concerned, to present all our kingdoms, lands, people, body, and goods. If one state wants to overreach or violate the other, the violator shall 2) report this to our Imperial Court of Appeal. The court shall order and command the violator to stand still with the proposed armor, subject to the penalty of eight.

2) Förstemaun: "so" instead of: shall.

(3) But if the perpetrator appears disobedient to such mandate, then our Imperial Fiscal shall proceed and proceed against him to the declaration in the penalty of eight. 1) also in virtue of the same eight the next-sitting princes, sovereigns and others shall be required, and the damaged party shall be helped in the most beneficial way.

(4) We, as the head, also want to do the same with our kingdoms and hereditary lands, and the perpetrator or rapist shall be obliged to pay the helper his costs and damages and to restore them, and it shall also be at the helper's discretion whether he wants to make the damaging party pay such damages by deed or by our Imperial Chamber Court. Chamber Court.

5. In addition, for the sake of the rebellious subjects, we leave it at the Speier agreement, namely, where some subjects of some authority, ecclesiastical or secular, further converge, again arouse rebellion and indignation, then the next adjacent Electors, Princes, Counts and other authorities shall approach, save and help the same authority in which the rebellion has arisen, from hour and in view, also most urgently, on horseback and foot; and if the same help, so requested, would be too weak for the riot that has arisen, then the other next-sitting princes, lords, and estates shall, upon request, as is stated above, likewise, to the greatest extent possible, also move to quell the disobedient rioters again, and to bring them into obedience and to punish them for the offence, and in this we all show and hold ourselves one against the other no differently than if such rebellion and outrage had occurred and happened in each of our own principality, dominions and territories, and to the extent that each would have liked to have done and to take from the other.

6. In order that no error or misunderstanding may arise between the helper and the one being helped, the help of the princes, lords, counts and estates required for the rescue and help of the other shall be given to the authorities in whose principality, dominion or territory the riot has arisen, in whose principality, dominion or territory the insurrection has arisen, at horse and foot, and, if necessary, at their own expense and damage, for one month against the disobedient subjects, but that in such month the arrival and departure shall be counted. If, however, such assistance extends beyond one month and is delayed, then the person to whom

1) Förstemann: "vorfan".

2) Förstemann: "nymer" instead of: one.

the help would have been done, unite and compare with the helper for the help, which is done and shown over the month, in which the helper, against whom he has helped, shall thus keep and show himself tolerably, friendly and neighborly for such help, as he would like to have had and done by others in the same case.

3) About all this we command from the Roman Imperial Majesty. Majesty. We hereby earnestly command all and any Electors, Princes, ecclesiastics and seculars, prelates, counts, barons, knights, servants, captains, bailiffs, governors, stewards, administrators, bailiffs, mayors, judges, councillors, citizens, municipalities, and otherwise all other of our and the Empire's subjects and faithful, regardless of their dignity, status or nature, and we wish to do so, that none of them may violate, attack or damage the other by force and deed, contrary to the law and our and the Holy Roman Empire's established truce, but that they may keep peace with each other, as the said truce is able, according to its articles, to avoid our and the Empire's severe disgrace, as well as the penalty, 4) included in the aforementioned truce of our and the Holy Roman Empire's land. This is our serious opinion 2c. Actum Augsburg, Saturday after Simonis and Judä [Oct. 29] Anno Domini 1530.

1138 Answer of the Saxonians together with their kinsmen, to the read article of the peace. 22 Oct. 1530.

The documents No. 1138 to No. 1142 follow immediately at the locations indicated in the previous number. With Förstemann l. c. S. 755.

That they, instead of and on account of their most gracious and gracious lords, and also of the others, have committed themselves on all accounts to a common peace, and in case of the same 5) to the help of the Turks, and otherwise in other matters not less than another state of their

3) The following does not actually belong to the preceding, as Müller and, after him, Walch have connected it with, but it bears the date October 29, 1530. It is found in Förstemann 1. a. p. 773 under the title: "Decision, how the Emperor wants to handle the article of the peace of October 22." This section should have been placed before No. 1143. It was read to the Protestants on October 30. See No. 1154.

4) "Pön" is missing in Förstemann.

5) Förstemann: "dasselbige", for which "desselbigen" is to be read, as follows from the conclusion of No. 1140.

The same would have offered to do so, and in that case would not have separated from them, the estates, nor would they have wanted to separate themselves yet. Now the same would have been undertaken without their presence, contrary to traditional usage, and the estates would thus have separated them from them. But since the same article of peace is based on the parting without means, and the content of the same parting would be hidden from them, necessity and opportunity require that they also have an explanation and report. For this reason, I request that a copy of the aforementioned agreement, as well as of the read article concerning the peace, be sent to them in writing, so that they may be able to see the necessity therein, so that they may be heard all the more respectably with an answer to it.

1139. Answer of the Estates, presented by the Elector of Brandenburg. 22 October 1530.

See No. 1137. Förstemann l. c. S. 756.

Electors, princes and other estates, also his electoral grace, with them. They would have heard the answer to the previous announcement, which was certainly not made and carried out in any other way than in a friendly, gracious and good opinion, and without doubt the counsellors and embassies appointed, as well as their lords and masters, would know from the actions taken that their, the Electors, Princes and Estates', minds and opinions at this Imperial Diet were never other than to act for peace and unity, and that they have had much diligence, effort and work, as well as a long time, to establish peace; They hoped and were sure that it would be found that they did not separate themselves from Saxony and its kinsmen. But they would not have liked to hear that they had separated themselves from them, nor would they have liked to change their mind about this by means of manifold notices and reminders, and so they would have had to place this in their will and favour. In addition to the fact that they had allowed themselves to be heard as the councillors, as they had no command to act further in religion, therefore they did not require nor draw them to the position of peace. But that the Saxons and the others did not know what the treaty was based on, and asked for a copy of it and of the article of the treaty, 2c., it is indicated that such a treaty was based on their religion, for which reason they did not know how to give them a copy without the knowledge of Imperial Majesty. Majesty, to give them a copy, because they have no command to act on account of religion, as they have heard.

had let them. But they wanted to take care of themselves, because some of them offered to help the Turks in advance, they would not separate themselves from the common estates for such a praiseworthy Christian work, and would show obedience to their sovereignty. For, as reported, it would be such a custom in the kingdom beforehand, what the several parts would decide, that the others would have to follow it.

140. the Saxon and her fellow-relatives' rejoinder according to existing consideration.

22 Oct. 1530.

See No. 1137. with Förstemann l. c. S. 757.

They would have understood the reproach again to good measure, and would not know to remember, would also have never noted it from their most gracious and gracious lords and the others of their electoral and princely graces. They would not have remembered it from their most gracious and gracious lords and the rest of their electoral and princely relatives that they had ever been, nor should ever be, willing to separate themselves from the commonwealths. For what is conducive and conducive to the common and lasting peace, welfare of the empire and the German nation, that their graces and the others therein have submissively and benevolently offered and acknowledged themselves among others. But that their lords might not have compared themselves to the other estates, as far as religion was concerned, their electoral and princely graces, together with their co-religionists, would not have done so. Graces together with their kinsmen in Imperial Majesty and their present. Maj. and their presence have shown sufficient and well-founded reasons for leaving it at that. And when it was indicated by them later on that the parting concerned religion, and that the article of peace, which had been read out, also extended to this, they, the Saxons, together with the others, had received clear information from it, because it was stated in the article of peace that no one had the right to it and could receive it, except those who had accepted and consented to the same parting, so that our lords did not understand it, which they had not understood before. Therefore his Electorate and the other estates Therefore his Electors and the other estates have to judge that their search and request was not unnecessary, and they have to report this to their lords to respect their need. For the sake of the help of the Turks, they would not have offered or allowed themselves to be heard in any other opinion beforehand, except in the case that a common and lasting peace would be effected and provided, as its sufficient cause would have been indicated to them, on which they also again relied.

1141: The Estates' Rebuttal, after the Council had been held, again presented by the Elector of Brandenburg. Oct. 22, 1530.

See No. 1137. Förstemann l. c. S. 758.

After a stirring rebuttal and repetition, his Electoral Grace said: "If the Saxons and the others had taken the letter of the article of peace correctly, they might have understood from it that their lords had not concluded from the peace. His Grace said: if the Saxons and the others had taken the letter of the article of peace correctly, they would have understood from it, and also that their lords had not concluded the peace, but that their lords had not compared themselves with the common estates on account of religion, that would have been the same as the right, therefore it would also have remained that they were not drawn to the action. But that they let themselves be heard as if they had concluded the peace, they did not consider it so, as said before, if they considered the letter right; so there would also have been a common land peace beforehand, which was now included in the article of the peace, and their lords would have also certified and sealed the same 1) together with other estates. For this reason, it should be ensured that the Saxons and their relatives do not have cause to speak out on account of the peace, and that they do not provide help against the Turks from such a common field, as is partly noted in their offer of inheritance. For if they should refuse to do so, they, the common estates, would have to refer the matter to Imperial Majesty. Maj.

1142: The Saxon and its relatives' more distant rebuttal. 22 Oct. 1530.

See No. 1137. Förstemann l. o. p. 759.

On the other hand, the Saxons, together with their relatives, after repeating what was said by the Elector of Brandenburg, through Mr. Hansen, nobleman of Planitz, knight, have said this; that their lords and their own were not concluded from the peace, according to their report, they could not judge this from them, for their own declaration and report, their understanding, indicated otherwise; because the receipt of the article of the peace of the property and sound, that only those who consented to and accepted the parting, should be drawn into it and meant to be in possession of it and to receive it. If they, the princes, rulers, and estates themselves, were to admit that religion was included in such a parting, on which it was then based, and their lords were to be satisfied with it, they would have to accept it.

1) "the same" is missing in Förstemann.

They could not have compared it to them, therefore they could not have agreed to part with God and their consciences: how could our lords understand or think of such peace? as they would have been able to judge it for themselves. But that they would be informed of the common peace, they would well remember that it had been established and united all the estates, of which their lords had also had enough; but since the serious parting by the Roman Imperial Majesty, in their own peace with the estates, had not been possible, they would not have been able to understand it. Maj., in the presence of the estates, would be given to their most gracious and gracious lords and relatives in such a way that they would see their body and goods, land and people with their Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and in turn her Imperial Majesty Majesty also undertakes against the estates with their kingdoms to purge the present and to bring it back into the old use and essence of the traditional faith, and then their lords with God and conscience would not desist from their surrendered confession: then they, the estates, would have to consider what the same land peace would work and be beneficial to their lords and theirs, about such union, peace. If, however, it should be the opinion that their lords and their own should be included in the peace, then it would be their submissive request that they, the estates, express this clearly and loudly, and that also the Imperial Majesty be named in such peace. Majesty would be consulted in such peace, as has been done before at other imperial congresses and "agreements" concerning peace with Emperor Maximilian, of blessed high noble memory, and with this Imperial Majesty. Maj., and that the article concerning faith and religion, as well as the given parting, would be declared necessary and for lasting peace, so that their lords and their own would remain calm, unrestrained, and unviolated in their faith, religion, and ceremonies, until a general, free, Christian concilium. In that case, they would show and maintain their lords' submissiveness in all things that are good for the common Christianity and for the help, protection and protection of the needy, as well as in all other things that would benefit the empire and its welfare, in addition to other imperial states.

1143: The Augsburg Confession's Reply to the Conclusion of the Article of Peace Transcribed to The Estates of the Empire

(No.1137). The 30. October 1530.

The following ten documents are found in the order given here in the common archive at Weimar, Reg-L-, toi. 37, No. 3, p. 212, and thereafter in Müller's

History, lib. III, eax". 46, p. 970 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 774. Förstemann dates this document from October 29, but since the conclusion of the peace article (according to no. 1154) was not read to the Protestants until October 30, that date is inaccurate.

Most Reverend, Most Illustrious, Most Highborn Prince, Most Reverend, Most Highly Illustrious, Most Highborn Prince, Most Noble, Most Strict, Most Learned, Most Gracious, Most Gracious, Most Favourable Lords and Good Friends! We, as our most gracious and gracious lords, the Elector of Saxony, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg, Landgrave Philipsen of Hesse, also other princes and the cities of these matters, have ordered your electoral, princely, favourable lords and good friends, to be granted the right to the land. Gn. and favour, and afterwards delivered in writing the article of peace, which is to an abundance, from word to word, hereafter recorded, inasmuch as roman emperor maj. Maj., our most gracious lord, settles the same with your electoral and princely graces and favors. and favour, and resolutely, in submissiveness heard.

(2) And your noble, princely, and gracious favors have undoubtedly recalled. and favour, that our most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony, and the other Princes and Estates, who have been concerned in this matter, have each time heard and been heard of a common and lasting peace in the Holy Roman Empire; as their Electors and Princes, and the others, are most eager that such a common and lasting peace should again be established and preserved. and the others, that such a common and lasting peace be established and maintained, are highly inclined and eager, with the entreaty that nothing shall happen to the Turkish case, and all the concerns and welfare of the Holy Roman Empire, as far as they may have such peace. Since, however, the article of peace which has been handed over is somewhat unfair and obscure for a number of reasons, we, the envoys, wish to make the same complaint to your electors and princes. We, the envoys, hereby report these complaints to your noble and princely graces and in your best interest.

(3) And first of all, in such a delivered article of the peace it is not explained on what the same is based, because neither before nor after nothing has been reported or indicated, and how the words in the opening, namely, "About all this we command," 1) are to be understood.

4th For the other, that the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has not entered into such articles of peace. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has not entered into such articles of peace.

005 Thirdly, our most gracious and gracious lords, and others, have well to remember what burdensome parting their chur-

1) See the conclusion of No. 1137.

Princely and Princely Gn. Your Imperial and Princely Majesties have opened their own person. Majesty with the other estates, and the estates again with their Majesty, have had themselves heard; from which your churlish and princely graces and favours are to be considered. and favor, that our most gracious and gracious lords and their relatives have to take care of this.

(6) Fourthly, because (as we have reported) in the matters of our holy faith and religion, a burdensome decree is to be drawn up, which our most gracious and gracious lords and relatives cannot nor may not accept for the sake of their consciences, by which cause might perhaps be taken to give an order to the Court of Appeal or Fiscal to proceed and proceed against their Electoral, Princely and other legal (as one would like to call it) rulers. and the other legal (as one would like to call it) to proceed and proceed, which then could lead to much disputation and complication. Since the Christian, honorable, and lawful call, petition, and request of our most gracious and gracious lords and kinsmen has always been and still is to provide, establish, and maintain a common and lasting peace, on which they will then let themselves be heard in all submissive obedience, along with other princes, princes, and estates of the realm, then, by the grace of their sovereign and princely lords, and of the others, our sovereigns, princes, and estates of the realm are to be heard every time. and the others, our most humble and most diligent request, Your Electoral and Princely Grace, Your Grace and Your Grace. Grace, Grace and Favor want to direct the matters again so that for the sake of faith and religion no one has to wait for a Christian concilium and the outcome of the same, that also our lords and relatives of these matters of all fiscal and chamber court proceedings, because of the article of our faith and religion, are discharged in between. For one.

(7) For the other, that the Imperial Majesty has entered into such peace. Majesty has joined in such peace, as then Her Imperial Majesty has done. Majesty. Emperor Maximilian, Most Sublime Memory, as well as their Imperial Majesty himself. Majesty himself, was also included and incorporated in the given established treaty and land peace at Worms. Our most gracious and gracious lords and relatives, nevertheless, do not wish to separate themselves as far as the peace treaty in general is concerned, but have agreed to keep it steadfastly, firmly and unbreakably. And therefore, for the sake of our lords and others (since this is a matter that concerns first of all God and his holy word, and in addition our conscience and the salvation of our souls), we humbly request, and provide, that Your Imperial Majesty also grant your electoral power. Majesty, also your electoral, princely. graces, favors, and favors will-

We again, as stated above, have your gracious providence, so that such a common peace may be permanently established, maintained, and the diligence therefore refused; for if such, as we do not wish to comfort ourselves, should not be considered over such a manly reminder and suggestion, your electoral, princely graces, graces, and favors have graciously and understandably to deem that we, according to the order we have received, may not allow ourselves to be granted any further help against the Turks. graciously and understandably deem that we, according to the order we have received, may not allow ourselves to be granted any further help against the Turks, but would have to let this reach our most gracious and merciful lords and the others. Once again we humbly ask your electoral, princely, gracious and most gracious Your electoral, princely and gracious graces and favors do not want to hear all this other than according to our great need; we want to hear this for your electoral, princely and gracious graces, favors and favors. graces and favors in subservience and willingly.

Ew. chur- und prinstl. Grace.

underhand

Of the Elector of Saxony, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg, and Landgrave Philipsen of Hesse 2c., also of other princes and the cities of these matters relatives, embassies, commanders, and councillors.

1144 Imperial reply to the Augsburg Confederates on the document submitted to the Imperial Assembly.

Oct. 30, 1530.

See the previous number.

(1) In response to the writ and articles which the Saxons and their supporters have handed over to the common princes, princes and estates, they have sent the same articles to Imperial Majesty. Majesty, and thereupon his Imperial Majesty, together with the same chieftains, has sent for them. Majesty, together with the same princes, princes and estates, decided on the opinion as follows:

2nd Namely, on the first article, when the Saxons and their kinsmen denounce that the mandate and precept is obscure and unfair, and is not explained to what it refers 2c.,

(3) Is Imperial Majesty also the Princes, Princes and Estates answering? Majesty has also answered the Princes, Princes, and Estates: Because they have not accepted, nor do they wish to accept, the separation on account of religion, Imperial Majesty, as Roman Emperor, who is inclined to maintain peace and unity in the Holy Empire, has offered a common peace to all Estates, with no exceptions. Majesty, as Roman Emperor, who is inclined to maintain common peace and unity in the Holy Empire, has commanded a common peace to all the estates, excepting none.

(4) And when they secondly declare that the Imperial Majesty has not entered into such a mandate, their Majesties also answer. Majesty has not consented to such a mandate to keep the peace, her Majesty and the princes, princes and estates answer that it is not proper, nor has it ever been necessary, that her Majesty herself should command peace, but that her Majesty, on account of her sovereignty and authority, should and may command peace to her subjects. Majesty herself should command peace, but His Majesty, on account of her sovereignty and authority, should and may well command his subjects to keep the peace.

5th Then, thirdly, when they complain of the parting which has taken place in the presence of the Emperor, their Majesties and Princes, Princes, and Estates answer: Because they have refused the parting for religion's sake, and thereupon have allowed themselves to be heard by the Imperial Majesty, Princes, Princes, and Estates, that they have joined their bodies and goods to one another for the entertainment of our holy Christian faith. Majesty, Princes, Princes and Estates, that they have set body and goods together for the maintenance of our holy Christian faith. Majesty and Electors, Princes, and Estates have made a board for resistance and defense, from which they may well hear that His Majesty and Electors, Princes, and Estates' opinion is not to war against them, but to enjoin and command common peace.

6th Fourthly, when they ask that the treasurer should not proceed against them on account of religion, 2c. the answer to this is: that Imperial Maj. Maj. also the Electors, Princes and Estates, are not a little displeased at such an unseemly and unreasonable request of theirs, that his Maj.'s right should be barred, for it is contrary to the common peace of the land and all the orders, laws and statutes of the realm, and so it concerns her Maj.'s supreme authority to administer justice. If her Majesty's right were barred, her Majesty would not be able to execute that which is due and obligatory to his Majesty as Roman Emperor, and not only would his Majesty's right be barred, but all Princes, Princes and Estates would also be deprived of the same right in their lands. Maj. would not rightfully punish the Zwinglians and the Anabaptists, which would be contrary to their own opinion and opinion, which they had previously reported to their Imperial Majesty. Maj. have indicated to them.

(7) Further, as they desire that Imperial Maj. Maj. should also have entered into the common truce, 2c. Maj. and the Princes, Princes and Estates answer: Since the truce, formerly established, is still in existence, and her Maj. is involved in it, and the command which her Maj. is now issuing is based solely on the truce, it is unnecessary that his Maj. should command it himself; as is also indicated in the other article above.

(8) And because all their desires are innovations alone, Imperial Majesty also desires the Princes, Princes and Estates to refrain from such innovations. Maj. also request the Princes, Princes and Estates to refrain from such innovations, and to refrain from further annoying or attracting Imperial Maj. Maj. and Princes, Princes, and Estates with such opinions, and that they not further molest or attract them, and that they grant the Turkish relief and other things done for the benefit of the Holy Empire and the common German nation, and that they not differ from other Princes, Princes, and Estates in such matters, but keep to the custom and usage of old in the Empire 2c.

1145 The Augsburg Confession's Answer to the Imperial Resolution. October 30, 1530.

See No. 1143.

They would have received the letter, so Imperial Majesty. Majesty's reply to your humble answer, which you sent yesterday to your Royal and Royal Highnesses, favors and friends, on which your Imperial Majesty's mind rests. Maj.'s mind rests on; noted therefrom that Her Imperial Maj. Maj. have an ungracious liking and surprise for their submissive answer, which they do not provide for, because nothing else is required therein than what their most gracious and gracious Lords and their kinsmen have great need of, for cause, partly indicated in their answer, namely, to establish a common peace in the Holy Realm, for which purpose they have also sent their Imperial Maj. Maj. also Electors, Princes, and common estates would be inclined to for themselves. Therefore their most humbly request, Imperial Maj. Maj., Princes, Princes and Estates would not bear them an ungracious favor, but would consider the need of their lords in mercy. They also found that their Majesty was burdened by the fact that in their answer they had suggested that their Majesty was not at peace, and had finally asked that their Majesty also be consulted, which had never been heard, that their Majesty should command her herself. Now it would not be the opinion, nor would it be found in their answer, that they sought or desired that her Majesty should command peace to her herself, knowing well that it was not due to them to do so. But that they asked her Majesty to join them in the peace was due to the fact that in the Holy Empire of Roman Emperors and Kings, and especially by Emperor Maximilian, there had been no peace before.

The Emperor Maximilian, of high lordly memory, and by this present Imperial Maj. Maj. in the establishment of the Peace of the Land at Worms, in which it was clearly indicated that Emperor Maximilian had united, committed and bound himself with Princes, Princes and Estates to establish a common peace in the Holy Empire, in which then the present Imperial Majesty also followed in the footsteps of her ancestor. In this case, therefore, for the strengthening of a common peace, they also humbly asked for it, and not of the opinion, as heard above, that her Majesty should command peace for herself, but only unite, obligate, and unite with princes, princes, and estates. In addition, they also noted from the document read out that Imperial. Majesty, our most gracious lord, would be greatly displeased that she requested that in matters concerning faith and religion, the fiscal not be allowed to proceed against her most gracious and gracious lords and their kinsmen, for her majesty, also electors, princes, and estates are to be bound together. and estates, as unseemly and unreasonable, that her Majesty's right should be barred, since it would be contrary to the common peace of the land and all orders, laws and statutes of the realm. Thereupon they indicated that their opinion would not be to bar the right of their Imperial Majesty. Majesty's right, and that this should not be done, even if it were not the will and mind of their most gracious and gracious lords and relatives. For since Imperial Majesty Majesty has arrived in the Holy Roman Empire as the head, her sovereigns and relatives, in addition to other electors, princes and estates, have asked in the most submissive and highest terms that her Majesty wish to maintain peace and justice in the Empire, Their sovereigns, princes, and estates have also rendered assistance to the same with other princes, princes, and estates, so that the same has been preserved in the empire and also up to here and still; how then may it be imposed on them to block the right of Imperial Maj. Maj. to block the right? But that they requested that the Fiscal not proceed against their most gracious and gracious lords and relatives on account of faith and religion, would have been done because they were concerned that the decree, as far as religion is concerned, because it is set in general, should be understood that their most gracious and gracious lords and relatives should be included in it (which their electors and relatives are not allowed to do), F. G. and relatives could not nor would they want to accept with God and conscience), that then, where their graces and the relatives did not follow nor pursue this,

the Fiscal or Court of Appeal would like to proceed with the penance, determined in the parting, which would be almost burdensome for her electorate, F. G. and the relatives, and would also bring little peace and tranquility, as her Imperial Majesty, Princes and Estates would well judge from their own high sense. Maj., Electors, Princes and Estates would have to judge from their own high sense. Therefore their most humbly request, Imperial Majesty, Electors. Majesty, the Electors, Princes and Estates will move all this graciously and favorably, and give them to know what is in their mind: whether their most gracious and gracious lords and kinsmen are to be meant and understood in the parting, concerning faith and religion, in such a way, if their graces and kinsmen do not keep or comply with the same, whether then the Fiscal and Chamber Court are to have power, against their Electorate and the other kinsmen, to take action, F. G. and the others on the penalties therein imposed, or not. For, if it should have the same sense, they would be caused to let themselves be heard further according to their lords' necessity; but if it would not have the sense, then they want to report their concern further. Thereupon they ask for a gracious and favorable decision, also a copy of the read document, to report it to their masters, who would undoubtedly let themselves be heard on it in a Christian and proper manner.

1146 Declaration opened to the Imperial Estates by the Elector of Brandenburg. October 30, 1530.

See No. 1143.

Common estates would have listened to her presentation, did not doubt, they would have finally noticed from the read out writing of Imperial Maj. Maj. and that her Majesty and the estates were not intending to do anything against their most gracious and gracious lords, together with their relatives, but that they should keep their fists with them; therefore, for the sake of peace, they would not have cause to be opposed by the common estates in the help of the Turks, if their request was that they wanted to settle with them in this matter. But as far as the Fiscal is concerned, the Estates have nothing to do with it, as they know, but they would like to present their request to the Imperial Majesty himself, if they would do so. Majesty himself, they would undoubtedly receive a decision from her Majesty.

1147: The Augsburg Confession Affiliates' Further Request. October 30, 1530.

See No. 1143.

They did not want to speak of peace at this time, but only asked them to declare whether their most gracious and kind lords and relatives should be included and meant in the parting. and relatives should be included and meant in the agreement concerning religion, in such a way that if their Lord and Lady and the relatives do not comply with the same agreement as far as religion is concerned, or live in accordance with it, then the Fiscal should proceed ex officio against their Lord and Lady and the others, and their Lord and Lady and the relatives should be subject to the penalties and punishments contained therein.

For Imperial Maj. Maj. and the other estates knew that their lords could not or would not accept the ordinance on account of religion; if the same were to be publicized and publicly issued, it would be considered a new constitution and law, and all those who understood and acted contrary to it would be considered to have fallen into the penalty and punishment imposed therein, which would be quite unpleasant to their lords. Therefore, in accordance with necessity, we ask for a declaration.

1148 Further Declaration of the Estates of the Realm. October 30, 1530.

See No. 1143.

They could not remember that their masters were included in the farewell, as far as religion was concerned, nor did they think so. In order that they might clarify the matter, however, they were to come to the house again at 2 o'clock after noon, and if they were to be read the document, they would note from it that it was not in their opinion, as they had carefully discussed it. But it would not be in their power to send them the copy of the read document, but they wanted to send their request to the Emperor. Maj.

1149: Declaration of the Augsburg Confession on the read parting. The 30th of October 1530.

See No. 1143.

Her lordship, f. gn. and common estates would have heard in the morning, whereupon their submissive, official and amicable request would have stood, what

also their electorate, their fathers, and the common estates give them an answer to this, and especially that they have consecrated the farewell to be read to them, their graces still bear it in good remembrance.

Now they would have read the same according to the length, but could not note from it that their masters were concluded from the same, also in that which concerned religion, but would have been included in their attention, and their diligence would now be greater than before, for the following reasons:

In the first place, it is found in the same that Caiferl. Maj., Electors, and the obedient estates, which have accepted or would still accept the parting, have united with each other and committed themselves that no one should overreach the other for the sake of faith 2c. From which it would be clear that, because their lords have not accepted nor will they accept the parting, as far as religion is concerned, that their electors, their fathers, and their relatives are out of the peace, for the others are not to overreach one another; but those who do not accept the parting of religion may well overreach them, as this is to be understood from the letter.

On the other hand, it is found in the farewell that Imperial Maj. Maj. has promised to uphold the same throughout the entire Roman Empire.

Thirdly, their Majesties command males of all ranks to keep their parting, and to live according to it until the Concilium, under penalty of punishment of life, limb, and property.

Fourthly, it is reported therein that Her Majesty wishes to issue a mandate for this purpose; on what the mandate is to be placed, they could not know, for it would be made more severe than at present.

Fifthly, it is hereby declared that this agreement shall be followed and lived in all its articles, avoiding the punishment that Imperial Majesty and the Empire have reserved for them on occasion. Maj. and the Empire reserve for them to do as they see fit. From all of which they may neither accept nor note otherwise, except that the parting includes their most gracious and gracious lords and relatives, because they have been in the empire, and no one except in the parting. Therefore, as their most gracious and kind lords and others' great need requires, they are requested to have 1) an explanation and actual report. For, where it would have been the opinion that her most gracious and gracious lords and relatives would not have taken part in the parting, the religion would not have been affected.

1) So put by us instead of: "Therefore instead of. . . Explanation".

If they should be understood, as they have been noted by their Lordships, their Fathers, and the other estates, and their Lordships, their Fathers, and the other co-relatives would not keep them in this case, nor would they comply with them, that the Fiscal should not proceed against them, nor that the Court of Appeal should act against them, nor that for this reason some punishment should be inflicted against their graces, they would be satisfied with this for their lords' sake.

1150 The Imperial Estates Answer by the Elector of Brandenburg. October 30, 1530.

See No. 1143.

They had heard their concern, if they were not satisfied with it, they would apply to the Imperial Majesty for it themselves. Majesty himself, where they would certainly receive a decision, but for the sake of the copies they, the Estates, wanted to apply to Her Majesty.

1151 The Augsburg Confession's Counter-Reply. October 30, 1530.

See No. 1143.

In the past, it would have been the case in this action that if Imperial Majesty had intended to report something to them, Her Majesty would have sent it to them, the Estates. Maj. had intended to report something to them, her Maj. would have sent it to them, the Estates, who would then have reported it to them, taken their answer to it, and reported it to her Maj. again; which, as they see it, should not have been done unreasonably. For where the Emperor. Majesty acted with them in the beginning, and they with Her Majesty, they would know well that they should spare Her Majesty, His Holiness, and the others. But because it is burdensome to their Majesty and friends, they must leave it at that, for they could not push it further than they wanted to go.

1152) Letter of the Augsburg Confession to the Emperor. November 2, 1530?)

See No. 1143.

Most Sublime, Great and Invincible Emperor, Most Gracious Lord! From

2) This time determination is according to the message attached to this writing in the acts, that it had been delivered to the emperor "Wednesday after All Saints' Day" both German and French. In the Weimar archives there is also a Latin copy, printed in Förstemann, Urkundenbuch, vol. II, p. 797.

In view of the read document and answer which Your Imperial Majesty, in addition to the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, had held before us this day in response to our answer of yesterday, on account of the article of the common permanent peace, we find that Your Imperial Majesty has received disfavor in two articles of our submission, which it is not unreasonable for us to dismiss. Majesty in two articles of the same received ungracious favor of our submission, which it is not unreasonable for us to hear. Namely, it has not been the opinion, request, or plea of our princes and kinsmen that your Imperial Majesty should grant her peace. Majesty should command peace to them, which is also reasonable for us to abstain from, but that your Imperial Majesty's forefather, the Emperor, should be allowed to make peace with them. Majesty's ancestor, Emperor Maximilian, of blessed and most noble memory, and that your Majesty himself at Worms has committed himself in the common established land peace and treaties with the princes, princes and estates of the empire, that it be now again graciously directed to this end; as our submitted written answer and request does not allow or explain otherwise, which we also ask to see and consider with grace.

As to the other, that our request extends or is meant much less than 1) should the right of your Imperial Majesty be barred. Majesty's right be barred, whereupon Your Imperial Majesty would be astonished. Our most humble request is based on the fact that the present decree of your imperial majesty, in which the article of religion is included and included, is made as a new constitution, and thus a new law and commandment is established, and commanded in the whole Roman Empire, that our lords, relatives and followers are not drawn into it, nor interpreted, nor meant, Against whom, without this, judicial or other proceedings would be taken, so that our lords and their relatives of these burdened religious matters would not be dragged into it, and in such non-observance of the same fiscal justification would be excluded and put in the background, and would otherwise be graciously spared and considered in their submissive, Christian, lawful appeals, petitions, and requests, ungracious actions and transfers. Since the Electors and their embassies, together with the other princes and estates, have let themselves be heard in their answer that they do not know how to remember that our lords and kinsmen are involved in this, but that we would like to ask your Imperial Majesty, if we do not know about it, to grant us the right of appeal. Majesty, if we have not been persuaded to do so: therefore, and on account of our princes, lords, and kinsmen, we are not to be held responsible for this.

1) In the original: "ßam" == as.

our humble request that Your Imperial Majesty will graciously drop Your Majesty will graciously drop your Majesty's ungracious will for the above-mentioned reasons of our princes and lords, also of our innocence, and be and remain our most gracious Emperor. On the other hand, the declaration, at our most humble request, to be directed by grace to the effect that our lords and kinsmen of this matter in the parting of faith, religion, and whatever else is pending, on account of their now belonging and previous grievance, because they cannot accept it, They are not to be drawn into it by grace, nor are they to be considered, until a common Christian concilium and the outcome of it, but they are to be included in the common and lasting peace, including the peace of the land, from which our princes, lords and kinsmen do not exclude themselves at all, and to which they will also live with true loyalty and obedience. With this, our princes, lords and kinsmen wish to pledge themselves to all submissive, willing, due and equitable obedience in the Turkish case and in all other matters of concern and welfare of Christendom, of Your Imperial Majesty, of the Empire and of the German people. Maj., the Empire and the German Nation, besides other Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, as they have been faithfully recognized and found to be so, and do not exclude themselves from the case at all.

perial Majesty most humbly

Of the Elector of Saxony, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and the other princes and their kinsmen embassies, commanders, and counsellors.

1153 The last notice of the Emperor to the Augsburg Confession. The 11th of November 1530.

This and the following document is found in the common archive at Weimar, printed by Müller, lib. Ill, 6ux>. 46, p. 970 and in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, vol. II, pp. 811 and 822. Also in Chyträus, p. 314.

To the first article, that they suppose that Imperial Maj. Maj. is to be in a common peace and farewell, as Emperor Maximilian of laudable memory, and the present Imperial Majesty at the Diet of Worms are also to be included. Majesty at the Diet of Worms are also to be included, is Imperial. Majesty. Answer: that the established land peace at Worms is still in force and essence, in which Her Imperial Majesty is also understood. Majesty also understood, and that no new peace has now been made or contemplated.

but that Imperial Majesty, as Roman Emperor, has commanded all estates. Majesty, as Roman Emperor, has only commanded all estates in general to keep the affected peace, to which this commandment alone refers, and not to act against it. Therefore, it is unnecessary that Her Majesty herself should command peace, or that she should be in command of it.

On the other article, in which they request that in matters concerning religion they shall not be included in the agreement, and on account of such non-observance shall not be justified by the Fiscal, Imperial Majesty has decreed that they are not to be included in the agreement. Majesty. Answer: that they are not understood in this religion, nor are they drawn into it, for the reasons that in an article of it it is expressed in clear words that they do not want to accept the abdication for the sake of religion; therefore Her Imperial Majesty, with 1) other chaplains, has given them the right of abdication. Therefore their imperial majesty has made an understanding with 1) other princes and rulers, outside of them, because they do not want to be drawn into it, where something would therefore be done by force or deed against those who have accepted this religion, how this is to be met with due resistance, that is only äsksusivs, and not okisnsivs. For on account of the justification that the Fiscal should not proceed against her on that account, his Majesty does not want to bar her right and hand, for to do and to let justice be done is her Majesty's highest authority and sovereignty.

1154 Final Declaration of the Augsburg Confession to the Princes, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, on account of Religion, Aid to the Turks, and the Chamber Court.

November 12, 1530.

See the previous number.

Most Reverend, Most Serene Electors, Most Reverend, Most Serene, Highborn Princes, Venerable, Well-Born, Noble, Strict, Honorable, Highly Honored, Honorable and Wise, Most Gracious, Gracious and Favorable Lords and Friends! Your electoral, princely. graces, graces, graces and friendships, know to remember, in which way we have requested and asked many times in this time, on account of our most gracious and gracious lords, and the same relatives, to establish and maintain a common lasting peace in the holy realm, and

1) "with" is missing in Förstemann.

that her churfürstl. Princely. Graces and relatives, in the meantime, of a common free Christian council, for the sake of religion and faith, and what is dependent on the same, may sit and remain quiet, as their electoral, princely graces and relatives do against God and the Emperor. and the relatives hoped to justify this to God and Imperial Majesty. Majesty, whereupon a list was finally read out on Sunday after St. Simon's and Jude's, recently published, beginning: "About all this we command", 2). And since we do not sufficiently understand from the above-mentioned document that a common and secure peace in the Holy Roman Empire can be achieved, and that our lords can remain calm in their faith and religion, we have asked your Electoral, Princely, Grace, G. and Friendship for a copy of this document. We have applied to your electoral, princely, graces and friendships for a declaration of the same, but have not received any definite decision from your electoral, princely, graces, graces, for the sole reason that they have thereby directed us to the imperial majesty, that all things be done in peace. Majesty, where we have also most earnestly sought the same, and have therefore received an answer and farewell from Her Majesty, so our great necessity requires that we report the same to our lords everywhere in the most beneficial manner.

On the other hand, because we note that religion is included in the agreement, and Imperial Majesty wants to command them to abide by the severe penalties and punishments imposed throughout the Roman Empire. Majesty wishes to enjoin them to abide by the severe penalties and punishments imposed throughout the Roman Empire, and our most gracious and gracious lords and kinsmen cannot or may not accept the same farewell with God and conscience, nor grant it, and especially to our most gracious Lord, the Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz, as Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire, our most humbly official and friendly request that you will spare our most gracious and gracious lords and their relatives the use of this farewell. Furthermore, your lords and ladies know to remember that we have not entered into any other action concerning Turkish aid, except where a common and lasting peace is to be established and maintained in the realm, and where our lords and subjects, for the sake of faith and religion, wish to remain calm between here and a common and free Christian community. But if we now be-

2) The conclusion of No. 1137. Although that document is dated "Saturday after Simonis and Jude", it may have been read only on Sunday [Oct. 30]. In contrast Förstemann l. c. p. 755 puts the announcement, and also the answer of the Protestants to it, on October 29.

If we find that our most humble request and search does not want to take place, we herewith do not want to have anything granted by our lords as far as this Turkish help is concerned; as we therefore do not know how to get involved, but bring the matters, as stated above, to our most gracious and gracious lords and relatives, who will know how to keep themselves duly and without rebuke.

Thirdly, we note from the act concerning the Court of Appeal that, among other things, it has been stated therein that no one is to be admitted to the Court of Appeal as an assessor; he then pledges to live in accordance with religion. Because the Elector of Saxony, our most gracious lord, as an Elector, has to decree one to the Court of Appeal, also our dominions into the circles from which the persons are to be taken, and our lords with your Elector F. G. and the other lords of Saxony are to be taken into the Court of Appeal, F. G. and the other estates of faith and religion, it would be difficult for their Electoral, F. Graces and relatives to agree to the same article; as we, for the sake of their Electoral, F. Graces and relatives, do not want to be involved in this.

can or may consent. For this reason, we, as the envoys, humbly and kindly request that such an article be changed; for if our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, or from the circles in which our other lords are included, were to appoint someone to the Court of Appeal and, for reasons of faith and religion, to disown him, who is otherwise skilled in doctrine, life, character, and virtue: we, in place of our lords, do not wish to grant the entertainment of the Court of Appeal, but have hereby objected to it, of which we publicly testify and protest. All of which we, according to the necessity of our lords and relatives, do not wish to leave undisclosed to your Electors, F. G., G. and F.. Actum Saturday after Martini, the 12th of November, Anno 1530 at ten o'clock before noon.

Of our most gracious and gracious lords, the Elector of Saxony, Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg, Landgrave Philipsen of Hesse, also princes, estates and cities, and of these things relatives, decreed councillors, commanders and embassies.

The eleventh section of the thirteenth chapter.

Of the other parting of the Augsburg Diet and Luther's writings published against it, as well as some historical news of this Diet.

1155: The Imperial Edict, or the Conclusion of the Diet of Augsburg, Concerning Religion. November 19, 1530.

This farewell was published in folio in Mainz in 1531. In Chyträus, p. 503; in Müller, lib. Ill, eup. 48, p. 997; in Lünig's Reichs-Archiv, purt. Mn. eont. I, p. 541. Latin at. x. 389
and in Goldast, eonstitat. iurper., tom. Ill, x. 508. excerpted in many other places.

1st We Carl the Fifth by the Grace of God, elected R. Emperor 2c. 2c. confess and declare to all men: Although at the first Imperial Diet held at Worms, before our departure from the Holy Roman Empire, to which we, from the preceding feuds and wars, for the preservation of our kingdoms and lands, as men know, were highly induced, we have, with timely counsel, knowledge, and will of ours and of the Holy Empire, caused the following to occur

Princes, Princes and Estates, for the preservation of our holy Christian faith, peace and justice in the Holy Empire, good order, German nation for honor, benefit, welfare, reception and prosperity, established: Nevertheless, we have heard for some time, with great sorrow in our hearts, how the discord of our holy Christian faith, as a result of our edict issued by the Emperor at Worms, has divided and taken root in our absence in many difficult sects, and how this has caused no small harm and accident to the common German nation. Since, however, so far, no salutary counsel has been found for such incumbent burdens and burdens by many imperial congresses and other brave and diligent actions of our governor, orator and commissaries, nor of the princes, princes and estates of the empire, except by our presence, we have, after the advent of the new church, taken up the matter.

to establish some order [so that] the Hispanic kingdoms of the time of our departure may live in the more peace, tranquility and unity, out of special love and gracious affection that we have and bear for the German nation and the Holy Roman Empire, exalted ourselves from our Hispanic hereditary kingdoms, left the same, and initially joined Italy, placed the same our Italian lands (praise God!) in good unity and peace; and that we may the more advantageously come into the German nation, and foresee such grave mischief in time, refrain from visiting our kingdom of Neapolis, as that would have greatly required our and our subjects' opportunity, welfare, and need, and to receive our imperial coronation (which we could have fetched at Rome without any danger or trouble, and from there sooner come to the touched kingdom of Neapolis) at Bononia, and thereupon to hold a common imperial diet here in our and the Holy Roman Empire's city of Augsburg, on the 8th day of April next week. We have herewith proclaimed and announced, in mind, will, and opinion, all matters concerning the Holy Roman Empire, common Christendom, and the German nation, and in particular how the confusion and discord concerning our holy faith and Christian religion (as not the least grievance) may be the more fruitfully acted upon and resolved upon, how to put an end to this discord of faith, how to forestall unwillingness, and how to surrender to Christ, our Saviour, the error that has occurred, our Saviour, and to hear, understand, and consider every man's good pleasure and opinion between himself in love and kindness, to bring them to one Christian truth and to compare them, to put away everything that would not be rightly interpreted or acted for both parts, to accept and hold one true religion by all of us, and as we are and contend all under one Christ, so to live all in one fellowship of the church and unity; And finally, to make, establish, resolve, and maintain good unity, peace, and welfare of the holy realm, in this and other matters incumbent upon it, as then our proclamation of this Imperial Diet contains and is able to contain this and other things according to length.

(2) At which Diet we, as well as the Electors, Princes, and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, appeared before us obediently in noticeable public numbers, in our own persons, and some by their embassies with full authority.

003 Accordingly, we have, together with the same our
Princes, Prelates, Counts and Estates, and the absent embassies, the article of the discord of our holy Christian faith, in the above-mentioned our letter, as the noblest and most important point, first taken before the hand, and (by virtue of the same our letter) graciously offered to hear anyone who has wanted to bring something forward on account of such discord of faith. Thereupon our and the Holy Roman Empire's Princes, Princes and Cities, John, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, Archmarshall and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, George, Margrave of Brandenburg, Stettin, Pomerania, Duke of the Cassubians and Wends, Burgrave of Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen, Ernst and Franciscus, brothers, dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, also the envoys of the cities of Nuremberg, Reutlingen, Kempten, Heilbrunn, Winsheim, and Weissenburg in the Northgau, have brought us their confession and opinion, for faith's sake, written down; which we graciously received from them, and publicly read them in the presence of all the princes, princes, and estates of the Holy Roman Empire assembled here. And although we, after having had the constant counsel of excellent theologians and scribes from many nations, had such a confession of theirs refuted and rejected with good reason by the holy Gospel and holy Scripture, yet such a thing did not so much prevail with them that they would have compared themselves with us, princes, princes, and other common estates in all articles. Whereupon, for the good and welfare of the Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation, so that peace and unity may be preserved therein, we now, out of Imperial clemency and but by grace, declare that the Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation are at peace. and but by the grace of the Emperor, we now offer to the above-mentioned Princes, Princes, and six cities the following gracious dispensation, and graciously request that the same be accepted: Namely, that between here and the fifteenth day of the month of April next they should consider whether or not they wish to confess and unite with the Christian Church, Papal Holiness, us, and the other Princes, Princes, and commonwealths of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as other Christian leaders and members of common Christendom, in the meantime of the discussion of a future Council. And that they inform us of their minds under their seals before the end of the above-mentioned fifteenth day, in the meantime we also want to consider what is due to us, and then to give them our consent.

open our opinion likewise; with quite a few articles attached, as to how they shall behave in the meantime of the same consideration.

4th Namely, that it be our earnest will, opinion, and command that the Elector of Saxony, together with his kinsmen, decree in the meantime of this fifteenth day of April, that nothing new, for the sake of matters of faith, shall be printed, sold, or traded in their principalities, lands, and territories; and that all the electors, princes, and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, in the meantime of this intention, shall keep good peace and unity.

(5) And that neither the Elector of Saxony, the five princes and six cities, nor their subjects, ours and the Holy Roman Empire's, nor the subjects of the other princes, princes, and common estates, as has been done hitherto, shall not draw or compel to themselves and their sect. Whether some of the subjects of the Elector of Saxony, the five princes and six cities, regardless of their dignity or status, who still adhere to the old Christian faith and nature, or want to adhere to it, do not err or oppress them in their churches and places of worship in their services and ceremonies, nor do they initiate any further innovation therein. In the same way, the men and women of the order should not be prevented in any way from attending mass, hearing confessions, and administering and receiving the holy sacrament.

6. To this end, the aforementioned Elector, the five princes, and six cities are to compare themselves with us, along with the other electors, princes, and states, against those who do not keep the reverend sacrament, and against the Anabaptists, and are not to separate themselves from us, their loved ones, and them in any way, but are to advise, encourage, and help as to what and how action is to be taken against them; As all our princes, rulers, and estates have granted and promised us all these things, as stated above, as far as each of them is concerned.

7. And because no common council has been held in the Christian church for many years, and yet many abuses and complaints have occurred in common Christendom for a long time, we have gathered here at Augsburg, with all our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, rulers, and estates, and their embassies, now all assembled here at Augsburg, in common discretion and counsel, and at the humble request and entreaty of all of them, in addition to papal sanctity, have finally resolved, also with all of the aforementioned princes, princes and estates and the same embassies, to petition the affected papal authority.

Holiness, and all Christian kings and potentates, so much to decree, that for Christian reformation a common Christian council, within six months, the next after the end of this our imperial diet, shall be advertised at the appropriate place, and that for the most beneficial and longest time, within a year after such advertisement, it shall be held, in the good hope and confidence that thereby the community of Christendom, for its spiritual and temporal things, shall be brought into constant good unity and peace.

(8) Furthermore, since the commandments of God and man, as well as the Gospel, are able to decree that no one should be deprived of what is his by force, or that he should be deprived of it, and since this has been done by them and their country manifoldly, therefore we have been approached daily by the deprived abbots or abbesses, as well as by others, and have been called upon with imploring and lamenting pleas to restore them to what is theirs. Accordingly, as a Christian emperor, who should not deny justice to anyone, it would not be otherwise due to us (since the laws provide and want that every spoliir and deposed person should first of all be restituted and reinstated), than for this reason to have due regard; Therefore, it is our earnest command that the Elector of Saxony, and his kinsmen, let the spoliated monasteries and other ecclesiastics in their principalities and territories, without any means and in the most beneficial way, return to their monasteries and estates, from which they have been deposed, expelled, and driven out, restitute and reinstate them, so that we would not be caused, as a Christian emperor, to do due execution ourselves.

009 But the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen, above mentioned, did not want to accept such our gracious leave, but rejected it, and thereupon partly went away.

(10) The envoys of our and the Holy Roman Empire's cities, Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, have handed over to us their confession of their faith in writings; which we have had read and considered with the greatest diligence for ourselves, as well as by many learned, brave doctors of the Holy Scriptures of many nations. And after we have heard from the same their own delivered confession, also otherwise credibly reported, and for themselves publicly, that the said four our and the empire's cities have not only separated themselves in faith from all other free and imperial cities, but from the whole German nation, also from common Christendom, and have committed the grave insanity against the reverend Sacra-

The same have been subjected to iconoclasm and other things, and until now have been allowed many disgusting sects, which have also been spread among the common people of the German nation, and are included in the booklet that is carried over from time to time, which neither they nor anyone else is entitled or entitled to. Thus, in praise of God Almighty, for the salvation of souls, for the preservation of Christian love, and especially for the tranquility, welfare, and unity of the German nation, we, through the scholars of the Holy Scriptures of many nations, and also with the valiant counsel of our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, princes, and estates, all assembled here, have had a counter-report, founded in the Gospel and Holy Scriptures, written, which we have publicly read to them before the princes, rulers and estates, and have graciously reminded, admonished and requested them, because they have clearly noted their error in the face of our confutation, and understand that they have renounced this cruel error, and have compared themselves with us, as well as with the princes, rulers and estates of the empire and common Christendom, which we have agreed to provide for them.

(11) Upon such our most gracious remembrance and request, the envoys of the aforementioned four cities have humbly requested that a copy of such a treatise be given to them, with the indication that they alone have orders from their council friends to request a copy of what is held before them and to send it behind them. Which request we refused them for movable reasons, and at the same time offered that we would have the same confutation read to them again two or three times, so that they would know how to act accordingly, and for this reason we again asked them to comply with our request. For if such a Christian admonition and reminder should not take place with them (of which we do not deny ourselves), then the same four cities could consider that we are caused to show ourselves and behave in the matters as is due to us, as Roman Christian emperor, supreme sovereign and patron of the holy Christian church, ex officio, according to our conscience, as was previously reported in the confutation. But upon such and such our most gracious remembrance and request, the envoys of the four cities concerned have insisted on their opinion.

012 But since it is due to us, as Roman emperor, and chief prince of Christendom, from the imperial office imposed upon us, as we also acknowledge our duty, to uphold the holy Christian faith, as it is upheld by the holy common Christian church, and to uphold it by the holy common Christian church, we are to be the first to be called to the holy faith.

and honorably kept and executed, to administer, protect, and shield, also to execute our Imperial Edict, issued at our first Imperial Diet at Worms: We, together with other electors, princes and estates obedient to us and to the Holy Roman Empire, have finally resolved, and also granted, for ourselves and our subjects, and have promised and pledged to one another to remain and hold firmly to the old, true, long-established Christian faith and religion, as well as to the same honest, praiseworthy ceremonies and customs, practiced in the common church until now, and also not to allow any change to be made before the decision of the next General Council.

(13) And since then our edict issued at Worms, and also after that many decrees of our imperial congresses at Nuremberg and Speier, which were written out and held, have been torn down by all kinds of complaints and innovations contrary to the Christian faith and religion.

014 Especially have some taught, written, and preached, that in the reverend sacrament of the altar the body and blood of Christ, under both the form of bread and wine, are not essential and present, but only figurative and important, with other more unchristian circumstances, additions, and appendages.

015 Some preach and teach that every man is bound by the commandment of Christ to receive the reverend sacrament of the altar under both forms, and that those who pass and receive it under one form do wrong.

016 Some have utterly abolished the office of the holy mass, and have preached that the mass is the highest blasphemy.

(17) Some have not entirely abolished the Mass, but have introduced a special change therein, contrary to the long usage, order, and statutes of the common Christian church, again to their liking. Likewise, the usual chants of the Mass, times of day, and other hymns of praise of the Mother of God, of the dear saints, and of the holy fathers, made for the glory of God and the devotion of men, and commonly and uniformly ordered, set, and kept in the common Christian church, have been done away with as annoying and unchristian, and yet in their place other chants of their liking have been made.

018 Some have taught that the baptism of infants is nothing, but that every man, if he come to understanding, should be baptized again; they also hold that baptism is no sacrament. Thereby some have rejected the praiseworthy Christian ordinances.

and prayers, which are kept at the dew, and made others.

019 Some use no prayers or ceremonies at all, and have their children baptized not by the priests, but by any layman, male or female, out of necessity, and in bad well water.

020 Some have not confirmed their children, nor administered the sacrament or chrismation to the dying.

021 Some have broken and burned the images of our Saviour Christ, and also of his most blessed Mother Mary, and of the dear saints, which have been kept for a long time for the remembrance of all the Christian people, and have raged inhumanly with them.

022 Some have held that there is no free will, but that everything that happens must happen thus, and not otherwise, from unavoidable necessity, and that therefore God is a real cause of evil.

023 Some have taught that there should be no authority among Christians, neither should any man use it.

024 Some have taught that faith alone, without love and good works, makes one saved, and have rejected good works altogether.

025 Some have utterly destroyed and laid waste the monasteries, parish churches, and churches of Mary.

026 Some have abolished, or caused to be abolished, in the foundations, parishes, and other benefices, the praiseworthy Christian ceremonies and customs, which have hitherto been practised in the common church, for the remembrance and encouragement of all the Christian people, for the devotion and contemplation of the life, passion, death, and work of Christ our Saviour, and have imposed other unchristian ordinances, of their own will, power, and pleasure.

(27) Some have entirely discontinued preaching in the monasteries of the four mendicant orders, to whom such preaching is due according to their rule or profession, and has been in use from time immemorial, thereby depriving many pious old Christians of the right true nourishment of God's Word, and have been compelled, against their conscience, to hear the new seductive preachers, or else to abstain from all preaching.

028 Some lords have forbidden their subjects, under severe penalty, to hear the preaching of the old, right, true faith, in or out of their villages, nor to go to the same preaching or churches, nor to follow the old faith.

to hang on. And if they enter therein, they have been punished unjustly.

029 Some bind their servants in their duty, not to hear the preachers aforesaid, but only to hear their seducing preachers, and to cleave to the same sect.

(30) Some have used monasteries, foundations, and vacated benefices for their own benefit, or in other ways of disorderly measure, of their liking, and have not lent the same further, contrary to their foundation, or permitted them to be lent to others.

031 Some have removed the rectors, confessors, preachers, and other Christian rulers of the same convents, and have appointed seductive preachers, confessors, and teachers in their stead.

(32) Some have closed and barred the monasteries entirely and in part, and have forbidden them to sing, to read, to hold mass, to distribute, to receive, and to give sacramenta among them, the religious, according to traditional Christian usage.

(33) Some of the monasteries of men's and women's religious, endowments and other benefices, and of the deceased endowments and foundations, established by many of our ancestors, of blessed and mild memory, Roman emperors, kings, princes, and other noble estates, have, contrary to their last will and decree, been wholly or partly taken away, or have been entirely deprived of them. The persons of the male and female orders were tolerated and allowed to leave the monasteries without the permission of their regular authorities and to enter into a supposed marital or other secular state. They also did not want to allow the prelates and prelates to abolish such or to be in favor of it. They have also urged some male and female religious to pardon the monasteries and their goods forever, and to give up their vows, in which they must also confess that their monastic life was unchristian and devilish.

(34) Some have permitted the religious to cast off their habit, and to wear secular or other garments than they were permitted to wear according to their rule and vows, and have nevertheless permitted them to dwell in the monasteries.

35 Some religious are forbidden to accept others who wish to join them in the order, and to receive profession or obedience from those who are already in their monasteries.

1) "conjugal" put by us instead of: honest.

036 Some have taken their children and friends by force out of the monasteries, against their will, and drawn them.

37. Some have installed and deposed priests in parishes and other benefices, as and when they pleased, without presenting them to the ordinaries, so that they might have been examined and invested; moreover, they have prevented the ordinaries from using their jurisdiction over the priests, as well as from visiting the parish priests and priesthood; they have allowed and tolerated the parish priests and preachers to interpret the divine word and scripture according to their will and liking, to reject the office of the holy mass in general, including prayer for the deceased, and to destroy Christian ceremonies. Singing, reading, praying, fasting, celebrating, and otherwise generally introducing and practicing all kinds of idiosyncratic deeds; which were and still are not only in keeping with our edict issued at Worms and the imperial decrees since then, but also with Christian order and devotion, over which such things are not proper and due to anyone, no matter what his status, nor have they had any authority or command.

38. Out of all this nothing good, but rather that the other customs of the common church were despised, all nobility and respectability in their preaching desecrated, blasphemed, the pious simple-minded people and laymen incited against each other, and also all kinds of frivolity arose from it, The seductive and previously rejected and condemned doctrine has gained the upper hand, much seductive insanity has grown up among the common people, all true devotion has gone out, and finally all Christian honor, discipline, virtue, commandment, fear of God, respectability, and good honest conduct and life, even the true love of one's neighbor, have completely fallen into disrepair.

39. And all this is not only contrary to the holy Gospel and divine Scripture, but also contrary to the old and praiseworthy custom and practice of the Christian church and ceremonies, and has been done and done in an unjust manner: We have united with our princes, princes and estates, and they in turn with us, and have resolved that the above, and all others, contrary to the common Christian church faith, order, religion, ceremonies, and all laudable statutes, shall be abolished, and all praiseworthy statutes, long established usage, as decreed by the same common Christian church, and Concilia held some hundred years ago, are done and passed, and we therefore shall and will be and decree, as I
It is due that those who have undertaken such an innovation unite and compare themselves with us and the affected common princes and estates until the next coming Council.

040 Therefore we command and will that it be firmly held, taught, and preached throughout the Roman empire, that under the species of bread and wine, and under every one of them, the true body and blood of Christ our Saviour and Beatificator be substantially and truly present. And all those who teach, write, preach, or hold contrary thereto, shall not be tolerated, accepted, or permitted. From this also it follows that the Christian Church, by inspiration of the Holy Spirit and good causes, has salutarily ordained and commanded that every Christian man, apart from the celebration of Mass, shall be administered the reverend Sacrament by the Consecutor under the form of bread alone, and yet under one form no more or less than under two, be enjoyed and received. As we also hereby command, and that no innovation shall be made in this matter until a future Council is decided, 1) we have commanded.

41 And likewise, common and special masses, with singing, with the inculcation and keeping of the major and minor canons, also other prayers, garments, ceremonies, statutes, ordinances, and all measures, shall be kept as has been and still is done in the common Christian church, and in all of this no change or innovation shall be made.

(42) And for the sake of the Anabaptists, we leave it at our former constitution and statutes, which we here, with the advice and consent of princes, rulers, and estates, wish to have renewed again; and command that the children be baptized in a similar manner, with the administration of the chrism, and likewise with the praiseworthy, wholesome prayers and ceremonies, which have long been established and held by the Christian common church. For the more unchristian and dreadful it is to shut up and deprive poor young children of the way of salvation and of the grace of the Holy Spirit.

(43) We also command and desire that the confirmation of children and other Christian people, and likewise of dying people, shall not be omitted, but shall be kept and used firmly in the same manner as it has been hitherto in the Christian church.

44 Because also the image of Christ, of his dear mother Mary, and of the dear saints, is the gift of the Lord.

1) "commanded" put by us instead of: asked.

We order that the images mentioned above shall not be removed, but shall be erected and maintained devoutly by all Christian people. Likewise, the altars and sacramental halls, where they have been removed, are to be restored and preserved for the glory of God.

045 Further, as some hold that there is no free will, 2c. Because this error, with its appendages, is not human, but rather animal, and a blasphemy, it should not be held, taught, or preached.

(46) Likewise, because the headship is ordained of God, and is proved from the holy Gospels, St. Paul, and other divine writings, it is not to be preached in any way, either publicly or secretly, nor otherwise taught, nor given out, which may be opposed to it with contempt, or which may come or come to disdain, contempt, or disparagement.

047 And since it is evident from holy Scripture that faith alone, without love and good works, does not make one righteous, and since God requires good works of men in many places in holy Scripture, let not the above article (that faith alone makes one righteous, and that good works are to be rejected) be preached or taught, but let modesty and distinction be kept, as the common Christian Church and the holy Fathers have kept and taught until now.

(48) And especially the seven sacraments and the ceremonies thereof shall be observed everywhere, as they have been used in the Christian Church from time immemorial, and before this schism, and all innovation shall be put an end to.

49) Item, that also in particular all high and low monasteries, convents, parishes, foundations and benefices shall be kept in their statutes, orders, rules, foundations, chanting, reading, preaching, holding of masses, prayers, burial and usual Christian praiseworthy traditional ceremonies, as those practiced in the common church until now.

50) That also the vacated benefices, according to due measure, be bestowed on fit, skilful persons, the deceased be given a foundation, and the clergy be given due visitation and punishment of the pastors, priesthoods and clergy.
shall not be prevented. That also the religious and secular priests should abstain completely from marrying.

051 And the priests, who are supposed to have married before this our parting, shall from this time be deprived of their ecclesiastical benefices, administrations, and offices, and their benefices shall be filled by the patrons or ordinaries of any place, in time of right, to come next after the end of this Diet, and the pastors and other ecclesiastical benefices shall be filled by their ecclesiastical superiors or patrons with other, skillful, unmarried priests.

52) However, if some married priests want to leave their presumed wives and return to Christian order and practice, and also receive and accept absolution and penance worthy of their crime, papal holiness should now be requested by the legate to give the ordinaries power to absolve the secular priests and rehabilitate them for their administration.

053 But the priests who do not want to convert, or to live up to this our parting, as and where they are found, or (spiritual persons [monks and nuns]) 1) have intermarried with one another, or with other persons, they shall not be left in any principalities, dominions, and territories, but shall be expelled, or taken into due and lawful punishment.

54) In no jurisdiction shall clergymen be permitted or allowed to live dishonestly in public, and especially to live with dishonest, lewd wives, or to have them with them, nor in dishonest, unpriestly dress and behavior, but the offenders shall be punished according to the requirements of the case, and this shall not be allowed to continue, as has been done hitherto, so that all annoyance may be avoided.

(55) Where the clergy in any place have entered into an unjust ecclesiastical easement, patronage, or contract, we will that such easement, patronage, or contract be dead and done away with, notwithstanding any oath or obligation which may have been sworn or made in any way for that purpose. Likewise, where monasteries or other ecclesiastical estates and other such things in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation have been sold, altered, or turned to improper use or custom, all such things shall be void, null, and voidable, and shall be restored to their former status from that time forth,

1) inserted by us.

left, and the sold goods of due value to be refunded and paid.

(56) And all pastors and preachers, whether they be religious or secular priests, shall observe the above and following of our imperial orders in preaching. The priests and ministers are to keep to the above and subsequent imperial orders in preaching.

(57) Thereupon we have compared and united with princes, sovereigns, and estates, and have decreed and ordained that no preacher shall now be admitted to preach in any place, nor shall he be installed, unless he has first been examined by the archbishop or bishop under whom he has sat, and has been found experienced and skilled in life, doctrine, and skill, and has been sufficiently approved for the office of preaching. These licensed and accredited preachers, whether they be religious or other priests, none excepted, even without regard to some liberty, shall keep their preaching in accordance with this ordinance of ours. And especially that in their preaching they shall avoid and refrain from anything that might lead the common man to move against authority, or lead the Christian people into error, or incite them against one another, or give them cause to do so. And in particular, they are to measure themselves against the speech, which some have not been ashamed to do until now, that one wants to suppress and exterminate the gospel and the holy word of God, which not only has never been ours or the common people's opinion, but rather has borne the concern and affection of the Christian mind, but rather the care and affection of the Christian mind, that the holy word of God be planted for the increase of Christian love, godliness, devotion, and good works, and be preserved in Christian nature, and not, as is now the use of the new teachers, be preached according to each one's own will, benefit, envy, hope, or for the seduction of the unintelligent common laity; but it is our will, mind and opinion that the preachers preach and teach the gospel according to the interpretation of the holy Scriptures and teachers, approved and accepted by the common holy Christian church, and that they refrain from disputing matters, from preaching and teaching the same, and from insulting, 1) reviling and blaspheming, and that they await the decision of the said Christian Concilii.

058 The same preachers shall also especially prevent the common Christian people from being turned away from the offices of holy masses, prayers, and other good works, as has been done in many places until now, which is to be pityed; but they shall keep the Christian people in good order.

1) "Schimpfirens" put by us instead of: "stumpfirens".

instruct, instruct and incite them to hear the office of the holy mass with great devotion, to do their prayer sincerely to God, to devoutly command themselves much to the virgins of Mary and the dear wives, to forbid them against God; They are to celebrate the feast, keep the required fast days, and avoid forbidden food, as is customary in the Christian Church; they are also not to reject religious and others from their vows, but to teach them that they are obliged to keep them, also to give alms, and to practice other Christian, charitable and good works.

59. Such men, regardless of their status, shall observe and obey our order, statutes, and well-established Christian customs, ceremonies, and all other things that have hitherto been decently ordered, established, and used in the Christian church, as far as our holy Christian faith and worship are concerned, and shall not innovate against any of these things, all under penalty of death, injury, or property, which each authority shall and may impose on the transgressor, according to the nature of the transgression. Nor shall any authority prevent the other in this, but one shall be helpful to the other at its request; all this we, to avoid the above-mentioned punishment and penalties, wish to have kept completely between here and the next General Council's decision.

60. And since much evil has arisen from disorderly printing up to now, we decree, order, and intend that every prince, sovereign, and state of the realm, ecclesiastical and secular, in the meantime of the future Council, take care in all printing houses, also with all bookkeepers, with serious diligence, that nothing new is printed or offered for sale, especially abusive writings, paintings, and the like, either publicly or secretly, unless previously ordered to do so by the same ecclesiastical or secular authorities, and especially defamatory writings, paintings, and the like, are neither publicly nor secretly printed or sold, unless previously inspected by the same ecclesiastical or secular authorities, and the name and surname of the printer, as well as the city in which such things are printed, are put therein in the same words. And where there is a deficiency therein, the same shall not be permitted to be printed or to have it, nor shall any such defamatory or similar books printed beforehand be offered for sale or sold. And if the poets, printers or sellers transgress such order and commandments, he shall be punished by the authority under which he sat or entered, according to opportunity, in body or goods; and if some authority, whoever it may be, is found negligent in this, then our Imperial Fiscal shall and may ask the same authority for a fine. Fiscal shall and may proceed against the same authority for the punishment and proceed, what punishment, according to the occasion, shall be inflicted.

The Imperial Court of Appeal shall have the power to set and to laxify in the case of any superiority and of the same negligence.

61. After many bishoprics, high and other monasteries, also monasteries, have since our imperial outgoing edict been taken away, devastated and deserted, the bishops, prelates, parish priests, religious and ecclesiastical persons driven out of theirs without legal knowledge or cause, many bishoprics, high and other monasteries, also monasteries, have been taken away, devastated and deserted, The bishops, prelates, parish priests, religious and ecclesiastical persons have been expelled or driven out of their territories without lawful knowledge or cause, their bishoprics, monasteries, convents, castles, goods and chattels, interest, favors, ornaments or treasures have been taken, or they have been sold in whole or in part, arrested, detained and held up for trial; and in divine, ecclesiastical and imperial laws it is provided and forbidden that no one shall take, deprive and rob another of his own property, contrary to law, in an unseemly manner, and especially of property devoted to the Church and to God, much less deprive or extinguish an honest foundation made in praise of God, we decree and order that the bishoprics, monasteries, monasteries, and their properties, which have been unfairly taken for themselves by clergy or seculars, or wrested in the peasant revolt, shall be restored to those to whom they are entitled and rightfully due; or, where the monasteries or parishes have been devastated, demolished, or desolated, they shall be rebuilt and erected. Likewise, in bishoprics, monasteries, foundations, and parishes, singing, reading, mass, and the performance of other common, laudable Christian ceremonies, as well as their possessions and goods and the same administration, as they have been and continue to be from time immemorial, shall remain peaceful, all with the penalty of our imperial peace, attention, and disregard, as we will therefore issue and proclaim our special penalty mandate, with further content.

(62) And since we do not doubt in our imperial mind that there are still many steadfast Christians. We have no doubt that there are still many steadfast Christians who adhere to the old true Christian faith, and to whom the rebellious, seductive, and previously condemned doctrine is highly repugnant. So that they may be kept in their honorable, steadfast minds, as is right, and not be turned away from it by some oppression of others, we, as well as the princes, princes, and estates, wish that those who have sat in the authorities, cities, towns, and villages, who have not accepted this resignation of ours, be punished, who have not accepted this our farewell (as far as they persist and insist on their Christian opinion, and keep and live by this our farewell), with their possessions, wives and children, in our and the Holy Empire's but protection and defence.

and should enjoy and use them as other relatives of ours and of the Holy Roman Empire. For this purpose we want to grant by imperial power For this purpose, we, by imperial power, will allow and grant to the same citizens and inhabitants, who are still of the old Christian faith and persist in it, according to their opportunity, with their body, possessions and goods, a free departure from and immigration to the above-mentioned authorities, cities, towns and villages, without complaint of any additional tax or deduction of their goods, and unhindered male, and do so herewith knowingly. They also want that such shall not bring them any disadvantage or injury to their civic duties, city rights or civil rights, in any way or manner. And if some of the above-mentioned authorities, towns or villages have freedoms or privileges contrary to or in opposition to this, we wish to have them derogated and all of this hereby annulled in this case.

63 And because in many years no common council has been held in the holy Christian church, and it is of the highest necessity that it should be held, that the above-mentioned errors, abuses, and grievances in our holy faith, and what has been torn down in the meantime, may be reformed and corrected: Likewise, because many kingdoms and other things have been taken away by the enemy of the holy Christian faith, the Turks, and still more may be taken away, if this is not done in good time, so that, after the greatest need, salutary and fruitful action may be taken against them; and since all our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, princes and estates, and their embassies, have gathered here with us in Augsburg, without distinction, both those who have compared themselves with us and our old true Christian faith, as it has been held praiseworthily by the Holy Christian Church, and those who have made the above-mentioned and other innovations, in order to promote such a council, have humbly appealed to and asked us: We have therefore, for a Christian reformation and handling of the Christian faith, resolved, as we have now, with our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, princedoms and estates, to promote and decree so much by papal holiness, that by their holiness a common Christian council is to be announced within six months after the end of the imperial diet, and that it is to be started and held in the most beneficial way and for the longest time within a year after such announcement, in consolation and finality.

Confidence that other Christian kings, princes and potentates will also allow them to appear at such a council and help to bring the common Christianity, for the sake of its spiritual and temporal matters, into lasting good unity and peace.

(64) Item, as we have herebefore in many established imperial decrees clearly expressed and provided that the ecclesiastics and seculars should have their interest, rent, remittance, and tithe paid and paid without objection or hindrance, also that due tithe should be given, and that it should not be prevented from being conferred and collected, we nevertheless find that in some places this has been little enforced, and that we, as Roman Emperor, are entitled to see that no one reserves his own by force against the law: therefore we decree that each of the ecclesiastical and secular classes shall have their interest, remittance, and tithe paid and paid without objection or hindrance, and that they shall not be prevented from conferring it. Therefore, we decree and will that each person, whether of ecclesiastical or secular status, remain with their pensions, dues, interest, tithes, rights, and justices, and that no one deprive the other of all of these, prevent them, or deprive them of all of these, but rather let each person pay, pay, and follow fine inheritance, perpetual and other interest, dues, tithes, and other rights and justices. In this also each authority shall assist the other; all with avoidance of punishment, comprehended in our peace of the land. If any authority acts contrary to our order, our Fiscal shall have the power and command to proceed against the same authority, by virtue of our proclaimed truce.

65. Since in some places the sovereigns have made special orders, statutes, and ordinances, and have obtained liberties, or still wish to make and obtain them, that they should have the power to redeem hereditary and perpetual interest, both ecclesiastical and secular, but which the princes, sovereigns, and estates complain of, for reasons that such is contrary to law, equity, ancient custom, and usage, and is detrimental not only to the sovereigns, but also to the justice of the people: Accordingly, we decree, order, will, and mean, out of right knowledge and imperial power and perfection, that all and every order, statute, charter, and liberty made, obtained, and issued for this purpose, or which may hereafter be made, obtained, and issued, shall be abolished, dead, void, and of no effect; As we also hereby, by Roman imperial authority, right knowledge, and our own motive, recognize them to be void, null, and unenforceable, and wish that, for the sake of such perpetual and hereditary interest, they shall remain in accordance with the above article, and be firmly held.

Sixty-six: and mean, and set, and will, that to this

We hereby declare that we have fully lived up to and complied with our agreement, and that it is to be carried out in all its contents, opinions and concepts, irrespective of all other agreements made at our previous imperial congresses, insofar as these may be contrary to or in conflict with our agreement and regulations for the sake of the faith. Likewise, without regard to all objections, oppositions, and appeals, which have been or may be made against them, and which, without a common council, have been or may be made against us or anyone else; All of which are null and void in themselves, and we wish to have them annulled and rescinded as null and void by our imperial authority and with the common counsel and will of our obedient Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, all of which we reserve the right to do according to the circumstances and as is proper.

67. We, the princes, princes, prelates, counts and estates who have accepted and approved this treaty, have unanimously agreed and promised and pledged to each other in good faith that no one, whether of spiritual or secular rank, shall violate or encroach upon the other's faith, nor deny his sovereigns rent, interest, tithe and goods, nor deprive his sovereign of rent, interest, tithe, and goods, nor shall any of the other's subjects and relatives, on account of their faith or other causes, take them into his protection and shield against their sovereign; All this under penalty and punishment of our imperial peace established at Worms, which shall remain in full force, be firmly held, and be enforced.

(68) And that there may be no lack of all this in administration or execution, we have promised and pledged to our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, lords, and estates, and in turn to our princes, lords, and estates, in matters concerning the ancient Christian faith and religion, that we will faithfully hold our kingdom, land, and people, as well as our bodies and goods, to each other. And thereupon further agreed and united, if it should come to pass that one estate, contrary to all that has been reported above, should want to overrun the other with army force or otherwise violently, that then our Imperial Court of Appeal, upon the request of those or those who were concerned about the overrun, and who duly requested justice, should have complete command, power and authority, with penalty and punishment of the eight, from such his violent action, to those who were in trade and armour.

and to let himself be duly satisfied with the law.

(69) If, however, the person or persons thus commanded should disobey, our Imperial Fiscal shall immediately proceed and execute the declaration against the disobedient person or persons, upon the above-mentioned mandates, without delay and in the most favorable manner, and the same disobedient persons shall be judged and declared by our Court of Appeal to be in contempt and other penalties of the peace of the land, as is proper. And in addition to this, our Court of Appeal shall nonetheless issue a common summons against all and any helpers of the or those who, as is stated, are in armour and are taking part in the mighty attack, with a penalty of eight, also to the most beneficial effect. Likewise, the other neighboring imperial estates, with the penalty of the eight, must immediately demand and exhort the handling of everything, as mentioned above, to provide the one or ones who want to be overdrawn and raped with proper help, and to rescue them.

70 We, as Roman Emperor and Head, together with our hereditary lands, also want to draw and save the injured party against this parting.

(71) The rapist shall also be obliged to pay off and reimburse those who would be required and conscripted as a matter of urgency the war expenses they have incurred, and shall be at the will of the assistants to be able to bring the rapist to an end with the deed as soon as possible, to refuse the charge, or to bring him to the moderation of our Court of Appeal with a penalty of eight, for which he shall also be helped by our Court of Appeal in a conducive and unrefusable manner.

1156 "D. Martin Luther's warning to his dear Germans", to which the foregoing imperial treaty gave rise. In the first months of the year 1531.

This writing appeared first under the title: "Warnunge D. Martini Luther, An seine lieben Deudschen. Wittemberg. 1531." At the end: "Gedruckt zu Wittemberg Durch Hans Lufft M.D.XXXI." and again in the same year without indication of the place and printer. Likewise an edition in Low German printed at Magdeburg by Hans Walther. In 1546 this writing was published again under the title: "Warnung D. Martini Luther an seine lieben Deudschen. vor etlichen Jaren geschrieben auff diesen Fall, so die Feinde Christlicher Warheit diese Kirchen und Land, darinne pur Lere des Evangelii geprediget wird, mit Krieg vberziehen vnd zerstören wollen. With a preface by Philippi Melanthon. Witteberg. Printed by Hans Lufft. 1546." On

Conclusion: "Printed at Witteberg, by Hans Lufft. In the same and the following year, other editions were published by the same author and elsewhere. An excerpt from this writing was published in 1620 (at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War) along with passages from other writings of Luther, mostly from the book "Wider den Meuchler zu Dresden. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1554), vol. VII, p. 4616; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 273; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 259; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 298; in the Erlanger (1st), vol. 25, p. 1; second edition, vol. 25, p. 3, and in Chyträus German, p. 532. In Latin translation in 6o6l68tinu8, nist. Oowitioruin, anno 1530. xnAULtag oolodratorurn, torn. IV, toi. 100. with Melanchthon's preface only in the Wittenberg and Leipzig editions, and in Walch. We give the text according to the second edition of the Erlanger.

Philip Melanchthon's Preface. The July 10, 1546.

(1) Since our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, sacrificed himself on the cross to his eternal Father for our sins, and Mary and John were next to him, he commanded his mother Mariam shortly before his death, indicating that he wished to command all men, and especially the rulers, his poor Church, which suffers contempt and persecution in the world.

2. Now all people on earth, and especially the members of the Church, from the beginning of the world to the end, should consider themselves standing under the cross, seeing and contemplating this wonderful work, that the Son of God has borne such terrible wrath of His eternal Father for us; and to accept the great grace that we have thereby obtained, to be grateful for it, and to know that all our life and death should be directed primarily to praising God, and especially to receiving right doctrine of this great work, and to giving thanks for this marvelous counsel of God; and therefore to help hold together His Church, which preaches, learns, and loves this right doctrine, and calls upon the true God in the knowledge of Christ. As Christ also said to Petro [Luc. 22, 32.], "And if thou be converted, thou shalt strengthen thy brethren."

(3) All these things are known among all men who are not crude godless men, but have a little Christian understanding and faith, namely, that a man should not live like a beast, seeking only his own gentle life, but serving for the knowledge of God, and for the preservation of the true church.

004 Let all God-fearing people in the German lands now seriously consider this, and remember what they have done to God in this terrible time.

of the armament of war. For since it is public that the pope is doing such great help for this war with money and men of war, there can be no doubt that the matter is primarily meant by him to eradicate the true doctrine preached in our churches, to reestablish and eternally strengthen his idolatry and error with bloodshed and murder, and eternal devastation of the German nation, and the tearing apart of the royal and princely houses.

005 Now what every honest man is bound to do in such a case, all godly men can easily remember, namely, that they owe first this to God, that they do not help to strengthen idolatry, as it is written [1 Tim. 5:22], "Thou shalt not make thyself partaker of other men's sins." Item, 2 Cor. 6, 14-17. "Ye shall not help unbelievers," understand idolatry to strengthen. "For how can Christ and Belial be joined together? And how is it fair that idols should be set in the temple of God? But ye are the temple of the living GOD, as GOD saith, I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and will be their GOD, and they shall be my people. Therefore come out from them, and separate yourselves, saith the LORD."

006 Secondly, that every man, if he despise not God, may be known of his opinion of God. For this is the purpose for which the human race was created, that we should know God, praise Him, and testify of Him. And our Saviour Christ saith [Matt. 10:33], "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father."

007 And this confession shall be made according to every man's profession and ability. The preachers are to confess by teaching, the rulers by putting away idolatry and protecting right doctrine. And all who can help in such protection, with body or goods, should faithfully cooperate, as the saying 1 John 3:16 says: "By this we know love, that as Christ laid down his life for us, so we also ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." Let each one continue to consider this reminder, and read the following book diligently and take it to heart.

008 Now the people of the earth are unequal: one esteemeth the zeal of God, and the right invocation, and the right doctrine, to be the highest and most needful, and another esteemeth them not. And the godly are also unequal. One is firmer than the other. Because many others who do not know the reason for their evil deeds are brought to justice by the words of evil men, this warning is also to be given here.

9. it is said that the enemies of our church give

they do not want to fight because of doctrine or religion, but they want to punish some disobedient people who have interfered with the bishops' and monasteries' justice, item, who have expelled monks, item, who have imprisoned the Duke of Brunswick 2c. There is also no doubt that some have been given this excuse: first, some hard heads should be cleared up, and then a good and harmonious order will be established.

010 But that this is only pretended, and that at bottom the destruction of right doctrine and the establishment of idolatry are sought, is evident from these sayings themselves. For what do they want to use the monks for but to establish their idolatrous masses and all false doctrine and hypocrisy? Item, that they may again insult the preachers, blaspheme true doctrine, and cause division in cities and countries. Whoever does not consider these things to be matters of religion, is not hard-hearted about religion. What concerns idolatry is great and is not to be regarded lightly.

011 But it is not only this appointment of monks that is meant, but the destruction of the whole doctrine, and the murder of many Christian priests and rulers, that is at bottom sought. For it is quite certain that the pope has practiced many things, until at last he has worked the matter to the point of stirring up this war, and has helped to do it with great money and people; which he does, indeed, not out of great love for the German nation, but, as every sensible man can observe, that this doctrine may be destroyed, and that this punishment may be an example and strengthening of all his idolatry among all nations.

12. if the principalities are given to the Hispanics and Italians, what religion will be in Germany, honest people will consider for themselves.

013 And, supposing that it were in earnest that they would not destroy the right doctrine, but that this war concerned only external regiments, it is nevertheless to be considered by the Germans whether they will accustom the Hispanics and Italians to learn to divide the principalities in Germany among themselves, as they have divided up Neapolis and Sicily.

014 But that some cry out, that the emperor would gladly make a good united order, but he cannot come to it, he must first clear up some hard heads, preachers, princes, and rulers: this is first of all a laudable beginning to a Christian reformation; and how the reformation will be, is easy to see from the former acts, from the burning, from the recent session of the Council of Trent, and from the articles, at Louvain, and from the other acts.

1) to be respected. The old errors will color them a little, and confirm the idolatry.

(15) For our doctrine is in the day, and all men of understanding, if they will not speak against their conscience, must confess that many high articles, necessary to all Christendom, have been declared right and pure, whereof great injurious errors have before been preached throughout the world. Because we do not want to deny this public divine truth, we must be called hard heads. But if our enemies adorn and color themselves as they please, there is no other reason why they thirst for our blood, except this alone, that we have done right, faithful work with a good conscience, to plant necessary, wholesome doctrine; and God, who knows all hearts, will be the judge.

016 But they say, we ourselves have much disorder and dissension, unruliness, vexation, and yet we will suffer no judge, no reformation; and this doctrine cannot remain, because no church government, no unity, no consistoria 2c. are preserved; therefore the high potentates must do it by force.

017 To this I answer, I will confess yet more; alas, it is true, that there is not only much disorder, but also much sin among us, unwittingly and willingly. And there are many tares among us, as always grows up in the true church of God; as next to David, Nathan and other true saints among God's people were Absalom, Ahitophel 2c. Nevertheless, we must not, because of our own and others' sins and grievances, throw away right doctrine and embrace idolatry.

(18) Nor do the high potentates seek to bring disorder into correction, for which we have often pointed out to them the way, that the bishops should accept right doctrine; and on the other hand they should have their authority, as bishops, over our churches, to keep them together, that thus a proper church government may be and remain. To which they have at all times given no other answer, than: EruoikiM euin, we should be murdered and exterminated. Nevertheless, in the meantime, with God's help, we have maintained Christian doctrine and other laudable arts in the studia, and in the studiis in the consistoria, and have maintained a fair church order and discipline with great labor, because they, the bishops and canonici, eat their rich prebends and work nothing for them.

19. it is not otherwise in this miserable life in all government, they are and remain sins

1) These are the articles against which "Luther's writing against the 32 articles of the theologians at Louvain" is directed, St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1808.

And sorrow for ever on the earth until the resurrection. But if all the sins and grievances of those who learn and love right doctrine were gathered together in one heap, they would still be much less than the idolatry of the persecutors, practiced in masses and worship, and their fornication and murder, which sins and grievances they still want to protect and strengthen for right and for worship.

020 And this difference between the sins of both parts is well to be remembered: in the true church there is and abideth in this life weakness, sin, and vexation. For the great saints, Aaron, David, have committed grievous sins and grievousness; but they do not persist therein, and especially do not guard idolatry, and are not knowingly persecutors of the truth, and murderers of the saints.

021 These abominable things, blasphemy and murder, are not in this company that learneth and loveth righteous doctrine, but are the devil's own works, who maketh his company to do them, and so poureth out and sheweth his fury and hatred against God, as it is written [John 8:44], Ye are of the devil, which is a liar and a murderer.

022 These sins let all men flee unto the highest, and pray God daily and earnestly, that he will mercifully preserve us, that we fall not into such rages.

023 Whosoever therefore shall set both parts before him, and consider where he will be and abide, and shall see much sin and offence on both parts, it is highly necessary for him to consider this difference at the same time, that he be not with this part, which practiseth and strengtheneth blasphemy and persecution of the right members of Christ.

024 And though thy life perish with Abel, yet thou hast this great consolation, that thou knowest that God will hear thee, and be gracious unto thee. For all other sin is forgiven, but blasphemy is not forgiven Match. 12, 31], that is, knowingly strengthening idolatry and murder.

025 Now God knoweth that there are many of us in our churches, which have no other cause, why they have not followed the doctrine of these churches, but that they have sought to flee these two things, for the glory of God, and for their salvation, which are blasphemy and murder. And it is public that they have not sought pleasure or money or violence, but have suffered much misery and shame. If such men die, as Abel died, they will much prefer such deaths,

for Cain's life, and all the pleasure and violence of all the bishops and cardinals. All men are put to death. But this is to be considered how we will stand before God's judgment and the judgment of the whole church for eternity after this life. Thou seest that Abel, Jeremiah, John Baptist, Christ, Paul, are also eaten up by tyrants: let them be witnesses unto thee, that hereafter there shall be another judgment for ever. And let it be a great honor to thee that thou shouldest thus add thy present life in confession of the right doctrine of God; as Christ saith Matt. 10:28], "Fear not them which are able to kill the body only, but they cannot kill the soul." 2c.

026 Forasmuch then as it is certain that the chief cause of this war is that the pope, bishops, and monks desire to strengthen their idolatry and error, and for this purpose have first resolved upon war, are thus beginners, we are certain that the resistance is just. Let every man know this consolation.

027 And that, on the other hand, some say that the resistance is unjust against the authorities. Although one would answer without sophistry that the pope, the clergy, and the monks are primarily the instigators and leaders of this war, as it is known that the pope has ordered the people and the money in Germany, this is also certainly true; the regiments are a proper thing, in which the authorities as well as the subjects have a goal; and natural resistance is a right work that God has planted in nature. And there is a very wide distinction between resistance and rebellion. If a murderer in the street or in your house wants to attack you or your wife or child, then protection and resistance is a work rightly pleasing to God, even if the murderer is stabbed to death because of it. For the gospel, which preaches eternal righteousness, naturally does not want to annihilate law and orderly government in this bodily life, but just as it considers the married state, father and mother to be right godly states, so it also wants to consider orderly protection to be a work rightly pleasing to God. And how far such a thing extends between the orderly degree of the high and the lower power, that can well be judged by scholars and those of understanding. Abdias was right in keeping the prophets secretly in caves, against his king's prohibition. The Armenians were justified in protecting their church and country against the Emperor Maximianum.

028 Victorinus was a great prince, who had the imperial government at Cologne in the time of the Gauls, and he ruled laudably, but was deprived of his

A scribe, who took him to his wife, was stabbed to death. Marius acquitted a young soldier and put a wreath on him who stabbed his captain, who was a friend of Mario, because the boy had to protect himself, and all the soldiers thanked Mario for this judgment. Such protection is right, and in Christians pleasing to God; indeed, they are special testimonies of divine judgments against unjust violence and excessive arrogance of the powerful.

029 From all this every man of understanding can well remember what is right, even in the present case. For against this part, war has been decided, without all reasonable foreknowledge, and is public violence, marriage-breaking, and the erection of public idolatry. And it must be taken into account that if the Hispanics and Italians, and perhaps also the Turks, were to come into the German cities (which God would mercifully prevent), since until now, by the grace of God, discipline and honest rule have been preserved, they would practice no small disgrace and cruelty in them.

(30) But first of all, let all godly fathers of the house, with their wives and children, cry out to God with heartfelt sighs, that he may preserve the right doctrine for his knowledge and for his glory, and that he may not destroy these churches and lands where it is preached. And that such prayer may be made the more earnestly and without hindrance, let us all amend our lives in godliness, faith, and other virtues, and consider the saying [Zach. 1:3.], "Turn ye unto me, and I will also turn unto you." Verily, this thing is great, and whithersoever it may fall, nevertheless an everlasting change in temporal rulers and in religion shall follow; that is certain.

031 And I am much surprised that wise men should have been induced to stir up this war. But it is not only the work of men; the devils are raging and would like to cause even greater destruction and misery in Christendom. In time, the present disputes will peacefully come to Christian unity; therefore, it would have been better if the rulers had done so. But because the anger of the devils and the idolatrous crowd is so great, they will give rise to a change that will be difficult for themselves. But I ask all God-fearing people to earnestly pray to God that he will graciously preserve his church, in which true doctrine is preached, and Christian rule.

032 Secondly, let all the godly also remember that every man according to his estate

and ability to serve the preservation of true Christian doctrine. This is the main reason why we live, and why we can do nothing better in this life. These things look very much like the time of the Maccabees, and they try cunning and violence; therefore every man of understanding may remember much from those histories.
Date the 10th of July 1546.

Warning D. Martini Luther to his dear Germans.

(1) I have publicly sent out my diligent and faithful admonition to the clergy at this Diet of Augsburg, and have asked most earnestly that they should not let the Diet, for which all the world hopes and gazes with great longing, pass away without end, but should act so that peace may be made, some of their abominations changed, and room given to the Gospel, which I have also sought and sighed for with my prayer before God with all my strength, together with all pious Christians.

002 But that neither our diligent prayer to God, nor our faithful admonition to them, has helped, it is easy to reckon what it means, namely, that God, as the hardened and blinded, whom so much innocent blood, blasphemy, and abominable impenitent life oppresses, does not think them worthy to receive a good thought or sigh, or to obey some word of wholesome and peaceful admonition. And stand with them, as it was with the Jews in the days of Jeremiah, when God spoke to him, Jer. 15:1: "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet have I no heart toward this people; only drive them away from me, and let them go." And Jer. 7:16. "And thou shalt not plead for this people, neither lament nor supplicate for them, neither shall thou plead for them: for yet will I not hear thee."

(3) Such an answer 1) I and mine must now also let ourselves be considered and told, and have hitherto pleaded in vain for the ministers, because God bears mighty witness by the deed that he will not hear us for them; but let them go, and, like Pharaoh, sin in the Holy Spirit, until neither they nor their children shall be heard.

1) Original: "Solchs".

Repentance nor improvement is to be hoped for. For if something could have been obtained by praying before God, and something could have been obtained from the clergy by exhortation, supplication, humility, patience, offering, truth, justice, good things, it should certainly have been obtained now at the Diet, so earnestly (that I know) have the Christians prayed, and so high humility, patience, and supplication have been demonstrated there, and so good right things have they had before them.

(4) Now that they have not only let the imperial diet pass without end and peace, but have strengthened discord and resolved to be oppressive and defiant, I, together with my own, will also collect our prayers, according to God's command, and, as St. John [1 John 5:16] teaches, will not pray to death for sin, but will watch the stubborn Pharaoh as God will drown him in the Red Sea. For our prayer and supplication for peace, even if it is lost among the hardened, will help us all the more, and has already done great wonders enough, even at Augsburg, and shall also permeate to the end with God's grace. For we have been heard, and must be heard. We have not lacked this up to now, nor shall we lack it yet, I truly know, amen. And let it be according to the saying of Christ, that if the apostle's greeting and peace should not be found in a house, nor their peace quenched, then their peace should be turned again to them. So also here, because the ecclesiastics respect neither prayer nor peace, let both prayer and peace therefore be undestroyed, but return to us, and let the ecclesiastics, instead of prayer, have vile curses, and instead of peace, vile strife, and both the fullness, amen.

005 Therefore, because their nobles stand badly and stiffly on authority, and set their cause in their fists, against the public and known truth of God, let no man be afraid of them, and let every man be 2) confident, and

2) Walch: "quite joyful". - From this point on, Walch has a large number of unnecessary additions, the source of which is unknown to us; they are also not found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions. In the first Erlangen edition, all of the additions are appended in notes; we do not note them; they number more than two hundred.

unafraid against such angry gods. For they do not call and pray to God, nor can they pray because of evil consciences and things; out of arrogance and defiance, they go after flesh and blood, and are not allowed to ask God about it, nor are they allowed to ask him whether he wants what they think. There God takes great pleasure in it and loves it, and is very pleased with such defiance and disdain for His grace; He also gives great happiness and victory to such defiance and presumption, so that both horse and man lie in the Red Sea, and everything passes over and over, until not one remains.

006 But we are quite sure, that their furious activity is not in their power, but in the hand of God; and they have not yet so soon what they will. He will also want to be a Lord over them, as has always been the case up to now; they shall know this. So I will now make it as if there were no God, and think in vain, as if in a dream, that their thoughts and intentions will begin and continue by force.

007 And if it come to the worst, two things must come to pass, one war, or one riot; peradventure both at the same time. For it is certain (we are speaking now in a dream, since there is no God), if they begin a war, that an ensign will rise up and a mob will gather, even among their own people, that both they and we will perish with them. For in such a case they must not rely on our doctrine, as if they were sure that no one would stand against them, because we have written hard against sedition and taught that one should also suffer the outrages of tyrants and not defend oneself. It is well taught, but I cannot do it for the perpetrators, since all the other parts of our teaching are held and respected by few.

008 If then the people would not keep our doctrine, which we have taught against sedition, especially because that outrage and wanton war would give them such an unpleasant cause, the devil would throw them to the winds, and make a pretty and ridiculous nakedness of them. Now I speak always in dreams, but they may see that the dream come not true. The dream does me no harm; if it strikes them, they have it.

(9) Well then, if, as I have said, it should come to war or to rebellion (although God's wrath should pass away, as I must see to it), I will have testified here with this writing before God and all the world, that we, who are reproached by the Lutherans, have given neither counsel nor will, nor even causes for it; but have always and without ceasing asked and called for peace. And the papists themselves know and must confess that we have hitherto taught peace, and also kept it, and now at the Diet most earnestly desire it. For this reason, when war or rebellion is imminent, it cannot be said, nor can it be said: Behold, this is the fruit of the Lutheran doctrine; but must say, Behold, this is the doctrine and fruit of the Papists, who have not wished to have peace, neither for themselves, nor to suffer others to have it. For we have hitherto taught and lived in silence, have not drawn a sword, have not burned, murdered, or robbed anyone, as they have done and still do; but have borne their murdering and robbing, raging and raging, with the utmost patience.

(10) Moreover, now, at the Diet, when on the papists' side such dread, defiance, insistence, scorn, and mockery has befallen ours, ours have always humbled themselves most deeply, let themselves be trampled underfoot, and yet have always asked for peace, confessed, and offered everything that God may suffer. And if our part had been vain beggars, it would have been more than too much. I will keep silent that such high, great princes, lords, pious and honest people are, that I certainly think that such confession, such humility and patience have not happened much, because Christianity has stood, and my hope is to be the greatest before the last day. It does not help yet.

(11) The Muenzer and the rebels did not do this, but they did as the papists do now, neither wanting to have peace nor to give it, intervening by force, not allowing any means or offer to be accepted, and badly with their heads. They would not even let their doctrine be interrogated, as ours are now doing at Augsburg; but badly condemned all doctrine, and praised their own, in all measure, as the papists are now doing.

They also do not want to reveal their writings to the light, and yet they condemn our teachings; of which more hereafter. That, in short, neither guilt nor cause, neither war nor rebellion, may be laid to our charge, either before God or before the world.

012 If therefore our conscience be innocent, pure, and sure in this case, and the conscience of the papists be guilty, impure, and sorrowful, let us go on our way merrily, and be in the worst, whether it be war or rebellion, according as the wrath of God shall be visited upon them. If it be a tumult, then my God and Lord Jesus Christ is able to save me and mine, as he saved dear Lot from Sodom. As he also saved me in the next turmoil, when I was in danger of losing my life and limb more than once, and yet I earned such thanks from the desperate boys, I mean the papists. If he does not want to save me, let him be praised and thanked; I have lived long enough, well deserved death, and have honestly begun to avenge my Lord Christ on the papacy; after my death they shall first of all feel Luther right.

013 But now also, when I am slain in this papal and pope rebellion, I will take with me a company of bishops, priests, and monks, that they may say: Doctor Martinus be brought to the grave with a great procession. For he is a great doctor above all bishops, priests, and monks, therefore they shall also go with him to the grave, on their backs, that they may sing and say of it. They, the papists, to the abyss of hell, to their god of lies and murder, whom they served with lies and murder; I to my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I served in truth and peace. For it is well to reckon: He that killeth Doctor Luther in rebellion shall not spare many of the priests: so shall we go with one another: they, in all the devils' names, to hell; I, in God's name, to heaven. No one can harm me, I know that, no more than I desire to harm anyone.

014 But they shall not do so wickedly; I will make it worse with them; and they shall not have such hard heads; I will make it worse.
have a hard head. If they had not only this Emperor Carol, but also the Turkish Emperor for themselves, they should not make me despondent nor frightened, but I will make them despondent and frightened. They shall depart from me henceforth; I will not depart from them. I will remain; they shall perish; they have gone too far. For my life shall be their executioner, my death shall be their devil; this and no other. They shall know it, and let them laugh at it now.

015 But if there be war, I must suffer myself again with mine own, and wait what our God will counsel and judge, who hath hitherto faithfully stood by us, and never left us. And in this we again have great advantage, first of all, if we die or perish, we shall not be harmed, for it is written, "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake" [Matt. 5:10, 1 Pet. 3:14]. He that saith this is not a liar, of that we are sure. Thus the papists themselves know and confess, and the devil thank them that they should say otherwise, that our doctrine is contrary to no article of faith, nor to the holy Scriptures, but is contrary to their church custom, and to the laws of the popes. Therefore they may not call us heretics, nor must they give the lie to their own hearts and mouths, because no one can be called a heretic who does not teach against the holy Scriptures or the articles of faith; Much less can they punish us or war against us as heretics, and have also hitherto, as liars against themselves, murderers and traitors, blasphemed, burned, murdered, and persecuted the pious Lenhard Keser and the like for heretics, whereof they have also yet no repentance or penitence, but remain obdurate in such blood and lies; who then should fear such warriors?

(16) Secondly, we know that they may not initiate such warfare in God's name, nor may they pray or call upon God for help. And in spite of them all, both universally and especially, they are commanded to say to God from their hearts, "Help us, God, to war in this matter, for their consciences are too heavily burdened, not only with lies, blasphemies, blood, murder, and all abominations, but also, above all of these, with obstinate, unbelieving, and unjust thoughts.

Repentant heart and sins in the Holy Ghost. For this cause, because they have an evil conscience for the sake of blasphemous things, they shall have neither happiness nor salvation.

(17) Let us therefore pronounce a blessing upon them, which shall be thus: As pious as you are in the sight of God, and as good a cause as you have to gain, so great happiness and victory may God grant you, amen. And let it happen to you as it happened to us Germans, when we also began to break the peace against Saint John Hus, and to wage war against the Bohemians, and the Pope also sacrificed us to the flesh bank, so that we had to atone for his lust with our blood and heads, and fought against truth and justice, as you are doing now; so that the Pope may once again have something to laugh about in his fist, when he has caused such a merry bloodbath among us, the most holy Father and kindest shepherd of our souls. But God can raise up a Judah Maccabee (though I and mine sit still and suffer), who shall smite Antiochum with his army, and teach us rightly to war; as he taught us to war against the Bohemians, and to keep the peace.

018 Neither will I celebrate with mine own, praying and supplicating unto God, that he will give them a desponding, a foolish, a cowardly heart, when they lie in the field; that here and there his conscience may stir, and bite him, saying, O woe! 0 woe! I am in yearly war! We have wicked things, and fight against God and his word! how shall we fare? whither go we? And when they see a Maccabean coming against them, they will flee away and be destroyed like chaff in the wind. Thinkest thou not that God is able to perform such arts? as he saith unto his people [Deut. 28:25], I will give thee a desponding heart, that when thou shalt flee out of the way against thine enemies, thou shalt flee back by seven paths, and a rustling leaf shall terrify thee [Deut. 26:36]. Verily so did he to the stubborn Egyptians in the Red Sea, who were as stiff and sure as the Papists are; yet when the hour came for their consciences to stir them, they said, "Alas! let us flee, God is contending against us" [Ex. 14:25]. He that knoweth not what it is, to war with an evil conscience and a desponding heart, let him try it now; when the
If he gets the papists, he shall know it, just as our ancestors learned it from the Bohemians and the Ziska in the same case.

019 And our prayer shall not hide us, but we will shew it openly, even the seventh psalm, which smote all Israel in the first battle, that twenty thousand men with Absalom were slain in the field, slain by a small company [2 Sam. 18:7]. For he hath shotguns, and powder, and armour enough, that I know for a certainty.

020 Thirdly, because it behoveth me not to war, nor to counsel or provoke to war, as a preacher in the ministry, but rather to counsel from war to peace; as I have hitherto done most diligently, which all the world must bear me witness of: but yet our enemies desire not peace, but war. If it comes to this that a war begins, then I will truly keep my pen still and be silent, and no longer lie down as I did in the next uprising, but will also let go what is going on, and even if no bishop, nor priest, nor monk remains, and I myself also perish with it.

021 For their rebellion and their boasting are too grievous unto God, and their hardened hearts make them hard and too much. They have asked, and been admonished, and entreated for peace above all measure; they will bring it forth by flesh and blood: so will I bring it forth with them by the Spirit and by God: and henceforth I will not have one or two Papists, but the whole Papacy, brought upon me, until the judge of heaven shall draw three. I will not and cannot fear such wretched enemies of God. Their defiance is my pride, their anger is my laughter. They cannot take from me more than a sackful of wretched flesh; but what I can take from them, that they shall know in a little while.

(22) Further, when it comes to war, if God be for it, I will not rebelliously reproach or scold the part that sets itself up as a defense against the murderous and bloodthirsty papists, but will let it go and let it happen that they call it a defense of necessity, and will thereby point them to the right and to the lawyers. For in such a case, if the murderers and bloodhounds ever get and kill

In truth, it is no rebellion to oppose and defend oneself against them. Not that I want to provoke or arouse anyone to such opposition, nor justify it, for that is not my office, much less my judgment or sentence.

023 A Christian knoweth well what he ought to do, that he should give unto God the things that are God's, and unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; but not unto the bloodhounds the things that are not theirs: but that I make a distinction between sedition and other acts, and will not leave the bloodhounds the cover of shame, that they should boast, as against seditious men, and have good cause according to the law of God and of the earth, as the little cat would preen and adorn itself. Likewise, I will not let the consciences of the people be burdened with the fear and worry that their opposition is seditious. For such a name is too evil and too heavy in such a case; it shall have another name, which the righteous will well find.

024 Let not all that the bloodhounds call seditious be seditious. For with this they want to bind the mouths and fists of all the world, so that no one should punish them with preaching or defend themselves with their fists, and they should keep their mouths open and their hands free; thus, by the name of sedition, they want to frighten and see all the world, but comfort themselves and make themselves safe. No, dear fellow, the definition and interpretation would have to be put to you differently! Sedition is not when one does against the law; otherwise all transgressions of the law would have to be called sedition, but he is called a seditionist who does not want to suffer the authorities and the law, but attacks them and fights against them and wants to suppress them, and be master himself, and establish justice, as the coiner did (uliuä sst invasor, aliuä travsZroZsor): that is rightly called a seditionist. So that the opposition to the bloodhounds cannot be seditious, for the papists have looked on and want to make war and not keep the peace, nor leave it to others who would like to have peace; so that the papists are much closer to the name and virtue that is called sedition.

025 For they have no right at all, divine or temporal, for themselves, but act

For wickedness, against all law, divine and temporal, as murderers and evildoers. This is easy to prove, for they themselves know that our doctrine is right, and yet they want to exterminate it. As a great bishop of St. Nicolas 1) in Augsburg himself said, he would like to see it held everywhere as in Wittenberg; but that such doctrine should begin and come out of the hole and the corner, that is not to be suffered. What do you think? Are these not fine episcopal words? Likewise the papal legate, Cardinal Campegius, has also confessed: he could well permit such doctrine, but it would become a great example, that one would have to permit it to other nations and kingdoms as well; but that would not be good. And another great bishop also said of their scholars, thus: Our scholars defend us finely; they themselves confess that our thing is not founded in the Scriptures. So that they almost know that our doctrine is not wrong, but is founded in the Scriptures; and yet they wilfully condemn us, and want to destroy the doctrine, contrary to divine right and truth.

26) But that they also act contrary to imperial and natural law is obvious, for they have first of all hardly allowed our part to be questioned. After that, when they made their slow, 2) lazy verbal rebuttal, they badly did not want to give a copy of it, nor did they let us be held responsible, as bats shun the light, until this day. Now it is both divine, imperial, and natural law, which the pagan Portius also held against the Jews through St. Paul, that one should not condemn, but first hear the answer of the condemned. For God did not want to condemn Adam either; he first asks him for an answer. We, however, have now appeared at Augsburg willingly, and offered to answer with all humility and diligence, and yet we have been refused with all iniquity and courage, and their answer, however much we asked for it, has not been granted to us, and we have been condemned.

1) Niclasbischof == Bishop of children's play. In the old edition: "Niclas, Bishop of Augsburg," 2c.

2) "slow" because the confutation took six weeks to finish. See s 29.

yet condemned by the holy fathers in God, and by the Christian princes. O fine teachers! O beautiful judges! who compel all the world to believe, and are not allowed to declare what it is that one is to believe. I am to believe, and yet I know not what I am to believe; I must be called false, but they will not show why I am false.

027 O wretched men, all ye that have been on the side of the pope in Augsburg! All your descendants will be ashamed of you forever, and will not be glad to hear you say that they had such wretched ancestors. If we had shied away from the light, and had not wanted to answer, you would have been the ones who urged us to do so. Now we come, not only desirous of answering, but asking, crying out, crying out, that we may answer; consuming great goods, missing much more, and suffering all shame, mockery, scorn, and driving; and ye have shamefully and wickedly refused us all these things. So also, if we had not desired nor wished to have your bat or night-owl, that is, your back-talk, you should have been the ones who handed it to us without our will and left it out. Now we ask, complain, and demand with all perseverance, and ye refuse your answer, and deny us our answer.

28 O the shameful Diet, the like of which has never been held, has never been heard, and shall never be held nor heard! because of such a shameful act, which must be an eternal stain on all princes and the whole empire, and makes all us Germans ashamed before God and all the world. What will the Turk and his entire empire say to this when they hear such an outrageous act from our empire? What will the Tartars and Moscowites say to it? Who under the whole heaven will henceforth fear us Germans, or think anything honest of us, when they hear that we let the accursed pope with his larvae thus ape us, fool us, turn us into children, even into blocks and boulders, that for the sake of their blasphemous, sodomitical, shameful doctrines and lives we act so shamefully, even above and beyond shamefully, in public imperial diet against right and truth? It should be fair to every German to
reue that he was born German, and should be called a German!

029 But I will well believe that they keep back their discourse and their little book from great wisdom, because their consciences themselves feel that it is a rotten, loose, cold thing, of which they should be ashamed if it came out, and should let themselves be seen in the light, or suffer answer. For I know the most learned doctors well, that have boiled and used six weeks over it, whether they can make a nose of the matter with chatter before the ignorant. But when it comes to paper, it has neither hands nor feet, but lies there in a desolate heap, as if a drunkard had spat it out; as one finds especially in D. Schmid and D. Ecken's writings. It will neither sound nor work when it is their turn to write; that is why they are more diligent in shouting and chatting.

030 I have also learned that, when the confession of ours was read, many of the opponents were astonished, and confessed that it was true, and that it could not be refuted by the Scriptures. Again, when their refutation was read, they bowed down their heads, and confessed with boasts that it was a rotten and loose thing against the confession of ours. But ours, and many more devout hearts, are greatly rejoiced and greatly strengthened, since they have heard that they, out of all their power and art, which they then had to prove to the utmost, knew how to bring forth nothing else than such loose contradiction, which now, praise God, a woman, a child, a layman, a peasant, is man enough to resist, on good grounds of Scripture and truth. And this is also the just cause, why they did not want to hand over such a rebuttal. The fleeting evil consciences were afraid of themselves, and would not wait for the truth to be answered.

031 And it is easy to perceive that they stood in such confidence, and brought about this Diet, that they certainly meant that our part should never be so bold as to appear, but that, if they brought the emperor in person into Germany, every one would be afraid, and say unto them, Gracious lords, what would ye have? Since the

and the Elector of Saxony was the very first to appear: help God, how their pants began to stink! how their confidence was lost! What a riding together and secret counciling and murmuring arose there! And yet no one had to know, Christ himself, nor I, what the things were, as little as we had known before this year of the Prince's rotteries. But that was the sum of it, how to find ways and paths, because ours appeared so joyful and happy the very first, so that they would not be interrogated. Since that could not be at all, they nevertheless at last did the honor that they were not allowed to hand over their loose rebuttal, nor to give room to answer.

32 For the impudent mouth and bloodthirsty sophist, Doctor Eck, their most distinguished counselor, has let himself be heard with public words before our people, that if the emperor had followed the counsel decided at Bononia, and had attacked the Lutherans with the sword swiftly and freshly, beheading one after the other, the matter would have been well advised. But since he would have let the Elector of Saxony speak and interrogate him through his chancellor, all this would have been prevented. How methinks thou of such doctors and holy fathers? How full of love and truth they are! So the secret counsel had to break out, so papal holiness had acted at Bononia with the emperor. But what game of his should have become of it, where the emperor after such papal and devilish counsel would have attacked the matter with murders? It would have been a Diet that neither bishops nor princes would have left a fingernail, especially in such perilous times, when everything was so busy and far away, and all the world was waiting for a gracious Diet; as the invitation to the Diet also indicates and suggests, but unfortunately it was not held that way.

033 But it may be said by some that the emperor intended to give such a rebuttal of that part to ours, provided ours would undertake that it should not come to pass, or

1) Original: "begonsten".

...would be made manifest. This is true, and so it is supposed of our people. But here let every man take hold and grope, though he neither see nor hear; what manner of men are these that will not, nor may not, let their things come to light? If it is such a good thing, and so well founded in the Scriptures, as they cry out and boast, why does it shun the light? What is the use of hiding such public things from us and from everyone, since they must be taught and kept? But if it is unfounded and loose, why did they let the Elector of Brandenburg proclaim in the first parting, and state in writing: it fei der Unsern Bekenntnis mit der Schrift und gutem Grund verlegt? If this were true, and if their own consciences did not themselves give them the lie in this, they would not only have had such a delicious, well-founded confession read, but would also have given it in writing, saying, "There you have it, in spite of him who is responsible for it, as we have done with our confession, and still do.

034 But Christ must remain true, for he saith [John 3:20, 21], "He that doeth evil hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his works should be punished. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest, as they were in God." According to this judgment of Christ, God has let ours come from this Kingdom Day with such eternal honors, that even the adverse must confess how we have not shied away from the light, but have most freely and cheerfully sought and waited for it, but have left them there with such and eternal disgrace, That they, like night-owls and bats, yea, like their father of lies and murders, have most grievously and evidently fled and shunned the light, and may not wait nor suffer their loose, foul, gloomy talk of answer.

(35) This is also a fine little Christian thing, that our people should undertake to be fine for it, so that such exquisite art and well-founded wisdom of their refutation may not fail nor be revealed. How God has blinded and deceived the papists!

2) "against" in the Jena. Original: "against".

that they have neither reason nor shame! How is it possible, I will be silent, how reasonable, to commit oneself to keeping secret such a writing, which had to come under so many hands, and was read once before the kingdom? And if it should come to pass through that part itself, it must be our fault.

(36) But the ungodly reason must look for such cleverness and pretty plots, because it does not like truth and light, and could not otherwise find a better remedy, that it may remain in darkness, and not have to utter its contradiction. Well then, let it remain in darkness as it is, and let it also remain in eternal hellish darkness, and yet at the last judgment, if it does not happen sooner, it will come to light all too brightly.

037 Yea, saith thou, though they have not given their answer, or their transfer, neither have they been answerable, yet they have made a committee for it, and have commanded some princes and scholars, both of them, to act kindly one to another in the matter. Dress thyself, adorn thyself, little kitten, we shall have guests! How foolish and foolish is the poor man Christ, that cannot perceive such deceit! The committee is held, it is true; but what has been done within? Nothing anywhere of their transfer, or of their opposition, which remained in darkness, and the committee had to make the noses help that their loose transfer, with about a glimpse, should remain, and not come out.

038 For in the committee they did not set forth their transfer, but made our confession, and dealt with ours as to how much of it we would relent and recant, or (as they interpret it) compare ourselves with them. Everything has been worked out and directed so that they may cry out with great joy: Behold, good people! hear, all the world! how obstinate and stiff-necked are the Lutherans! First of all, their confession is established with Scripture and well-founded reasons, and then they are dealt with kindly. What more can be done? They will not yield; they are overcome or kindly instructed.

039 Well, we must let go of the cry of lies: it shall not help them, I know it. So God has also prepared them in this way.

This is a lie to our boast. For when the Elector of Brandenburg proclaimed and declared that our confession had been changed with Scripture and good reason, our people did not accept it, nor did they keep quiet about it, but they openly contradicted it before the emperor and the empire and testified that our confession had not been changed, but had been established and founded in such a way that even the gates of hell could do nothing against it. Such a defeat they had to eat into themselves again. For so much is said in German: What the Elector of Brandenburg proclaimed in his farewell is not true, but a lie. That is right. For the well-founded transfer is not yet in the light, but perhaps sleeps with old Dannheuser [Tannhäufer] in the Venusberg.

40. Since it is now a fact that they have kept their refutation in darkness, and have not brought it out into the open, not only is this an impudent public lie, that they have pretended that our confession is laid down with Scripture and good reason, but this is the devil's own lying mouth, that they are allowed to boast, and to preen and shout themselves to their glory, that we are overcome, and will not depart; But their consciences are so convinced of such lies, that it is necessary to take hold of them at every turn, as they have done to glorify themselves, as all those who have wicked things do, and mend themselves so miserably, and seek all kinds of plots, so that their wicked cause may not come to light, and it is evident that they have despaired of their cause, and have provided for nothing less, than that ours should come and appear. So they have relied on mere force, and have not looked to any truth or light.

041 How kindly they have meant the committee, it is easy to see from this certain part, that, among other articles, they have allowed us to suppose that we should teach of both forms of the sacrament, that it is not unjust, but right, that one form alone should be given and taken. If we did this, then they would again admit us, and let us teach that we might give and take both forms. Is not this a great friendship? Who would have thought of such love to such men?

see? Hitherto they have persecuted as heretics all those who have enjoyed both forms, and they have inflicted all plagues on them. But now they want to call it right and Christian, and let it be so, when we again teach that with one form they also act right and Christian. That is, in German, to blow cold and hot out of one mouth: it is wrong, and yet it is right, what and how they will; nor must it be called false.

042 When therefore the Gentiles had granted and accepted these things, there should at the first have risen up a shouting and a crying in all the world, Behold, good people, the Lutherans revoke their doctrine; before they taught that it was unlawful to use the same form; now they teach that it is right. Now you hear that we have taught right, and that they have been found wrong in their own confession. So they have tried, the faithful, simple-minded people, with this one piece to confirm all their abominations and devilishness, and to blame us as revocers of all our doctrine. Moreover, they have established their poisonous doctrine in our churches through our own mouths, and at the same time they have violently propagated our doctrine in their churches, so that their mouths have not taught our doctrine in their churches; thus they have tried to penetrate and plant themselves in our churches through our own mouths, and at the same time to shut us out of their churches altogether. Are they not fine, friendly, equal means, which serve well for friendly action?

043 But as is the transfer, so is the committee: the transfer is a dark night-owl, and will not come to light; the committee is vain deceit and false deceit. And as true and praiseworthy is the glory that they have laid our confession with Scripture and good reason, so true and honest is the glory that they have pretended friendly action; both are vain lies and deceit! Of course they did not like that we should deal with them in this way. But I do not now intend to write about the business of this Diet, nor to attack their transfer, but, God willing, I will do so; 1) but this time alone I will have

1) As we think, Luther fulfilled this promise by the next writing: "Glosse auf das vermeinte kaiserliche Edict" (gloss on the supposed imperial edict), which Luther will have written and published immediately after this one.

how the papists want no peace, no truth, no tranquility, but will go through with their heads and either start a war or a riot, be it good or bad for us, nothing will help. But we must dare and wait. Because our entreaties, our pleas, and our cries for peace will not be heard, nor will our humility and patience count for anything, let what cannot remain be brought here.

44 But because I am the prophet of the Germans (for I must henceforth ascribe such a trustworthy name to myself, for the pleasure and favor of my papists and asses), it is nevertheless my duty, as a faithful teacher, to warn my dear Germans of their harm and danger, and to give Christian instruction as to how they should conduct themselves when the emperor, incited by his devils, the papists, offers to wage war against the princes and cities of our part. Not that I worry that the Emperor's Majesty will follow such poisonous blisters and start such an unjust war, but that I do not want to neglect my own, and that I want to keep my conscience pardoned and unburdened in all adventures. For it is much better for me to have given a remaining and unnecessary admonition and warning, and to have made a vain report, than to have neglected it, and, if it were otherwise than I had presumed, to have come too slowly after it, and to have no more to comfort me than the word: Nov. putassem, I had not meant it! It is (say the wise) also to be cared for, if it be sure; how much more is it now, in such strange courses, when the Papists' rage provokes God's anger so horribly, not to trust in any wind nor weather, let it be what it will, and Paul Rom. 12:8 also commandeth that they should care who preside over others.

(45) Now whichever German will follow my faithful counsel, let him follow; and he that will not, let him not. I do not seek my own salvation here, but that of you, the Germans. Nothing could happen to me personally that would be worse than for the papists to eat me, tear me, bite me, or how else they would help me out of the sinful, deadly maggot sack; yet I say, when they are extremely angry: "Dear lords, if you are angry, get off the wall, put on your bathing gown, and hang it around your neck; and in short, I want to be free of them, unpunished, and un-

be defied. For I know where my cause stands, and where I shall remain; praise be to God! If they do not accept my service for their own good, the wretched devil thanks them when they show me a drop of love or mercy; if they may not accept my teaching, I may accept much less of their grace, and if they rage and rage in the name of the devil, I laugh in the name of God.

46. But this is my faithful advice, that if the emperor should rise up and want to war against our part for the sake of the pope's things or our doctrine, as the papists are now horribly boasting and defying (but I do not yet promise myself to the emperor), that in such a case no man will let himself be used, nor will he obey the Emperor, but be sure that he is strictly forbidden by God to obey the Emperor in such a case, and whoever obeys him, that he knows how he will disobey God, and his body and soul will perish eternally. For the emperor then acts not only against God and divine right, but also against his own imperial rights, oaths, duty, seals, and letters. And lest you think that such a thing is my poem, or that I am giving you such counsel from my own head, I will show you the causes and reasons so strongly and clearly that you will understand that it is not my counsel, but God's serious and manifold strict commandment, before whose wrath you should be justly frightened, and finally you must also be frightened.

(47) First of all, I must excuse the dear Emperor Carol on account of his person; for he has so far shown himself, even now at the Imperial Diet, that he has won the favor and love of all the world, and would be worthy that no harm should befall him, nor do our people know anything else to say of him but imperial virtue and praise.

(48) And that I have given several examples of all this, it is a strange, strange gentleness that his imperial majesty did not want to condemn our doctrine, even though it was vehemently urged and provoked by ecclesiastical and secular princes, with unremitting persistence, even before he came from Spain. But his majesty has stood like a rock, and has hurried to the Imperial Diet, and has issued a gracious proclamation, willing to deal with the matter amicably and kindly. Shall also
said: it need not be so very evil doctrine, because so many great, high, learned, and honest men accept such.

49 Which also came to pass at Augsburg. When our confession was read before the emperor's majesty, they themselves found out that this doctrine was not so evil as it had been presented by their poisonous preachers and ear-blowers and hateful princes. Yea, they had not imagined that it should be so good a doctrine, and have declared it much themselves, that it is the true holy scripture, that it cannot be confuted with the scripture; that they had been much otherwise reported before.

(50) This was also the reason why it was hardly permitted to be read. For the envious princes and poisonous liars worried that, wherever it was read, their poisonous lies would be disgraced; they would have liked to see the imperial majesty condemn everything unread and unheard. But since his imperial majesty could not obtain that it be read publicly before everyone, she nevertheless did so much that it had to be read and heard before the imperial estates, however highly this was opposed by other princes and bishops and sophists, and bitterly annoyed them.

51. Although a great deal of money was consumed at the Diet, and it seems that nothing was spent, I say for myself that if two times more had been consumed, everything would have been amply paid for with this piece alone, and enough would have been spent that Squire Neidhard and Master Lügenhard have been disgraced in their envy and lies, And have seen and heard that our doctrine is not contrary to the Scriptures, nor to the articles of faith, which they have before made so abominable with lies and envy everywhere, by writing, preaching, and after-talk, as if no worse doctrine had ever come to light. Such envy, I say, has been defiled at the Diet, and such lies have been revealed. For this reason we should be grateful to our dear Emperor Carol, and give thanks for this virtue, that God, through him at the beginning, has adorned and redeemed our doctrine from the lying, blasphemous titles of heresy, and other shameful names, and thus has destroyed the liars and falsehoods.

Enviers are well struck on the mouth, though they have an iron brow, and are not ashamed. But it does no harm; we have had enough of the beginning, and it shall be better.

Item, the imperial majesty is also said to have said: If the priests were pious, they should have no Luther. What else is this said, but as Solomon says [Prov. 16:10], "The king's lips prophesy"? For by this his majesty wants to indicate that Luther is the ruthlessness of the priests, and they have well deserved it, and are not right in their nature. This is also sufficiently confessed by themselves. For the bishop of Salzburg said to Magister Philipp: "Oh, what do you want to reform us priests; we priests have never been good. Look and listen to the pious people! They know and confess that they are evil and wrong, and they want to remain so, to be unreformed, and not to yield to public truth; and yet they cry out and call on the emperor and all princes to defend and protect them. What else is this said but this: "Dear emperor, dear Germans, wage war, shed your blood, stake all your goods, body, child, and wife on it, so that you may protect us in our shameful, devilish life and nature, against the truth, which we know well, but still cannot stand, and also do not want to improve. How think'st thou? If you go to war for such men, and shed your blood, are you not a goodly martyr, and almost well invested in your blood and goods?

(53) Item, when ours had wanted to hand over their answer to the imperial majesty against the Sophists' transfer, as much of it had been retained after the reading, and the imperial majesty now reached for it with his hand and wanted to accept it, King Ferdinand shrugged back the hand of the imperial majesty that such an answer did not have to be accepted. From this it once again appears who the people are who, under the name of the Emperor's Majesty, carry out their hatred and envy. name, when imperial majesty would be of a different mind and inclined to do otherwise.

54 Item, since the Elector of Brandenburg in his farewell had resolved with excellent, splendid, defiant words, how imperial majesty, princes and estates of the realm
had united, that they wanted to put land and people, body and goods and blood on it, before which words ours should be frightened. But because it was not said, "if God wills," the words remained and passed with the reverberations; since they were over, no one was afraid. But Imperial Maj. Maj. had let himself be noticed here again, and did not call such a speaker a liar, but said: it was too much talk; and many other great princes and lords won here to create, how they would like to gloss over such words. Some pretended that the opinion should be: where our part wanted to attack someone of that part by force, they wanted to put together body and goods, blood, land and people; but our part never thought such, but always asked and cried for peace, as they themselves know all too well. Some, however, publicly testified before the emperor that they would never have consented to such a speech by the margrave, even if their opinion had been nothing everywhere.

(55) Though the land and the people are soon named with the mouth, yet whether one is so powerful with the fist of the same to put on blood, body, and goods, without necessity, moreover against God and right, that experience should well learn. I am sure that they will not be asked about it beforehand, and that they will not leave such a plan undisclosed. It is also true that God does not always have to give and do what we may think and say. The mouths of great men have lied wretchedly, and their plots have deceived them shamefully. But the best is, that they call not upon God, nor think on him, when they are thus defiant and insistent. But in this the emperor's heart is seen, that he is not such a mad bloodhound, and that such defiant words and deeds are not pleasing to him.

(56) But it must happen to the dear emperor as it does to all pious princes and lords. For where a prince is not half a devil, but wants to rule with a litter, it cannot be otherwise; the "greatest" scoundrels and villains come into the regiment and into the offices, and they do what they want under the prince's name. For they must not be afraid, because they know that the prince is pious, and is pleased to let him know. Now what shall this

How can pious emperors cope with so many villains and evil-doers, especially against the arch-villain Pope Clement, who is full of mischievousness and has so far proved himself honestly to the emperor? I D. Luther am more learned in the Scriptures than the emperor, and also more experienced in daily practice: yet I worry, where I should be among so many scoundrels, and always hear their poisonous tongues, and against them no other instruction, I would truly also be too pious for them, and they would drown me out in some things; as has often happened to me through some spirits and clever ones.

57 Therefore let no man be astonished or dismayed, if under the emperor's name prohibitions or letters go forth, contrary to God and right; he cannot prevent it; but let it be certain that all this is a plot of the chief rascal in the world, the pope, who causes such things to be done by his platitudinous stallions and hypocrites, whether he may cause a bloodbath among us Germans, that we may fall to the ground. And believe for me that if he does not end it with this emperor, he will go to the Turkish emperor and charge us with him; there we will find the money that we have given the pope for his indulgences and his haggling so many years ago for the treasure against the Turkish war.

(58) That is enough said this time about the emperor's excuse. Let us now give warning and indicate the reasons why everyone should be afraid to obey the Emperor in such a case, and to take action against our part. And say again, as above, that I will neither counsel nor incite anyone to war. My heart's desire and request is that peace be kept and that no part start war or give cause for it. For I will keep my conscience clear, and will not bear the name before God or the world, that anyone should make war or defend himself out of my counsel or will, except those who are commanded and have a right to do so, Romans 13:4. But where the devil has possessed the papists so completely that they neither want nor are able to have peace nor suffer, and want to make bad wars or give causes for them, that shall be on their consciences; I must let it happen, because my defense is neither valid nor helpful.

059 The first cause that thou shalt not be obedient to Caesar in such a case, and shalt not receive it, is this: that thou (as well as Caesar himself) didst swear in baptism to hold the gospel of Christ, and not to persecute nor to deny it. Now thou knowest that the emperor of this case is stirred up and deceived by the pope to contend against the gospel of Christ, because our doctrine is publicly invented at Augsburg, that it is the true gospel and holy scripture. And thou shalt therefore say unto the commandment of the emperor, or of thy prince, Yea, dear emperor, dear prince, if thou shalt keep thy oath and duty, which thou hast done in baptism, thou shalt be my dear lord, and I will be obedient unto thee, if thou wilt. But if thou wilt not keep thy baptismal vows and thy Christian covenant, which thou hast made with Christ, but wilt persecute them, then be thou obedient in my stead: for thy sake I will not blaspheme my God, nor persecute his word, nor run and leap with thee boldly into the abyss of hell.

(60) This first cause comprehends in itself many other great and terrible causes. For he that fighteth and contendeth against the gospel must also at the same time contend against God, against Jesus Christ, against the Holy Ghost, against the precious blood of Christ, against his death, against the word of God, against all the articles of faith, against all the sacraments, against all doctrine given, confirmed, and preserved by the gospel, as of the authorities, and temporal peace, and estates, and summa, against all angels and saints, against heaven and earth, and all creatures. For he who contends against God must contend against everything that is God's or that holds with God. But what the end of this would be, you will see. And, what is even worse, such fighting would happen knowingly. For it is known and confessed that this doctrine is the gospel. The Turk and the deceivers do not know that it is the word of God; therefore no Turk can be as evil as you, but you must be condemned ten times more deeply than all Turks, deceivers, Gentiles, and Jews.

011 Although it is a dreadful thing that [it] has come to pass among Christians that one must need such a warning, just as

they themselves would not know what an abominable and terrible thing it is to knowingly fight against God and his word. This is a sign that there are few true Christians among the Christians, and that there are many worse Turks among them than in Turkey or in hell. But the true Christians, though they are few, know it well themselves, and must not be warned; but the Papists, who bear the name and appearance of Christians with all dishonor, and yet are ten times worse than the Turks, must be warned. If it helps, it is good; if it does not, we are excused, and their punishment is the greater. For the Turk is not so foolish as to fight or rage against his Mahomet or his Alkoran, as our devils do, the Papists, and rage and rage against their own gospel, which they know to be right, and so make the Turk a pure saint against them, and themselves true devils.

022 The other cause is, that though our doctrine be not right, (as they all know otherwise,) yet this alone should too much deter thee, that thou by such disputing charge thee, and make thee partaker of and guilty before God of all the abominations which are committed, and continue to be committed, throughout the whole papacy. This cause comprehends in itself innumerable abominations and all wickedness, sin, and harm. In short, it is the causeless hell itself, with all sins, of which thou must be a part, if thou art obedient to Caesar in this case. But we want to tell some of them and put them before the eyes, so that they will not be forgotten. For the papists would gladly cleanse themselves, and put such abominations under the bench, unpunished and unremedied, until the time when they might again draw them out and raise them up.

(63) Here thou shalt first bear upon thee all the shameful life which they have led, and still lead. For they do not intend to amend any of them, but you must shed your blood and risk your life to protect and preserve their cursed, wicked lives. Then let all the fornication, adultery, and fornication that have been and are still practiced in the cathedrals and churches be brought to your neck and conscience, and let your heart have such glory and honor that it has contended for the

The greatest and most whores and knaves that are on earth, to confirm their whores' and knaves' lives, and to make thee partaker of them all. O, then, this is a fine glory to thee, and a fine cause to venture thy life, and to serve God; for they mend not such lives, neither can they mend them, since it is impossible that so many thousands of persons should live chastely, as yet they undertake.

(64) Above this, you must also charge the papal and cardinal chastity, which is a special chastity, above the common spiritual chastity, and is called in German: Puseronen, namely, the Sodomitic and Gomorric chastity. For thus God had to blind and afflict His enemy and adversary, the pope and cardinals, before others, so that they did not remain worthy to sin with females of natural womankind, but, according to their wages, defiled their own bodies and persons by themselves (Rom. 1, 24. 26. 27.], and in addition got into such a perverse, hardened mind, that they considered such a thing no sin, but joked with it, as if it were a card game, at which they might laugh and be merry, without a ride. O to the four is given right, therefore doth it so lust and foam (as Jude saith) all shame and vice [Ep. Jude, v. 13. Proverbs 15:28.]. Go now, and lay thy life upon it, and contend for such impenitent, impudent puserons, as yet laugh and jest at such blasphemous sins.

Sixty-five: I lie not to thee here. He who has been to Rome knows well that, alas! it is worse than anyone can say or believe. When the next Concilium Lateranense at Rome was to be decided under Pope Leo, one of the articles was that people should believe that the soul is immortal, from which it must be taken that they have a loud prayer and mockery from eternal life. They confess that they have a public belief that there is no eternal life, but now they want to teach it with a bull. But this was still finer: in the same bull they had decreed that no cardinal should henceforth hold so much shame. But Pope Leo had hotly extinguished it; otherwise it would have resounded to all the world how freely and insolently the pope and the cardinals held Sodomam at Rome. I will

But because the wicked do not want to atone, but rather condemn the gospel, blaspheme and desecrate God's word, and clean themselves, they should also smell their filth again in the most shameful way. Such vice is so common among them that even recently a pope himself sinned himself to death in such sin and vice, and indeed remained dead on the spot. There, there, you popes, cardinals, papists, spiritual lords, pursue more God's word, now defend your doctrine and church!

Sixty-six: No pope, cardinal, bishop, doctor, priest, monk, or nun shall punish such a vile life, which is so manifest; but they shall laugh at it, and cleanse it, and adorn it; and they shall stir up kings, princes, countries, and people, to defend such wicked men with body and goods, with lands and people; and they shall defend them faithfully, that such vices be not atoned for, nor ameliorated, but strengthened, delivered, and praised. To this end you must risk your blood, life and limb, so that all this may fall on your neck and conscience. I would have told more examples of this abomination," but it is all too shameful and would have to ensure that our German soil would tremble before it. But if an impudent Pabstel comes, and screams against it, then I will meet and be found at home, that sess shall be called well met. If punishments and warnings help to repentance, they have been sufficiently admonished before and herewith. But nothing will come of it; it has now become a praiseworthy common custom, almost like a great virtue, that suffers no penance, but the emperor and you should protect and handle it, so that such an example may also arise and take hold in other countries, as unfortunately! is already all too much in sight.

(67) Then you must take upon yourself all the avarice, robbery, and thievery of the whole papacy, the innumerable money which they have falsely and fraudulently received with indulgences. Is it not vile robbery and theft on the part of all Christendom, the innumerable sums of money which they have brought to themselves by their falsified, lying purgatory? Is it not vile robbery and theft through the whole world, the innumerable money, which they have gotten by usury and sacrifice? Is it not vile robbery and theft through the whole world?
world, the innumerable money they have gained by butter-letters, pilgrimages, saints' service, and of the ulcer without number? Is it not vile robbery and theft through all the world? Whence have the pope, cardinals, bishops, principalities, kingdoms, and are worldly lords of all the world? Is it not a vile, immeasurable robbery and theft? What are they but the greatest robbers and thieves that the earth hath borne? There is no atonement or restitution here yet. Indeed, there is not so much good blood in their veins that they would exercise their office a little, so that they might possess such goods with some small semblance of honor; but instead they condemn, blaspheme, and persecute God's name, word, and work; now come, you shall defend such thieves and robbers with your blood, that they may not only remain unpunished, but also be strengthened to do all these things the longer the more. See what a great and powerful thief, robber and traitor you are and will be, if you strengthen and protect such robbers and thieves with your blood and your life, for you must bring it all upon yourself and be guilty of it yourself.

68. Then thou shalt bear upon thee all the blood which the pope hath shed, all the murders and wars which he hath wrought, all the miseries and heartaches which he hath caused in all the earth. But who will tell all the blood, murder, and misery which the pope hath inflicted on his own? Some have reckoned that for the pope's sake alone (since the papacy has exalted itself above the empire) eleven times a hundred thousand men have been slain; others reckon more. Where wilt thou bear so much murder and blood upon thy neck, if some murder be sure? and Christ also condemneth wrath in the heart to hellish fire, Matt. 5:22. What doest thou then, when thou darest thy life for such murderers? Thou makest thyself guilty of all these things, and helpest to strengthen and free the priest, that he may do these things for ever and ever. For there is no repentance; indeed, they count it all virtue and honor, that it is impossible to hope for improvement here, as they do not desire it, but thou shalt help to protect them, that they may murder without ceasing and without resistance, without fear, and bring blood down and fill the world with sorrow,

as they have done hitherto, and still do. Behold, these are the most holy fathers, the holy cardinals, bishops, and ecclesiastics, who would be judges of the gospel, and teach and govern the world.

69. Here I will be silent concerning the other vices, how they deal in poison, treachery, and all that pertaineth to hatred and envy. Who can tell it all, the shameful life in the papacy? From the above-mentioned pieces and daily examples it can be taken. For he is said to be an antichrist, and to be against Christ in all things. Therefore it must follow that as beautiful, glorious, chaste, chaste, holy, heavenly, divine a life as Christ led and taught, so a shameful, blasphemous, lewd, cursed, hellish, diabolical life must his antichrist lead and teach: otherwise how could he be Christ's adversary or antichrist? And yet all would be to suffer, if they did not defend it in addition, and want to be right by force. But all this is still, so to reckon, shame and jest. We will now indicate the true basic scourges and chief abominations, all of which you must burden yourself with, whoever protects the pope, or helps to maintain and strengthen him in his impenitent, obdurate, end-Christian state and nature.

(Seventy) One could let life be evil, but to condemn doctrine and the word of God, and to exalt oneself above God Himself, no one can and should suffer, much less help to defend. Now they have brought so many abominations of doctrine among Christendom that they are not to be told, which they neither repent nor change, but want to defend all, to be free and right by force. All this should be on your neck and conscience, and you should be guilty of all such abominations, if you help to fight for them. And that we denounce some of them, how wilt thou bear on thy conscience the shameful, lying deceit of indulgences, so that they have so shamefully deceived and cheated so many thousands of souls, yea, all Christendom and all the world, and have cheated them out of their money and goods; and yet do not atone for it, nor think to desist from it, though they well know how great a wickedness they have wrought thereby. The people have taught them to put their consolation in indulgences, and to die upon them; which alone they have done.
is terrible and horrible, that if they were otherwise so holy and pure as St. John the Baptist, yet for the sake of this piece they should be condemned to the deepest abyss of hell, and not worthy that the earth should bear them, nor that the sun should shine upon them, nor that they should be fought for and defended.

Seventy-one: for reckon thou thyself what a great folly indulgences are. He that is comforted and relied upon indulgences,' and so died or lived, hath thereby forsaken, denied, and forgotten the Saviour Jesus Christ, and can have no comfort at all in him. For he that putteth his comfort in other things than in Jesus Christ, cannot have any comfort in Christ. Now we all know, and their books prove it mightily, that they have taught us to rely on indulgences; who else would have respected or bought them? And beside this, as the messengers of the devil and evil-doers, they have shamefully kept silence, and even suppressed and destroyed the faith in Christ. For he that knoweth that his comfort and confidence is in Christ, cannot suffer indulgence nor any other confidence. But when will they atone for and make amends for such infinite harm? Yes, they will atone for it; they are so stubborn in their wickedness that they will force you to defend them with body and blood, and they will lay everything on you. If they were not possessed and mad, they would be a little ashamed to desire such a defense, in such impenitent, insolent, blasphemous malice. That may be right for me: priests are not good.

Seventy-two: How wilt thou bear upon thy conscience the blasphemous deceit of the purgatory, that they also have deceitfully deceived and falsely terrified all the world, and have lied and stolen almost all their goods and riches? For in this way they have also purely extinguished the one consolation and confidence in Christ, and have taught the Christians to gape, wait, and rely on their subsequent pens. For he that gazeth and hopeth on his following covenants or works in death (as they have all taught and done), must put Christ out of his sight, and in the meantime forget him. Therefore, if God had not especially

they should have died, like the Jews and the Gentiles, falling into the abyss of hell unawares, as when a man falls from a high mountain, thinking he is walking on a good path, and steps aside into the air, and falls down into the valley or the sea. O what murderers of souls are these! No human heart will understand until the last day how great a murder they have committed against souls with their purgatory. Much less can it be understood what damage and terrible blasphemy they have done to faith and trust in Christ. There is still no repentance or cessation, but rather a demand that you protect them in it and help defend them,

73. You must take upon yourself all the abominations and blasphemies which they have committed and still commit daily throughout the entire papacy with the Mass, with buying and selling, and with many countless other dishonors of the holy Sacrament, since they always sacrifice his Son to God as if they were better and holier than God's Son; since they do not let the Sacrament be a gift of God to be received with faith, but make of it a sacrifice and a work, that they may propitiate themselves and other people, and obtain all manner of grace and help. For they have made every saint his own mass, and every thing or need its own mass. In all their books and doctrines thou findest not one letter of faith. They all say and sing that the mass is a sacrifice and a work, but that in no other thing should faith be practiced and exercised so closely and diligently as in the mass or sacrament, because Christ himself instituted it in remembrance of him, that it should be preached there, and that we should remember and believe in him. But for this they preach their sacrifice and work, and sell them most mercilessly. There is still no repentance, but a stubborn, desperate wickedness to defend themselves, and to protect themselves by life and limb.

Seventy-four: it would be too dreadful enough the gross outward abuse, since the priests are on the

1) In the original: "yet"; in most codices and in the Wittenberg and Jena editions: "and". The sense here is the same as at the end of the preceding paragraph.

The first is that the people of the church, at the festivals and consecrations of the church, or at the patron saints' feasts, treated the sacrament so lightly, as if it were a jiggery-pokery, for the sake of eating, drinking, and making money, ran up to it crudely and insolently, and afterwards became full, and dined and gambled, and fought; as all the villages were full of the shameful abuse, and yet neither atonement nor correction, nor is it recognized as sin by the despairing popes. But it is nothing compared to the wicked abuse, since they have perverted and changed the sacrament, and have made of the common sacrament of the common faith a work of their own and a sacrifice of some persons, as the priests. This is so terrible that I do not like to think about it; the thoughts might well kill me.

(75) Nor is this above this abomination, that they have hidden and concealed the words of the sacrament and the faith, that (as I said) not one letter, not one jot of it has remained in all the papacy, in all the masses, and in all the books. This vice surpasses all words and thoughts, and no one can reproach or punish it enough in eternity. Every other vice has its own devil, or group of devils that do it; but the sacrificial mass, I think, is a common work of all devils, since they have joined all hands, all counsel, all thoughts, all malice, and all mischievousness, and have instituted and preserved this abomination. This is evident from the fact that the spirits of the poltergeists have asked for the mass throughout the world, in all corners, as departed souls; no soul has ever desired or asked for Christ, all for the mass. This is also a strong sign that the devils live nowhere so powerfully as in their servants of the Mass, with all fornication, avarice, blasphemy, and all vices most profusely, and will certainly be the greatest and last wrath of God on earth before the Last Day; for there can be no greater wrath. Then thou shalt have the right virtue of the priesthood, for which thou shalt have war, and shalt shed thy blood for the hardened blasphemers, murderers of souls, and evildoers.

76 Whether any man shall say here, that I am too much of a knave, and can do no more than knave and reproach, let him first be thus answered.

2) So Walch. In the other editions: "beautiful".

That such reproach is nothing to unspeakable wickedness. For what kind of reproach is it if I call the devil a murderer, a villain, a traitor, a blasphemer, a liar? It is as if the breeze did blow at him. But what are these devils but devils in the flesh, who have no repentance but vain hardened hearts, and who knowingly defend such public blasphemy, and seek protection in it from Caesar and from you? Rather chide and call a pabstle what thou wilt or canst, it is as if a goose whistled at him. He hath so much power that he hath been much, much, much too great for thy chiding. Call him a papist, and thou hast said more than the world can understand; thou canst not reproach him more. The other is as if thou didst poke a bear with a straw, or strike a rock with a feather.

77 Secondly, this is my answer, that the two cardinals, Campegius and Salzburg, have admonished and commanded me to do this, so that the one says: he wants to be torn apart before he wants to change or abolish the mass. So says the other: The priests are not good; they should be left unreformed. But these two are of the noblest, and as they speak and believe, so of course the pope speaks and believes with all the papists. Because they themselves say that they are desperate evildoers, and want to remain evildoers, and let themselves be torn apart before they want to renounce blasphemies, I would do them injustice before God and before the world if I called them anything but by their own name, which they themselves give them. Should I now call them Most reverend, holy fathers in Christ, no one would know them, and they themselves would not know of whom I spoke, because they do not know such names, but are and remain hardened evil-doers and blasphemers. Therefore my rebuke is no rebuke, but as when I call a turnip a turnip, an apple an apple, a pear a pear.

78. where will you bear the abominable idolatries, since they did not care enough to honor the saints and to praise God in them, but made vain gods out of them, and put the noble child, the mother Mary, badly in Christ's place, and Christ

And he made up a tyrant to the wretched consciences, that all confidence and consolation was taken from Christ, and turned unto Mary, after that every man turned unto his saint from Christ. Can anyone deny this? Is it not true? Have we not all tried and experienced it? Alas! Are there not, especially of the shameful barefooted and preaching monks, books full of such idolatry as the Marialia, Stellaria, Rosaria, Coronaria, and quite vain Diabolaria and Satanaria? There is still no repentance here, nor amends, but with the head through and obdurate such everything defended, and your life and limb demanded for protection.

Seventy-nine: I must show here a piece from the Diet of Augsburg, that it may be seen how excellent a reason they have for such idolatry of the saints. As the committee was dealing with this article on the invocation of the saints, D. Eck brought forth the saying, Gen. 48:16, where Jacob speaks of Ephraim and Manasseh: Lt invoostur Nomen M6UM 8upsr pueros istos, and after many words Magister Philippi He Johann Brenz spoke approximately: one finds nothing in Scripture about the invocation of the saints. Then D. Cochläus, as a deeply thoughtful man, came forward to help the matter, and said that the fact that the saints were not called upon in the Old Testament was the cause that the saints at that time were not yet in heaven, but in the outer castle of the hells. Then my gracious lord, Duke Johann Friederich, Duke of Saxony 2c., tightened the noose over them both, and said to D. Eck: There you have, D. Eck, answered for your sentence, which you have brought forth from the Old Testament! So sure are they of their things, so well do they agree with one another, the excellent writers of the Antilogiarum. One of them says, "In the Old Testament the saints were not invoked," and the other says, "Yes. And they quote sayings from the Old Testament, as if they did not know that God, for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, did all the great miracles that were done in the Old Testament, as he himself often confesses, and that for the sake of no saint in the New Testament he did half as much, yes, ten times as much. Like fools, what falls into their mouths they spit out quickly; nor must the articles of faith be just and reasonable.

be, and all unpunished, and for this defended, the people about it condemned and strangled, for this thou shalt get and quarrel 2c.

80 And that we may once give an example in such a long sermon, I will tell you now, out of so many thousand examples, that which is written in a Marial, how one ought to honor the Virgin Mary with sacrifices. There was a thief or highwayman who did nothing good all his life, but once or other came into a church for Our Lady's light mass, and saw people offering pennies and candles on the altar. There he also sacrificed. Then he was seized and hanged. Then the devils wanted to lead his soul to hell, but a good angel resisted them and said, "Why do you devils lead him away, since you have nothing in him? They answered: "He has done much evil, and never any good. So they went with one another before the court of God. And the devils accused the sinner of doing no good; but the good angel brought forth the penny stamped with the cross, together with the candle offered upon the altar. Then the judge gave the verdict: "The striker should defend himself against the devils," and the angel advised him to take the penny in his left hand, for a shield, and the candle in his right hand, for a sword or spear, and to fight against the devils and to strike the cross vainly; this he did, and drove out the devils. And the soul returned to the body, and was taken from the gallows, and did well in his life. *Haec ille*.

81. Who could conceive it if it were not true? The monks and priests have clicked so many books full of such shameful fables that they have overwhelmed Christendom as with a flood of sin. No pope, bishop, or doctor has ever heeded or been aware of all this. But now that it is preached that Christ is our Saviour, they become mad and senseless. But when they preached that a candle and a crucifix offered to our Lady might save an impenitent rogue and murderer, without Christ, without faith, and drive out all devils, and blaspheme and suppress Christ's passion and life, then all the preaching was good and delicious, there were no heretics. But it all belongs to this: priests have never been good!

(82) How will thy conscience bear the great affliction, torment, and violence, which they have inflicted on all the world with their fearful confession, so that they have made so many souls desperate, and have robbed and increased all Christian consolation from the wretched consciences, since they have so treacherously and wickedly concealed and kept silent the power of absolution and faith, insisting only on the unbearable torment and impossible work of telling and repenting of sins. To such repentance and telling, as to our own work, we have promised grace and salvation, so that Christ has pointed us to ourselves and kept us. In sum, everything they teach and do is designed to lead us from Christ to their work and ours. And no letter so small in their doctrine, and no work so small, denies and blasphemes Christ, and defiles faith in him, and leads poor hearts to impossible things and to despair. And so should the true antichrist do, that he, according to his name, should teach and live abundantly against Christ, and exalt himself above God and his word [2 Thess. 2:4]. This we see fulfilled in the papacy more than can be understood. All this is still unpunished; we still defend this confession today, and we also want you to help us fight through this torture, heartache, despair, and all the plagues of this confession, and to burden yourself with the sorrow of all souls.

(83) You must take upon yourself the grievous lamentation and cursed abuse of the ban and the keys, which abuse alone would have been sufficiently deserved to bring the papacy to ruin, let alone to fight to confirm and strengthen it. How has the pope raved and raged against emperors, kings, and all the world, yes, against God himself and his holy word! What the devil has put into his heart must be right and good. How much war and blood has he wrought with it in all the world! And who can tell all the abominations? What he would have for sin, that must be called sin and be sin. What he has wanted to be holy, that must be holy. Hereby he has been a terrible lord over the whole world, over body, soul, goods, country and people, over purgatory, over hell,

over devils, over heaven, over angels, over God and everything. To whom he has willed, heaven has been open and closed, hell has been closed and opened. Whose body, goods, honor, land, kingdom, wife, child, house, farm, money, and all things were taken from him or remained for him. And what would the papacy be without the abuse of the key?

(84) Now they have done all this out of sheer willfulness, since they had no right to do so, for the sake of their belly and their dominion. And, worst of all, they misused God's name in the most shameful way. For under God's name they have committed all such unspeakable abominations, ravings, and ravings, for which they have not a single thought that they would mend it; but like hard anvils, obdurate, they let themselves be beaten, and remain firm on such a resolution, wanting to have everything defended and strengthened by your blood and protection. It is no wonder that heaven and earth should tear and break over such desperate, defiant wickedness, and that God should suffer such unrelenting wickedness, such defiance and abuse 1) for so long.

85. I think that if the Turk knew that he was so unjust, as the papists know that they are such desperate evil-doers, he would not be so obdurate, and would not so insolently defy God with his wickedness. For I hold that the Turk would not speak, namely, We Turks have never been good, as our Papists speak: We priests have never been good. In short, only the devil does this; he also knows that he is evil and wants to defend his wickedness. The priesthood does the same; it recognizes such its terrible wickedness, and wants to have it unamended, confirmed, and defended by your body and blood. If now thou hast a mind to dispute, here thou wilt find a just cause for the most holy and spiritual people. But consider the hundred thousand parts of such wickedness, of which thou wouldst make thyself a party, and the pleasure of such strife shall pass thee by, and thou shalt say, I would let such unrepentant arch-villains have the infernal fire in the abyss of hell, before I would stir up a thread about theirs.

1) "Mißbieten" (Missebieten) - disrespectfulness.

for her sake, keep silent, that I should risk my life and limb for her.

Item: You must take upon yourself and help to strengthen the devil's dangerous, lying, shameful folly, which they have practiced with the sanctuary and pilgrimages, and have not yet thought to atone for. Help God, how it has snowed and rained here, yes, how it has fallen like a cloud breast, with lies and cheating! How the devil has used up dead bones, clothes and utensils for the legs and utensils of the saints! How surely have all lying mouths been believed! How one has run to the pilgrimages; which all the pope, bishops, priests, monks have confirmed, or ever kept silent to the least, and let the people err, and taken the money and goods. What hath the new fraud at Treves done with Christ's skirt? What has the devil held here a great fair in all the world, and sold so innumerable false miraculous signs! Ah, what is it that any man may speak of this? If all the leaves and grass were tongues, they alone could not utter this knavery. We must still see that they do not confess or repent of it, but that they preserve, strengthen, and amend it through your body and blood.

87 And the worst of all is, that they have deceived men herewith, and have drawn them away from Christ, to trust and build upon such lies. For no one has run after the sanctuary or pilgrimage; he has placed his confidence and comfort in it, and has had to despise his Christ at home, the gospel and faith, and his position, and consider it as nothing. But the papists have not only not feasted on such seduction of souls, such denial and contempt of Christ and his faith, but have taken pleasure and delight in it, and have adorned and strengthened it with indulgences and graces, and have well feasted on it, and have scourged and abused all the world; nor is there any improvement or atonement, but a vain defiant resolution to increase and strengthen all this, and to suffer no evil innovation.

(88) Here is the golden year, which the arch-deceivers, the popes, have invented, and commanded the angels to lead the souls of pilgrims to heaven. But all and all is too high

and too much, above all speaking and remembering. It is said: *Abomiunatio in loco sancto*, "abomination in the holy place" [Dan. 9:27], which is what Christ called Pabstism, with a simple, yet incomprehensible word (Matth. 24:15). I mean that the ministry is an abomination, not only with such evil things, but also with impenitence, that it does not want to amend such things, but to defend them; and therefore sins not only with the deed itself, but confirms such sin with impenitence, that is, with sins in the Holy Spirit, so that it cannot get higher, nor become worse. For the devil himself cannot sin higher nor worse.

(89) Behold, these are the fellows who would be judges of the word of God, who would have us revoke and repent of our doctrine. Item, that we should worship all such abominations for God's word and work; they want to be unreformed, and in short suffer no innovation. Does not this mean stirring up sedition? What does stirring up sedition mean? Does it not mean pestilence, evil times, Turks, war, murder, and arousing all God's wrath and plague, what is so evil that may arouse? But I must here cease to stir up the abominations, so many as are behind, more than there are the brotherhoods, vows to saints, and the great fair, where the priests and monks of all the world sold their good works and caps, and clothed them in death, and led them to heaven. Otherwise, all the senses would dwindle and pass away; alas, there is too much in half a part of a piece.

90 The third reason that thou shalt not obey Caesar in this charge is, that thou shalt not alone bring such abominations upon thyself, and help to strengthen them, but shalt also help to overthrow and cut off all the good that is raised up and brought on by the good gospel. For the evil-doers will not have enough of it, that they should bring forth such devilry and abominations, and (as they command in the edict) tolerate no innovation, but cut it off, and utterly destroy all that we have ever taught, lived, and done, and still do and live.

91. This cause also comprehends much in itself. For our Gospel, praise God, has much in it.
great good has been accomplished. No one knew before what the gospel was, what Christ was, what baptism was, what confession was, what the sacrament was, what faith was, what the Spirit was, what the flesh was, what good works were, what the ten commandments were, what the Lord's Prayer was, what suffering was, what comfort was, what worldly authority was, what marriage, what parents, what children, what masters, what servants, what wives, what maidservants, what devils, what angels, what world, what life, what death, what sin, what justice, what forgiveness of sins, what God, what bishop, what priest, what church, what a Christian, what the cross; Summa, we have known nothing at all that a Christian should know. Everything is obscured and suppressed by the Pabstles. They are asses, and great, coarse, unlearned asses in Christian matters. For I too have been one, and know that I speak the truth in this, and all pious hearts will testify to this, who, being imprisoned under the pope as well as myself, would have liked to know such things, and neither could nor should have known them; we knew no other way, for priests and monks were all alone, and on their works we rested, and not on Christ.

92. But now, praise God, it is come to pass that man and woman, young and old, know the Catechism, and how one ought to believe, live, pray, suffer, and die. And it is a beautiful instruction for the conscience, how one should be a Christian and know Christ; one preaches now of faith and good works. And summa, the above-mentioned pieces have come to light again, and preaching stands, altar and baptismal font have been restored. altar and baptismal font have been restored so that, praise God, a Christian church can once again be recognized. But you must help to eradicate and destroy all these things where you war for the papists. For they do not want to suffer any of the things taught and done by us, but (as they say) to have the possession; to sit again in the old guarantees, and to tolerate no innovation at all; so you must help to burn all German books, the New Testament, the Psalter, the prayer book, the hymnal, and everything that we have written of many good things, which they themselves confess. You must help that no one knows the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the faith (for this is what happened before). Thou must help that no one may know of baptism,

Sacrament, faith, authority, matrimony, nor learn anything from the Gospel. You must help that no one knows Christian freedom. You must help to ensure that no one puts his trust and comfort in Christ. For all these things were not before, and are mere novelties.

Item 93: You must help that our priests' and preachers' children, poor abandoned orphans, are condemned and disgraced as children of whores. You must help them to rely on the work of the monks and priests in Christ's stead, and to buy their merit and their caps at the point of death. You must help them to fill Christendom with fornication, adultery, and other unnatural, shameful vices instead of marriage. Thou must help to set up again the abominable fair of sacrificial fairs. You must help to defend all their avarice, robbery, and theft, so that they may get their goods. And what shall I tell much? Thou must help to destroy Christ's word and all his kingdom, and to rebuild the devil's kingdom. For that is where the evil-doers want to go, who press for the possessorium, or the old warrant. They are of the end of Christ, or antichrist; therefore they can do nothing else, but that which is against Christ. Especially in the main article, that our heart should not put its comfort and confidence in our works, but in Christ alone, that is, to be freed from sins and justified by faith alone, as it is written, Rom. 10:10, "With the heart one believeth, and is justified."

(94) This article, I say, they will not suffer, and so we cannot counsel against it. For where the article is gone, the church is gone, and no error can be withstood, because apart from this article the Holy Spirit will not nor cannot be with us; for he is to transfigure Christ to us. Over this article the world has so often come to ruin, through flood, weather, waters, war, and all plagues. Over this article Habet was slain, and all the saints, and all Christians must die over it. Nevertheless it remained, and must remain, and the world must perish for ever over it. So let it also now stand, and be overthrown above the article: and if it be mad and foolish, let it leave the article, and let it fall over it into the covert of the earth, amen.

95. Now consider, and come to your senses, if you will fight against God and his word, and all that is God's; if you will bring upon yourself all the abominations of the priesthood, and all the innocent blood that has been shed from heaven; if you will help to destroy all the good things that have happened to us through the gospel, and finally, if you will destroy Christ's kingdom, and build the devil's kingdom: then see what victory thou shalt obtain, and with what conscience thou shalt be obedient to the imperial command!

006 If then thou be advised, thou hast warning enough in this, that thou shalt not be obedient to Caesar and thy prince in such a case, as the apostles say (Acts 5:29), "One must be more obedient to God than to men." If thou wilt follow, it is well; if thou wilt not, let it be, and go always, and contend confidently. Christ shall not be afraid of thee, and shall (whether GOd will) also abide before thee. But if he tarry, let him give thee enough to fight: meanwhile let us see which shall prevail against the other, and keep the field.

(97) This I have said to my dear Germans as a warning; and as above, so also I testify here that I do not wish to incite or provoke anyone to war, nor to rebellion (nor to counter-rebellion), but only to peace. But where our devils, the papists, do not want to keep peace, but with such obdurate abominations, unpunished, raging against the Holy Spirit, nevertheless get it, and would bring bloody heads from it, or even go down, I hereby publicly testify that I have not done such, nor given cause for it; but they want it so, their blood be on their head, I am excused, and have done my part most faithfully. Henceforth I will let him judge who will, should, and can judge; he will not fail, nor lack. To him be praise and honor, thanksgiving and glory forever and ever, amen.

1157 D. Martin Luther's gloss on the supposed imperial edict. In the first months of the year 1531?)

According to a report by Seidemann in the "Studien und Kritiken", 1880, issue 2, p. 350, Luther's manuscript of this writing is still in the royal library.

1) For this determination of time, see the preceding Scripture, 8 ^3. note.

at Dresden. The first edition appeared under the title: r,Auff das Vermeint Keiserlich Edict, Ausgangen jm 1531 jare, nach dem Reichs tage des 1530 jars. Glosa. D. Mart. Luthers. Wittemberg. DMXXXI." At the end: "Printed at Wittemberg by Nickel Schirlentz." 7 quarto sheets. Thereafter by the same publisher twice more; further a reprint in 1531 without indication of place and printer. An edition in Low German was also published without indication of year and place (1531, Magdeburg by Mich. Lotther). In the "Gesammtausgabe": in the Wittenberg (1553), vol. VI, p. 158; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 289; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 545; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 321; in the Erlangen (1st), vol. 25, p. 51, and in the second edition, vol. 25, p. 49. After the latter we give the text.

Martin Luther's condition.

(1) I Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, and preacher of the Christians at Wittenberg, herewith state in this public writing, that all that I write against this supposed imperial edict or commandment in this little book, I do not mean to speak nor to understand as written against imperial majesty or some authority, spiritual or secular, but because the wise King Solomon saith [Eccl. 9, 18.] that a few wicked men at court can create great misfortune, and again, a few pious Naaman [2 Kings. 5, 1.] can do much good at court, I do not mean by this the pious emperor, nor the pious lords, but the traitors and evil-doers (be they princes or bishops), who under the imperial name, or (as Solomon says) at court, undertake to accomplish their desperate, wicked will of courage, and especially the fellow whom St. Paul calls God. Paul calls God's adversary, I should say, God's governor, the chief shawl, Pope Clement, and his servant Campegium, and the like. This is my opinion, God grant happiness and grace to it, amen.

(2) First, before I gloss over this edict from piece to piece, I must first point out the Holy Spirit who breathed such wisdom into these evil-doers, so that the master might first be known; from this it will become clear what teaching such a master can and will give. They boast in the edict, first of all, how the confession of ours, which is delivered at Augsburg, is mislaid and rejected by the holy gospels. That is one thing; mark it well, my dear friend, who
You hear (I say) that they boast that the confession of ours is displaced and rejected by the holy Gospels. Whether this be true or not, I will hereafter consider. Now thou only shalt know that they say that the confession of ours is mislaid. With what? With the holy gospels (they say). That is what they say. 1)

(3) Then they themselves say in the Edict, that the Christian Church, by inspiration of the Holy Ghost and good causes, hath ordained to use one form of the Sacrament. And,' that wisdom may have the greater prestige, they add the cause that under one form there is as much as under both. These may be called excellent and cheap imperial poets and scribes! But where is the master here, who may tune these pipes together? Namely, that they say: our confession is laid down by the holy Gospels, and yet the One Form is ordered by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. This is as much as to say both no and yes. For if both forms (which our confession presents) are displaced by the holy gospels, the one form is of course also confirmed at the same time by the same gospels; where else could one displace both forms, if one should not confirm the one just with them?

004 Again, if the One Form is established by the intercession of the Holy Spirit, they themselves herewith confess that it is not by the holy Evangelia (as they lie), but by the intercession of their Holy Spirit, that both forms are established, and the One Form confirmed; for the Evangelia and the intercession of the Holy Spirit make them two things, as is evident in the day. If then the intercession has done it, why do they lie so shamefully and insolently that the holy Evangelia have done it? If the holy evangelicals have done it, why do they boast so shamefully and falsely that it was done by the intercession? Is not this to be called a fine hiding in one's cheeks, and a shitting in one's wisdom? He that will lie, let him have a good memory (say the Greeks). But to lie against God and his word must be especially well done, as can be seen in the praiseworthy example in this edict.

1) "sounded," that is, that had good sound.

005 Well, there we have the chief poet of this edict, the spirit of the pope, the father of all lies, who must thus prove his wisdom by the word of God, that it stinks of his old dung. The good that has been done in the whole edict by such servants of the faithful and liars is well to be reckoned with. For against their own consciences, they have been obstinate and malicious in saying that our confession was laid down in the Gospels, when they knew full well that it was all lies and lies, and that their defiance and glory were based solely on their own minds, and not on the Gospels. Wherefore they also, without their thanks, had to spew out such their false heart and conscience in this edict, as Christ saith [Matt. 12:34.], "When the heart is full, the mouth overflows." And again [v. 37 .], "Out of thine own words thou shalt be damned." So these shameful poets also had to betray and disgrace themselves by their own mouths, that one might learn what it is to rage against God and His Word. Of such beautiful lies we want to show more throughout the whole edict, so that the saying may stand [Prov. 21, 30.]: "No wisdom helps against God"; and the 33rd Psalm, v. 10: "God brings the plots of princes to nothing."

006 In the first place, that they boast that our confession is mislaid by the holy gospels, this is such a manifest lie, that they themselves well know that it is a shameful lie; but with such make-up they want to prettify themselves, and revile us, because they well felt that their doctrine was full of holes, leprous, and foul, and yet should come to honor under such a cloak. Her heart thought, "We know that our church is wicked, but let us say that the Lutheran church has been laid, and that will be enough; who will force us to make such a lie true? For if they had not felt that such a boast was a vain lie, they would not only have gladly denied their transfer, as is greatly desired, but would also have sent it out through all the printing presses and proclaimed it with all the trumpets and drums, and such defiance would have arisen that the sun could not well have shone before it. But now the same

If they so shamefully refuse to publish the confession, and still more shamefully hide and conceal it, their evil consciences bear witness to the fact that they lie as evil-doers when they boast that our confession has been published, and that with such lies they seek not the truth but our displeasure and their cover of shame.

7th On the other hand, it is also quite a knavery to disparage us, and to adorn themselves with cunning, that they relate various articles, of which the greater part do not concern us, only that they want to make a stink about us to strangers and strangers, whom they lead into the poisonous abode, as if we also taught such articles. Such boys should not be imperial scribes or poets, but the wretched devil's scribes in hell. For since they knew well that we do not teach such articles, but rather condemn them, it would have been expedient for imperial poets to speak differently of old articles, and to interpret to each part its own, especially since one speaks of them in judgment, and condemns them. Now they mix all things together, and make us guilty in all; that this some wickedness is greater than I can excuse, and cannot be looked at otherwise than as if they should be so called: We knowingly and willfully do violence and injustice to the good people.

008 These are the fellows, as David saith in Psalms 36:2 and following, Verily I say, The wicked are wicked men. For there is no fear of God in them. That they may promote their wicked cause above, they adorn themselves, and revile others. "2c. The Hot painted them right. For in this shameful, lying edict, they have taken the greatest pains to adorn themselves by boasting that our confession has been laid; and again, to disparage us by mixing all kinds of articles together, and it is a miserable patchwork, no different from a beggar's cloak. For I have heard that this edict has been changed five times, and many things have been done to it; yet nowhere has it gained a nose that would suit it, but they have not seen that a false tongue betrays a false heart, and that the calumny that has been forced on others with lies must fall on their own heads.

009 Let this be said of the spirit and master of this edict. Now let us take it in pieces before us, and bring the devil's lies to light. The first lie is, that they boast (as has been said), that our confession is laid by the holy gospels; but they distinguish nothing, but condemn the whole confession, as if there were nothing good in it, but must call everything laid by the holy gospels, even the high articles of faith, which they themselves have confessed at Augsburg, that there is nothing contrary to faith in our confession, and that they are not to be laid by Scripture. So they give the lie to their own mouths. They must also be called lying to themselves, because they boast that our confession is displaced by the holy gospels, and yet they are ordered by the Holy Spirit to receive the sacrament in one form, which is contrary to all the gospels, and they displace both forms by the gospels. Thus are they fellows, because they cannot prove by the gospels that one form is to be received, they invent the intercession of the Spirit, which shall do it, and yet boast that by the holy gospels our confession is displaced. Dear fellows, this is shamefully confessed with lies!

010 Neither, if their own consciences did not themselves think that their revelation was nothing, would they have refused the same revelation, when the same copy was desired to be answered in writing, but would have let it go forth with great glory and triumph, and have desired to hear the answer thereof. For they are bold, thirsty heroes, who do not shun the light and heretics, especially when they are to murder and blaspheme; but here, when they are to give out their transcripts and have them answered, they are like bats and night owls, who cannot stand the light; so that they bear witness that their own conscience teaches them how such transcripts are pure filth, and boast and lie with their mouths alone: That all things are laid up, which their faint and timid conscience knoweth otherwise, and with such a shunning of the light confesseth otherwise.

II. the other lie is, that they now begin to prove their objection and art, and say, that the Christian church, from objection

The Holy Spirit's intercession and good causes are salutary, and it is commanded that only one form be administered outside of the Mass. 2c. Here thou hearest plainly that both forms of the sacrament (which our confession teaches from the Gospels) are displaced by the intercession of the Holy Ghost, and that one is commanded; and yet we have said above, that our confession is displaced by the holy Gospels. This is a lie, and a very good and cowardly lie to take hold of. But this is still better, that they say that the Christian church, by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, has this power to do, and to command 2c. Where are these seals and letters? Where is the reason and cause, that they may prove it? If it be enough that they thus willfully invent it, we Christians are poor men, who must believe all that the devil's mouths may spout.

012 This lie blasphemeth both the Holy Ghost, and the Christian church; which is by no means to be suffered. For Christ saith [John 16:14.], that the Holy Ghost should come and transfigure him; saith not, that he should change or darken him. Item [John 14:26.], "Let the Holy Ghost remind you (saith he) all things whatsoever I have said unto you"; saith not, let him abolish or change that which I have said. Since then it is clear and evident that Christ teaches both these things in the Gospel, the Holy Spirit must transfigure and remind the same doctrine; if he does not do this, but changes or abolishes it, then it cannot be the Holy Spirit, or Christ must be lying, since he calls the Holy Spirit his transfigureer or praiser, and his words remembrancer. From this it follows, that the speaking, which changes and spoils both forms (though in the Gospel Christ has ordered the same by his word), is not of the Holy Spirit, but of the wicked devil out of hell. For the Holy Ghost is to remind us of all the words and doctrines of Christ, and to glorify them, and to keep them in light and use: if he did not, he would not remind us of all the doctrines and words of Christ, as he ought to do.

013 Thus the lying blasphemy of our most beloved Mother, the Christian Church, is not to be tolerated, that it should be construed to change and exalt her dear Bridegroom's words and

For she is subject unto him (saith St. Paul, Eph. 5:24 ff.), yea, also one body with him: how then should she here disobey, and exalt herself above her God and Lord, that she should not remain one with him, and change his word, and condemn it? which she well knoweth that he hath purchased with his dear blood, and hath most heartily commanded her, saying, "Do this in remembrance of me." Whosoever therefore shall say, that she hath changed this command, and hath not kept it, denieth and blasphemeth her, as an evil-doer and an enemy to both Christ and his church. For whoever may say that the church changes or does not keep Christ's word and order, does as much as to call the holy church a prostitute of the devil gone astray. Therefore we Christians should condemn this edict with all our hearts as a blasphemy against the devil, and say: Cursed be both the edict and its poets, amen.

14 Against such blasphemies we set these thunderbolts, because Christ saith, "Do these things in remembrance of me" [Luc. 22:19, 1 Cor. 11:24, 25]. Which words he speaketh unto his Christian church, and calleth them to do it, and not to alter nor abolish it. Item, Matthew last, "Go ye, and teach all the Gentiles to observe whatsoever I have commanded you" [Matt. 28:19, 20]. Say not, Teach them to amend and abolish that which I have commanded. Item, Matt. 5:18, 19: "Not one jot nor one tittle shall pass from the law; it shall all pass. And he that abolisheth one of the least commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be least in the kingdom of heaven." Item, the Father hath said from heaven, Matt. 17:5, "This one shall ye hear." And long before, Deut. 18:19, "I will raise up a prophet unto them, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall tell them all things that I shall call him. But whosoever will not hear his words, that will I avenge." Verily these and such like sayings leave the church no power to change or abrogate Christ's word, but cast them under Christ's word, and call them to be kept and done, as an earnest of God's commandment, which he will punish where it is not kept. How much more shall he punish them that do abrogate and change it?

15. and, since God is for, where the Christian church would have power to change God's word
and abolish it, we would no longer have any certain word of God. For it is clear that where she can change one word of God, she can also change all the other words of God, even that one, so that she herself may establish and maintain a Christian church. For here there is no reason or difference why she should change one and not the other, because she has power over them. Thus she would change and abolish the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the faith, and herself, so that she would not have to be the devil's whore, as the church of the pope is, which has such power over God's word, and robs her of it with blasphemous sacrilege. Therefore, no Christian here should suffer or consent to such an abominable sacrilege being laid to the holy church in this accursed edict.

016 But whether they would say, Hereby is Christendom spoken too nigh, and is condemned of us, as not keeping Christ's commandment; as they cry out now, saying, The Lutherans condemn all Christendom, which yet keepeth the one form, and doth both; therefore the one form must be right, or the Christian church is condemned. Answer: If we are to answer such criers, I will say this: If it should come to the necessity (as it cannot) that either the church should err, or Christ should lie, I would rather say that the church errs, than that Christ is a liar. For though the church were in error, it would not therefore be condemned, because it has the glorious article: Forgiveness of sins. Yea, if the church did not err nor sin, what need had she of the article, Forgiveness of sins? But if Christ were a liar, all would be lost, and there would be no hope of salvation.

017 The shameful popery and blasphemy magnify that the church is holy, and that it may not err, and thereby maintain all their abominations; but they will not respect these other things, that Christ must not lie nor be absent, and that it is more important that Christ should be true and certain, than that the church should be holy, and not err. Neither is it true that the church erreth not, nor sinneth. For she prayeth daily, Forgive us our sins, [Matt. 6:12] and believeth forgiveness.

of sin, nor is ashamed of the prayer in the Psalm [Ps. 19:13.], "Who perceiveth all sin?" For she yet liveth in the sinful flesh, and saith with St. Paul first Rom. 7:19, "I do evil;" and again, v. 18. 25, "I serve with the flesh the law of sins, and dwell in my flesh no good thing." But of Christ alone, and of none else, is it written, Isa. 53:9, "He hath done no sin, neither is any falsity found in his mouth."

018 Therefore these are great blind guides, which would have all the words and works of the church to be pure and good, that all should be articles of faith. For if she do not do and teach according to the certain word of Christ, but do and teach something apart from that same word, who can make me sure that she does not err and sin therein? Yes, who can doubt that she then certainly errs and sins? because she still lives in the sinful flesh, and acts without the sanctuary, "God's word," and cannot be without sin. The church is holy, that is true; but to be holy does not mean to be without sin and error here on earth, but (as St. Paul says [Eph. 5:27]) to be holy in spirit, through God's word, and yet to be in sins through the flesh, which are forgiven for the Spirit of Christ's sake, but nevertheless do not become articles or truth. For forgiven sin and error is still sin and error, and never becomes right or truth, though it does not condemn. They are gross theologians and blind teachers, who write in their hearts that the holy church is entirely holy and has no sin or error. Such is the poetry of their heads, on which they build so many articles of faith. But the scripture saith otherwise, as it is heard; neither shall any man believe the church itself, where it doeth or speaketh without and apart from the word of Christ. In Christ's word she is holy and sure; apart from Christ's word she is certainly a poor sinner in error, but she is not condemned for Christ's sake, in whom she believes.

019 This I will have said against the stiff-necked boasters, who are always chattering, The church, the church, the church! know not what the church is, nor the holiness of the church; go over it, and make the church so
Holy, that Christ above it must be their liar, and his word count for nothing at all. On the other hand, we must also boast again, church be it, church be it, however holy it may be, so Christ must not be a liar. The church itself confesses, both with doctrine, prayer, and faith, that it is a sinner before God, and often errs and sins; but Christ is the truth itself, and can neither lie nor sin. Therefore, as far as the church lives and speaks in the word and faith of Christ, she is holy, and (as St. Paul says) righteous in spirit. But as far as she does and speaks without Christ's word and faith, she errs and sins. But he who makes articles of faith out of such sinful deeds and words of the church, blasphemes both the church and Christ himself as liars. But this is what the blind leader of the pope does, with his blind sophists, who fall down and talk about how all the words and works of the church must be holy and true.

020 And that we may come to the matter: If then the holy church had taken up and changed both forms, it does not follow that it ought to be considered right, because Christ's words are clearly against it, but ought to be considered an error and sin of the church, which ought to be corrected and atoned for after it is known, and not to deny and defend sin with the false Saul, which Samuel calls idolatry [1 Sam. 15:20, 23]. But now the church has not done it, and has not changed the form of both, but has had to suffer it as a free violence of spiritual tyrants, who have robbed such under the church's name according to their will, as murderers; and now, when the church cries out, and demands such robbery again, they still rage, and want to defend their tyrannical robbery against God and Christ's word. But they shall succeed in this, as Cain and Saul succeeded in their raging. The church, which until now has had to suffer such robbery and has been deceived by the false priests, has therefore remained undamned. For it has not done so, but only suffered and often acted contrary to it. And though she had sinned ignorantly and deceitfully, yet all was forgiven her for Christ's sake, in whom she believeth.

021 It is also evident that there is a very great difference between doctrines and lives, alike-

as there is a great difference between heaven and earth. The life may be unclean, sinful, and infirm; but the doctrine must be pure, holy, clean, and constant. The life may be lacking, not keeping all that the doctrine wills; but the doctrine (saith Christ [Matt. 5:18]) needeth not lack a tittle or a letter, though the life lack a whole word or company in the doctrine. For the doctrine is the word of God, and the truth of God itself; but the life is with us. Therefore the doctrine must remain entirely pure; and whoever is lacking in life and is infirm, God may well have patience and forgive; but the doctrine itself, according to which one should live, he cannot and will not suffer, nor should he suffer it. For this touches his high divine majesty itself, where neither forgiveness nor patience is valid; let it then be left in peace and mastered.

022 David had certainly sinned against God's commandment with his life; but since he confessed his sin, and thereby confirmed God's commandment, and did not change it, but rather punished himself than God's commandment, such sin must have been forgiven him, and did no harm. But Saul sinned in such a way that he justified and defended his sin, so that he blasphemed God's commandment and acted as if he were right and God were a liar and wrong; this could not be forgiven him. So here anch, if the church had not only been ignorant and deceived (as has been said), but had also knowingly omitted both figures, when it had not done so, it would not yet have been condemned. For in so doing she would not have denied or abandoned the teachings of God, but would only (like David) have done contrary to God's commandment, which must have been forgiven her because she recognized it. But to force her to condemn the doctrine of both forms, and to defend herself against God's commandment, that is, to call God a liar, and to take her own sin for truth and right, and to boast of it, cannot be forgiven, for it is sin against the Holy Spirit. The church has not done this, nor will it ever do so. She confesses, sings, and confesses freely in public that she sins against the word of God.
knowingly and unknowingly, and asks forgiveness of sins; but she does not deny God's word, nor change it, nor cancel it.

(23) For where the word of God is open, there is no more sin, neither can any man have a conscience, as Paul saith, Rom. 7:7, 8: "Where there was no law, there was no sin." Where there is no sin, there is no forgiveness, nor care or plea for forgiveness; just as the Papists here say, both forms are not God's commandment. Because they hold this, they must continue to say that there is no sin, but that it is right to let both forms stand. But because they have no sin, they may neither ask nor have forgiveness for such sin, and so they go safely into the abyss of hell in their denied sins and blasphemies. Let this be enough to show that mau cannot make an article of faith out of the deed of the church. For she is a sinner and sins daily, both unknowingly and knowingly, and our faith must be based on God's word alone in all articles, and without God's word no article of faith is to be tolerated.

024 Above all this, it is also a lie, that the whole church is therefore condemned of us, if we condemn the doctrine of the one form. For the papal church alone holds, yea, it suffers from the end of Christ the one form, but all other churches in the whole world hold both forms, as they have held from the beginning. And we must likewise consider here that we do not condemn both forms, together with the churches that consider it right, as the papists cry out that their church, caught under the end-christ, should not be condemned. For the other churches hold both forms to be right, and one form to be wrong, and they also avoid them as wrong. If then one form should be held to be right, we would first of all rightly condemn the whole church. Therefore not we (as they cry), but they, the papists, condemn the whole of Christendom, because they hold the One Form to be right, against all the other churches in the world from the beginning, even against the knowledge and will of their church, which lieth captive under them.

025 But this is the chief of all wickedness, and such shameful, impudent

Blasphemy, that it is not to be said. They confess that both forms are right, and they would let us have them at Augsburg, if we would also teach and confess that one form is right. Then hear the wretched devil's mouths; they confess that both forms are right, but where we do not hold the one form to be right, neither shall ours be right. You are right (they say), but such right shall be wrong, such truth shall be a lie, such commandment of God shall be forbidden, such obedience shall be sin, if you do not also give us right in the One Form.

026 What is this but sawing, for God shall be the devil, heaven shall be hell, life shall be death, where ye will not let us be right? Dear God, where is this going? To confess that the word of God is right and true, and yet to condemn, forbid, heresy, rebuke, and to murder and torment people over it, where one does not want to make oneself partaker of their sin, and say that they are also righteous. Why do they not let us have this right, which they themselves confess, and do they go with their one form, without us, wherever they will? If it be right, they will well find it; why will they weigh us down with their trumpery? Yea, why do they pursue the right in us, which they themselves profess? But such a horrible, terrible, angry blasphemy will put an end to the game, and provoke Christ to come; for it is too hard and too much, it will surely tear the sack.

027 I will now leave this alone, because in this edict they condemn them that make vain bread and wine of the sacrament. For now all the world knows well that we do not teach such things, but have opposed them to the highest degree; and it would have been fitting for such Edict's masters to show a little gratitude, and to have praised us in such an article, and not to have mocked us with blind words, as we are not ashamed (praise God!) to praise and extol what we find good in the papal church. For we know, praise God, that if the Lutherans had not received the Sacrament, the Papists would have failed. But let such ingratitude also pass; the pious heretics, the Lutherans (who are their protection and umbrella), do not like them; therefore, let them be
other heretics come, who will not, like the Lutherans, deal with them; let them, without their thanks, give place to the same, let the same make us Lutherans pious; what is the matter?

028 But that they show causes why one form should be needed, namely, that there is as much under one form as under both; though I have otherwise written much against it, yet again I must show it to the blind guides. The question here is not whether there is as much or as little under one form? Such evasive speeches indicate that one shuns the light, and the truth is shy; but this is the question, here lies the knot, here one should stand and answer, namely: whether one must keep God's word or not? But God has established His word that both forms are right, and not one form. If all the leaves and grass, all the stars in the heavens and the grains of sand on the seashore cried out for eternity, saying, "There is as much under one form as under both," no heart will be satisfied, but the conscience overrules all this and says this with authority: Dear, thou tellest me much, that there is as much under one form as under both; yet God's word stands there, and commands me nevertheless to use both forms, and he knows without doubt better than you all, whether there is as much under one form as under both; nevertheless he commands to use both forms. What shall a poor conscience say against such a word, command, and order of God, since it does not help that under one form there is as much as under both?

029 For I reckon that under one form there is a thousand times more than under both; yea, if under both forms there be nothing, and under one form all things, what shall that profit me? Nevertheless God's word remains of both forms, and asketh nothing how much or little I reckon under one or both forms? And must a poor conscience say: Dear, there is nowhere so much under one form as under both, namely, under one form is only half the words of God or his command, but under both forms are the words of God both and whole. Dearly beloved, it is not true that the words of God are done out of sight, and because with God they are done out of mind.

How much there is under one or both of them. It is said: "He that is of God heareth the word of God" [John 8:47]. The word, the word (I say) must be regarded more than the whole sacrament with all that it is and can do. For it is in the word, and where it is to be divorced and eaten, let the whole sacrament pass away before leaving a few letters or tittle of the words. But now they ask nothing of the word of God, and in the meantime they seal up a whole sacrament in a half sacrament, for they are despisers of God, and blasphemers of his word!

(30) Whether the edict here almost says that no innovation is to be made here, even such wise men and blasphemers should take themselves by the nose, who reproach God's word for an innovation, although they know well that they lie here, as the public wicked. For they know that God's word of both forms is not an innovation, but has been established by Christ Himself, and has been kept obediently by the church for more than fifteen hundred years. But they themselves are the ones who have devised an innovation against the old and eternal Word of God, even the practice brought to all of Christendom up to this time, with their One Form; now go and baptize their new poems for an old thing, and the eternal Word of God together with the whole Christian Church obedience for an innovation, thereby not only disgracing the whole holy Christian Church, as an erroneous, damned whore, who did not keep the right old Word of God, but has adopted a heretical innovation, but also the eternal God himself as a liar and a fool, who has not before ordained his holy word of both forms by Christ in the Lord's Supper, but has lately performed it against her mad poetry. Well, blaspheme confidently, dear Pabstes, because you have time, it will soon be different! But no one can keep such edicts, except the children of the devil. God preserve all Christians for this!

(31) The other piece is about the mass. This laudable edict states that both the common mass and the special mass (they want to speak politely of the corner mass, and call them special masses, as if the church had two different masses or sacraments) should be held, together with

The chant, prayer, ceremonies, dress, and orders, as well as the inculcation and posture of the major and minor canons, are all kept as before, and no change or innovation is to be made in them. 2c. There you have it at once, what you should do and not do, without the word of the holy Cardinal Campegii, when he answered the emperor, and spoke of the corner masses: he wanted to let himself be torn to pieces before he wanted to let the mass go or change. For with this word, as with an inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the Mass would be confirmed, and at the same time our confession would be established by the holy Gospels, as they boast above. For how is it possible that the word of such a holy man should not be the holy gospel and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit? It should be considered as such, lest he be torn to pieces.

32. Now then, you hear for the second time that the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (which is the head and ground of this edict) is over the holy Gospels, and that our confession (which has condemned such a mass through the Gospels) has been transferred through the Gospels, as they boast above in the beginning; Not that such poets are to be esteemed drunk, for they have soberly made such an edict, but that they are mad and foolish (through God's wrath), and do not see how shamefully they lie against themselves, namely, that they boast of the Evangelia, so that they want to have our confession mislaid, and nevertheless act continually against the Evangelia, according to their saying, and shall continually be their spirit's saying Evangelia and over all Evangelia. But it must be so, that a liar must be a forgotten man, who cannot think how beginning and end rhyme together.

033 Therefore, since the intercession of the Holy Spirit and the holy Gospels (in order that our confession may be transferred and their mass confirmed) says that the mass should be kept in all respects as before, and that no change at all should be made, you may well think that in the holy Gospels both canons must be found, chasuble and chalice, plates and caps, hearing and howling; item, a

Sell the mass for six pence to the souls in purgatory, to the mariners on the sea, to the merchant in the country, to the sick in the house, and help everyone in all things with it, to court the angels and saints in heaven with it, and all in all, to make a treasure market and trade out of the mass, to feed and honor the belly with it, and neither speak nor hear anything about the faith or comfort of souls, just as has been done until now. These things, I say, must all be in the holy gospels. For they have laid our confession (which condemns such abominations) with the holy gospels, and confirmed such things. Yea, my brother, how thinkest thou of these masters? It is often said that eagles and lynxes see clearly; but they are blind as blind as a bat to these masters, who can see in the Gospels both the canons, the garments, and all sorts of masses. These may be called truly sharp doctors, who have sat higher than chickens.

(34) Now here you see that the desperate wretches and evil-doers are dealing with us out of sheer wickedness and spite, and are thus publicly and shamefully blaspheming the most reverend Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord; not only do they not want to atone for or do away with the unspeakable, innumerable, horrible abuses of the Mass, but they also want to confirm, defend, and increase them forever. O God from heaven! is this not too high and too much superiority? Wilt thou not also look upon it once? Does this not cry out to you from heaven? When did any sin ever cry out to heaven? Shall not those go unpunished who blaspheme thy name, how then do these most vile blasphemers go so freely? Shall not the Turk and all the plague have good fortune against us? If they should almost despair of sin, who hear and see such blasphemies as Lot in Sodoma [2 Pet. 2:8].

035 But it is sufficiently proved, and no pabst will overthrow it, that the mass is the word and sacrament of God, which he offereth and giveth unto us: for there are the bright and dry words, Jesus took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is my body which is given for you.
will be. Likewise also the cup" 2c. [Matth. 26,26.27. Marc. 14,22. Luc. 22,19. 1 Cor. 11, 23. ff.] In these words we remain, in these words we stand, in these words we want to live and die (if God wills), in these words the Mass is founded. Here you do not find that we should buy and sell the Sacrament or the Mass. Here you do not find that we offer or give anything to God with it. Here you do not find that we should honor the saints with it. Here you do not find that souls should be bought out of purgatory with it. Here you do not find that one may help another from sins and all kinds of distress through the mass, as both their blasphemous canons and their teachers do, and as they recently saw in the Gospels at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, and learned by speaking. For before they found it in no gospel; but when they should have laid aside our confession, the gospels fully, fully, fully, and completely confessed it, and confirmed all these things.

036 But here we find Christ saying, Given for you for the remission of sins. Forgiveness of sins is here to be sought and found unto eternal life, and to remember the Lord Jesus Christ, and to preach his passion until he come. Neither say ye, Sacrifice, or give Me anything in the mass; but say thus, Take ye (not I), and eat ye (not I), and drink ye (not I). Here we are to receive and take, but he gives and bestows. Now if not only the two canons, but as many canons were against these words as raindrops upon the earth, and if every tabernacle and mule were more than a thousand Gabriels in heaven, and cried for ever sacrificial mass, sacrificial mass! what would all this be against such bright words of Christ? And as said above, if it were possible for all Christendom to keep the mass as such Pabstles would have it, what would it be? Christ's word must still stand, and be more valid than the church, for Christ's word is God's word; let all creatures give way to it and honor it, and not suffer it to be a false liar, as the wicked priests here blaspheme it.

37. and how they alone have this sacra-

ment thus made a sacrifice of purchase? Why did they not also make baptism and all its seven sacraments a sacrifice? If the other sacraments are all gifts of God, which we do not give, but receive and accept, how is it then that this one sacrament, as a child of God, must not be equal to the others, and remain such a gift of God? Must this alone be concluded from the definition or nature of all sacraments? But what shall I dispute against the wanton blasphemers and impenitent Pabstles? It is as the bishop of Salzburg said: Oh, why do you want to reform us priests? We priests have never been good. Be not good, and stay not good, in the name of your god, the devil! How dare you reform us, who confess that we are good and right? Is it not enough that you are evil-doers and traitors to God, as you impudently boast of yourselves, but will you also force us righteous ones to be lost with you, and never to be good? These are not the words of human wickedness, but if the devil himself would speak most devilishly, how could he make it more devilish than this: We are not good, neither do we wish to be good, but neither will we let others be good nor remain good.

038 For the sake of brevity, I will leave undecided what more the edict says about confirmations and anointings, for it is nothing else, neither their sacred intercession nor the new sacred gospels, that they have moved our confession; which gospels they have now found in Augsburg in the smokehole or secret chamber, that is, they have invented and lied about in their false, lying hearts. For our evangelicals, who are known throughout the world, know nothing of their confirmations and anointings, but they must work and make sacraments where there are none; and where there are, they must make sacrifices and our work of them, lest they celebrate and go idle.

(39) The third piece is about free will. There they mumble about as if they had hot porridge in their mouths, without having to spit out their poison, and so it reads: "Because of free will, because the same error with its appendages is not human, but animal.
and is blasphemy, the same shall not be held, taught, nor preached" 2c. From this no one can know what error they condemn, whether it be those who hold no free will; or those who hold all free will; or those who hold half or a little of free will. For they themselves have never been one among themselves, nor will they ever be one as to what free will ought to be; they pick and bite themselves about it, like mad swine among themselves, and yet condemn the error of free will, and give no name to the error; wherefore we must measure such their judgment by their hearts, and not by their mouths. But their heart is ours; therefore their mouth will certainly mean our doctrine.

040 This again is a new art, which they have learned from the discourse and from the new gospels, namely, that they themselves know not what free will is, neither can they ever know it, nor become one; yet they boast and condemn the doctrine of free will. For if they were to teach me what free will is, they would certainly have to answer me thus: One teacher says this, the other that, and the higher schools are still divided about it. If I then asked further, which is the best teacher, they do not know either, but each follows and dares to follow his doctor. But in this they are nevertheless one, that they condemn our doctrine, even as Pilate and Herod, being whole among themselves, have become one concerning Christ. So here this edict teaches us to shun our doctrine, and instead to let them lead us on a monkey's tail; and the opinion is, Thou hast unrighteous doctrine, but we have not yet certain right doctrine. These are, by leave, great and coarse asses' heads, which condemn a thing, when they themselves confess that they neither know nor understand it. For who can know what is error in free will who does not yet know with certainty what free will is or is not?

041 This, indeed, is a very beastly, and not a human error, to condemn, and yet to confess that they know not what it is; and this much is said, What we know, we do not know.

Let it be right and wrong; let it be without art or understanding; the discourse and the new holy Gospels have taught us so at Augsburg. Just as if the highly learned and noble, wise cattle, the swine, decided at their imperial diet: We sows decree that no one shall think that muscats are noble spices, but what they are we know not; but we hold, some, that they are marc, some, that they are bran, some, that they are cabbage leaves, some, that they are the delicious peas under the fences. In the same way, our highly learned and enlightened pigs in Augsburg act wisely here, and for this reason they rebuke God's truth as a beastly and blasphemous thing.

042 Indeed, since they do not intend to do more at the Diet than to show us their will, and say: What we want shall be right and wrong, regardless of whether God's word teaches otherwise, they would have left the pious emperor at home and unconcerned; we had known it well before, that they set the virtue of the end-Christ against and above God, and all that is called God, and is honored for God [2 Thess. 2:4]. But it is all according to the bishop's word in Salzburg: "The priests are not good," and according to Campegii's counsel, who will let himself be torn to pieces before he will be good, and accept the known truth. Nor do I blame them if they do evil because they do not want to be good, just as little as I blame a thorn bush for pricking; I would blame a fig tree if it bore thorns, and I would blame the pope and his clergy if they once did something really good. Let the knaves go.

(43) Our doctrine, that free will is dead and of no use, is powerfully grounded in Scripture; I speak of free will against God and in the affairs of souls. For what shall I dispute much about free will, which rules over cows and horses, over money and goods? I almost know that Gen. 1, 26.ff. God gave man dominion over cattle and over the earth. Such things do not belong here. If it were not for the saying of St. Paul 2 Timothy 2:26, "They are the captives of the devil according to his own will," we would have scripture and reason enough.

To be captives of the devil is truly no freedom, and especially because they are so captive that they must live according to his will; so free will must certainly be the devil's will, for they must live according to it, as his captives. This is clearly the teaching of St. Paul, and Christ himself agrees with it, Luc. 11:21, 22, when he says: "If the strong man keep his court, his own remains in peace; but if a stronger man come upon him," 2c. Here Christ himself testifies that the devil possesses his own with peace, unless the stronger comes over him.

(44) By this saying we remain; for otherwise it is sufficiently and abundantly written, that we have the deed and the work itself also for us, namely, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, by his own blood redeemed us from the devil, death, and sins [Acts 20:28, Heb. 9:12]. Now if there had been a free will in us, against or over the devil, death, and sin, he should not have died for us; and he that can escape sin without Christ, can also escape death, "For death is the punishment of sins," Rom, '6, 23. But no man has yet been found to prove his free will over and against death, but death has again proved its free will and power over all men, which it could not do unless sin (which is the right and power of death) had first overpowered and imprisoned man. By this deed and article of faith in Christ we abide, and let the papists' plea and the new gospel remain a pestilence. No one will convince us that Christ has redeemed us from the devil, death, and sins. Where this remains, there remains no other free will than that which is captive to the devil, death, and sin. If this is a freedom, let it be that of those who make their words new evangels, contrary to the right old evangels.

(45) The fourth part is about the main article of the Christian faith, namely, that faith alone without works makes one righteous. They speak of this in the Edict: "And since it is evident from the Scriptures that faith alone, without love and good works, does not make one righteous, and since God requires good works in many places in the Scriptures, the article says that faith alone does not make one righteous.

That faith alone justifies, and good works are rejected, is not preached nor taught. What they say here of not rejecting good works, they speak maliciously again with blind words, to revile us with it, as if we rejected good works, when they well know otherwise, that we do more in good works than the whole papacy ever did, which also never understood any good work, as is otherwise sufficiently proved; nor can they leave off their poisonous lies and blasphemies. And in Summa Summarum, there is not a word in this edict, it has the gloss in it: Priests have never been good. The word transfigures all the letters of this edict.

046 And what should such sowers understand in this high and holy article of good, if they cannot bear the lower articles, but that a man may have a wife, a wife may have a husband in marriage; a man may eat and drink what God giveth him and maketh him; a Christian may enjoy both forms of the sacrament, and the like much more. It would be a pity that such mad cattle and foul swine should smell these muscats, let alone eat and enjoy them. Let them teach and believe that he that letteth a forz in the chancel is a mortal sin, and he that soapeth over the altar is a reprobate. Or, that I may also come to their high articles; he that washes his mouth with water, and swallows a drop, may not say mass that day; he that forgets his mouth open, that a mosquito may fly into his throat, may not receive the sacrament that day; and such innumerable, glorious, excellent, high articles, on which their secular church is founded. These are articles worth speaking of; what should they esteem great faith and good works, such low, bad, silly things?

(47) But because I see that the devil must always blaspheme this principal article through the pillars, and cannot rest nor cease, I, Doctor Martinus Luther, an evangelist unworthy of our Lord Jesus Christ, say that this article: "All faith, without all works, makes one righteous in the sight of God," shall be left standing and remain the Roman emperor, the Turkish emperor, the doddering emperor, the Persian emperor, the pope, all cardinals, bishops, priests, monks,
Nuns, kings, princes, lords, all the world together with all devils, and shall have hellish fire on their heads, and no thanksgiving. This is my, Doctor Luther's, speaking of the Holy Spirit, and the true holy gospel.

(48) For there is the article which the children pray, I believe in Jesus Christ crucified and dead; 2c. There is no one who died for our sins, but JEsus Christ, the Son of God. JEsus the Son of God alone, again I say, JEsus the Son of God alone has redeemed us from sins, this is certainly true, and all Scripture; and if all the devils and the world should rend and burst, it is true. But if it be he alone that taketh away sins, we cannot be he by our works: for it is impossible that I should take hold of and obtain such a one and only Saviour from sins, Jesus, otherwise than by faith: by works he is and remaineth ungrasped. But since faith alone, before and before works, takes hold of such a redeemer, it must be true that faith alone, before and without works, takes hold of such redemption; which can be nothing else than being justified. For to be redeemed from sins, or to have sins forgiven, must be no other than to be or become justified 2c. But after such faith, or redemption received, or sins forgiven, or righteousness, then follow good works, as such fruits of faith. This is our doctrine, and so teacheth the Holy Ghost, and all holy Christendom, that we abide in God's name, Amen.

49 Then there is an addition in the edict. There they set forth several articles concerning benefices, priestly marriages, the same repentance and conversion, their punishment, lewd wives of the priests, and the examination of preachers by the ordinaries. 1) It is offered to them by ours at Augsburg, and I in my exhortation to them have also des-.

1) Here in Luther's autograph is the following addition, which he himself, however, deleted: "who look at me as if it were Duke Georgen of Saxony's wisdom, for he always has such finns in his nose, to whom, if God grants me life and health, I will once answer from his preface to the New Testament and other vicious writings, and then also touch these crickets of his head".

I have also offered to gladly accept their ecclesiastical authority, or, as they call it, jurisdiction, 1) as long as they let the gospel go, and stop the abuses, which they themselves know to be abominable abuses, and they are obligated not only to let the gospel go freely, but also to preach it themselves, and to leave life and limb over it; Then the benefices could be well dealt with, and capable pastors appointed, and all things would have been well to help and advise. Yes, that they should yield to this, let alone do it themselves. They want to have their ecclesiastical authority to confirm their abuses, and to dampen the gospel, and to murder, burn, drown, execute, and chase away devout Christians over it. This is called spiritual supremacy, and relies on men's power, which cannot fail, for men cannot die; so also God cannot hinder nor control any man; therefore they certainly have it, as it is written, Ps. 33:16, "A king is not helped that he is mighty." Item: "A strong man cannot stand by fine strength." These sayings are a lie to them now; therefore they must surely succeed in everything.

050 Then follows an article, that priests shall not be suffered to dwell in dishonest lives, or with dishonest wives. Truly, here they attack things with seriousness. Fie, fie, how will it be that they also attack themselves so severely; this will certainly be one of the main sayings of the right discourse, and of the new gospels. But these are dark words, and may be of three kinds. The first is that the priests should have no whores of their own with them, for these are dishonest women, but should go to the lords, citizens, and peasants for wives and daughters, these are honest women; as that old buffoon meant and said: We priests are become fools; when I was young, we slept with the citizens at their wives and daughters, then the wives became pleasant to us, and the men also had to become pleasant to us, if they should have thunder; but now every man wants to have a whore of his own, the wives are to us

1) See Col.982, supra, § 77 et seq.

Therefore we are of no account with men. This is the right and best mind of this article.

051 The second is, that the priests should live wickedly without wives; this is a papal and cardinal mind, that they should live without wives, as Daniel hath declared, [Cap. 11:37] and the example is before their eyes in the most holy chastity, learned out of Sodoma and Gomorrah; which mind the article may well suffer, yea, I respect their Holy Ghost's intercession meaneth the same especially. The third is that the priests should live chastely in all things, like the angels in heaven. This understanding is not their earnestness, but a mirror fencing; for they themselves know well that they cannot have so many healers as to cut off all the priests. So it is in the day, that there are few priests who can live chastely where they are not cut, though they would gladly do so. And so it is that the bishops suffer harm in the kitchen, where the poor priests should not give whore money and milk money. Summa, there are desperate boys in the skin that they make such an article, since they know well that it cannot be raised, and the bishops themselves and canons do not want to nor can they stop their shameful public whoring, and are the greatest whore hunters on earth, which no one can witness, they do it impudently before all the world, and want to force other people to chastity. Oh, what a fine thing it is when a bishop is an arch-whore hunter, and calls a poor priest to live chastely.

52) But the most serious thing is that with this they take God in the mouth and forbid marriage, which God created, as St. Paul says in 1 Timothy 4:3, that such commandments are the doctrine of the devil, as they well know; nevertheless, they refrain from curbing God's work, creature, will and word; they pretend that the priests must keep their vow, which they made in their consecration. This vow must be the cover of shame, under which one blasphemes and desecrates God in his word and works, and also cancels and denies the first and highest vow, since we have vowed. Let him be our God, and let us honor and praise his word and work above all things. Whereas no vow shall be valid that dishonors or disgraces his word and work, as this vow of celibacy (which is impossible to keep) does.

Marriage blasphemeth and profaneth, both with blasphemous forbiddings, and with profane whoredoms and bitches. But no one listens, they want to know.

(53) Further, they command that one should not preach that one wants to suppress or destroy the holy gospel and the word of God. That would be a piece of wisdom for once, since a sober word has escaped from the drunkard. Truly it is wise to say that they should not be called destroyers of the gospel. For they are not, but only act as if they wanted to destroy it. That they are not, however, is not lacking in good will, as the deed shows before the eyes, but in the power that God does not want to burden them with. Now let us command God to judge whether he will judge them to be destroyers and oppressors of his word, who would gladly destroy and oppress it with persecution, murder, and burning with all their hearts. I will not call them destroyers or oppressors of God's word, and the devil will be grateful to them for leaving it undestroyed and unsuppressed; they, like Caiphas, have prophesied about themselves that they will not destroy or oppress God's word, amen.

(54) They say that the Gospel is to be taught according to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures and teachers who are approved by the common holy Christian church. Here they come and bring him, the good journeyman! Dear, where do we find the Gospel interpreted according to the Scriptures? Are we drunk here, or do we dream such things? And what are the teachers approved by the common Christian church? It may be D. Eck, D. Schmid, and D. Rotzlöffel, otherwise I know of none who are approved by the common Christian church. For St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and similar writings are unknown in other churches, except the Latin Church. Nor would I advise the pope himself that the Evangelia should be taught according to St. Augustine, Ambrose, Hierouymi, Gregory, Hilari, 2c. Interpretation, the devil should throw him, and was not long to be pope! Neither will the pope do it, but will be judge and master over all the teachers, and over the Gospels and the Holy Scriptures, and he will not be a pope for long.

alone must be heard. Moreover, this edict has itself praised the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and the new gospels, so that they have made the confession of ours. What is the use of such a jiggery-pokery and such a lie? They smear our mouths as if they wanted to teach the Gospels according to the interpretation of the Scriptures; and yet their opinion is no different than to teach according to their own inspiration and according to the Pope's conceit. Such things must be called holy scripture, as we have heard above of both forms and other things.

55 Because the pope cannot nor will suffer this article, and also rejects this imperial edict himself and respects nothing, we would certainly be excused if we did not keep it either. But we would gladly keep it, if they would let us, which they do command; that is so much to say: They are grossly shameful Pabstists and liars, who themselves do not see what they say, and how their lies always disgrace themselves; and nevertheless command to keep such things for holy scripture and articles of faith. We will abide by this rule, which St. Paul teaches us Rom. 12:7: "Let all prophecy be made like unto faith." Now whichever teachers teach in this way, that is according to the faith of Christ, let us teach and keep them. But whosoever teacheth not according to faith, we will neither hear him, nor see him, whether he be pope, or emperor, or devil, or his mother. For we are baptized into Christ, that we should believe the good word; and we are not baptized into teachers, or into popes, or into churches. We cannot lack St. Paul's rule, but how the teachers meet in many things is sufficient for the day.

056 Then they commanded that the preachers should teach that the commanded feasts should be kept, that the forbidden food should be avoided, and that the religious should keep their vows, and not reject them. First of all they said that the gospel should be taught according to the interpretation of the holy Scriptures. Hereupon they commanded. To keep feasts, fasts, plates, and caps. Why? because they found it in the Gospel, which should be taught according to the interpretation of the Scriptures. They see so exceedingly clearly that they also find feasts, fasts, plates, and caps in the Gospel. But they soon have their glosses

For they have found their own conversation, and that which they think to be right is called the gospel. Therefore they can easily see this in it, even if they are dreaming or drunk. How shamefully do such loose, careless liars listen! God blinds them, so that they cannot speak a word, lest they smite themselves in the cheeks and betray. I could never so shamefully reproach them nor disgrace them as they disgrace themselves with this wretched dictum of lies.

57 And the sum is: one should not accept any innovation in the way of the church, at the penalty of life, limb, and property. God protect us here, they also want to take your life, if you do not use consecrated salt and water and the like 2c. But how finely the devil paints himself in this edict, and seals up his art, so that one should notice that he has been there. He is a liar and a murderer, saith Christ Joh. 8, 44; and this edict, his controfait, image, and similar fruit, must also confirm it. For in the beginning, as the true children of the devil, they put forward their lies (that is, the lies of the wicked devil) for new evangelization, and they pushed them through the whole edict. Here at the end they want to murder and kill all those who do not want to keep their lies. So the beginning and end of this edict fit together so well that one must assume that the liar and murderer, the devil, has fed it out of his own mouth, or rather thrown it out of his butt. Fie on the shame in German lands, that one should kill a man for the sake of a small ceremony, which they themselves neither keep nor want to keep! How much God has been praised and defied! If any man would rather be a Turk than a disciple of such desperate wretches and blasphemers. Well, well, grow up well, dear liars and murderers, God will send one who shall shake the tree.

58. at the end they command that the monks and monastic estates be restored and reinstated 2c. Take care, take care, dear nobles, of yourselves. If this commandment should be your earnestness, since the great holy God Mammon is for, where would the Cardinal of Mainz remain, who robbed two monasteries at Halle, and demolished two parish churches, and
plays with ecclesiastical persons and goods like a juggler? Where will King Ferdinand, the Dukes of Bavaria, Duke George, and other papal princes remain, who are treasuring ecclesiastical persons and goods, and are fighting so that their rinds crack; which is all against the holy ecclesiastical law, that they are patrons against the Lutherans? Yes, where will the holy father pope and cardinals be, who in Rome have purged out many monasteries, where about one and a half hundred persons live inside, so purely that two lost monks, or a loose knave, sit inside for six ducats a year and sell mass? or do they think that one does not know what the monasteries are called, or from where the cardinals get their interest? It is said, Brother Hans, take thyself by the nose, and first pluck the beam out of thine eye. But the consensus and the new evangelia have soon judged here that such robbery and fighting is the teaching of the gospel, according to the interpretation of the holy scriptures; there it lies!

59. They themselves know and feel that the papal princes enjoy four times more of the spiritual goods, and steal and rob many more of them, than the Lutherans; nor are they so insolent that they think all the world has lost all five senses, that they can neither see nor feel; they want to be the guardians of the clergy, so that no one hurts the clergy so much as the very same guardians; they will also do it the longer the better, until the clergy learn what is said: "It is good to trust in the Lord, and not in men" [Ps. 118, 8. 9.]. It serves them right, and I have to laugh in my fist when I see how they fall away from God and rely on men.

(60) I have often advised that the spiritual goods should be used to maintain parishes and schools, and to support poor students; item, to provide for the visitation and other needs of parishes and churches; item, to counsel poor virgins and children; what is left after that should be used for common benefit and for poor or needy people. But the greater part of such goods is so cursed and shamefully obtained by all manner of blasphemy and abuse, that it is not worthy to come into good use. And because the pope together with all the foundations and

If the monasteries (as the thieves and peelers) so horribly get hold of such goods as are not theirs, so shamefully whore them away, spend them, and squander them, and do no office for them, I also do not esteem it great, whether it be torn by others; it belongs to the devil, as St. Michaeas Cap. 1, 7. says: "It is acquired with whoredom; with whoredom it must also be consumed."

(61) This also serves, because the mouths of the Popes cannot rest; they seek, ponder, and write, that they may say something evil of us, and even if they lie most impudently; they look us up and down, but always find too much good in us, which they cannot punish with truth. So I let them wash and wash their mouths with this filth; they must wash their mouths with us, so it is even more this piece; it is better this than another. There is so much good in our country that such goods are nothing compared to it; let the pabst's mouths blow it out as high as they can, but I hope that it will still do well with our people, as much as it is worth that it will do well.

022 But I wonder why they have not put in the edict many other and great articles more, than of the brotherhoods, which also are not a number, since every saint, and every craft, hath a peculiar brotherhood. Item, of indulgences and golden years, which are considerably lacking. Item: Pilgrimages to Rome, Mary of Loreto, St. James, Jerusalem, and many countless places more. Item, of purgatory; item, the special supreme article of the papacy and supreme power of the church (I should say, of the pope). Item, that no monk shall walk, sit, or lie down without a chasuble. Item, that priests shall have plates and long skirts. Item, that they should read their *horas canonicas* to the least, where they do not want to pray. Item, of the false key and the key of meeting. That a bishop must buy his episcopal mantle from the pope for 3, 6, 8, 10, 20, 30 thousand florins, and yet it is not a simonei. Item, that the pope is emperor, and over the emperor, even in the secular government, as c. Lolitas and c. Pastoralis 1) teach us.

1) Decret. Orc^. lib. I, tit. 33. c. 6, and Idiü. lib. I, tit. 29. e. 28. (Erl. ed.)

Item, that with holy water and holy salt 2) sins are blotted out, and the devil is cast out; I will be silent about many other articles that are not so excellent and necessary. These, however, should be considered as the article of one form, or of free will, for the Lutherans have caused great heresy in all of these.

(63) But I think that they, as wise men, have some articles, and not all of them, to tell as an example, in which they also include all others, and want them to be understood under them. That this is their opinion is evident from the fact that they do everything by their own words and new gospels, and nothing according to God's word and the old true gospels. Since in the Edict they call only the articles of the Word, it is easy to suppose that they mean all the articles that come from the Word. Now, they all come from the Word of God, where else should they come from, since no Word of God or Scripture teaches the same? On the other hand, it is evident that they say that no innovation should be made. In these words it is clearly expressed that everything should remain as before, and nothing should be changed. Therefore, all other unnamed articles are certainly included here, even those which they themselves confess to be blasphemous and shameful abuses and errors, the obvious lies and cheating with indulgences, sanctuary, pilgrimages, and the like.

044 Well, there you have the desperate, obstinate enemies of God and blasphemers, who may command us not only to err, lie, and deceive, but also to consider such errors, lies, and deceitfulness as right and good, which is most grievously sinned against in the Holy Spirit. For what is it said, ye shall not innovate, but this much: before ye should change or innovate any thing, how it is false and unjust (as we well know), rather hold it to be right and good, and rather blaspheme God day and night in heaven, than that ye should innovate? Such a decree should justly have such an edict, and was none better.

2) In the original: "soft salt" wheat salt.

that it might so brazenly foam its own shame before all the world, that even the stones and wood might feel and know how God has blinded and defiled them, that they are always punished with one blindness and sin above another, as the 69th Psalm, v. 29, says: "Let them fall into one sin above another, and not come to thy righteousness"; and Ps. 109:6: "Set ungodly teachers over them, and let Satan stand at their right hand." That's right, that's the way they want it. Corporal punishment is too small; but that they should be punished with sins and blindness, and gain pleasure in blaspheming the Holy Spirit, they are worthy of it; so shall God deal with such wicked men.

(65) Whether some here would gladly pretend to be pious, and pretend that by the forbidden innovation are meant not the errors and deceptions, but the proper and correct ceremonies and doctrines: Dear, this gloss does not exist, since the edict lies in the day, in which all the Lutheran articles are condemned, and not one papal article. That some would be moved to the sign, since the monks have consoled the Christian souls, so acquired by Christ's blood, in death with their cap and holy order, that they should be saved by such a garment and the order's merit. No, no, there is no error to be confessed, atoned for, or corrected, but only our articles, which they know to be not ours, but of the Holy Scriptures, and have nothing against them but their old custom. Therefore, because they do not name any papal article, and forbid all renewal on it, they thereby give room and authority to all preachers to keep all errors and lies, and do not allow one to be changed. Hui tuest, eoussutire viäetur. Who wants to make an error known, if the edict does not make one known, and so strictly rejects all innovation? They are vain arch-robbers, in all their words and works, into which they must fall by the wrath of God.

66 Although I know of some fools among bishops and princes who confess that there is much error in the papacy, yet they contend that it behooves Luther not to change, as the Cardinal of Salzburg had also said that he might well suffer our doctrine, but that he would not change it.

to be reformed from the corner, that is not to be tolerated. Therefore, if they had condemned Luther before, they would then come and do what Luther does, so that they would have the honor and glory of having done such a great work of reformation. The great, coarse fools do not realize that they herewith clearly indicate how they do not seek God's praise and glory, but their own glory and honor in such undertakings. Awe, yes, the Holy Spirit is gladly with them, and God is glad to give them great happiness! For where they sought God's glory and honor, they would not ask much from what corner or person good came, but would say thus: Is it right, why does one not do it: *Fiat justitia, et pereat mundus*. As also St. Paul 1 Cor. 14, 30. gives, that where it is revealed to another than the chief teacher, let the chief teacher hold his peace, and follow. Yes, beloved, yes, God's Word will let itself be called God's Word, or not God's Word, according to the person, that where the person is great, it should be God's Word, where not, it should not be God's Word. But fools are fools, and can do nothing but fool [Proverbs 27:22].

67 If God doth not require thee to do a work, who art thou a fool to undertake it? In the Book of Maccabees, Cap. 5, 56 ff., we read that Joseph and Asariah also wanted to do honor with wars against the Gentiles, but they were not commanded to do so, and were smitten with them. Upon this the text [v. 62.] saith, "They were not the men to help Israel." To a good work belongeth a certain divine calling, and not one's own devotion, which is called: oaky counsels. 1) It becomes sour for those who have a certain calling from God to start and accomplish something good, even though God is with them and with them. What then should the senseless fools do, who want to go up without a calling, seeking their own vain honor and glory? Just as it is not otherwise possible for anyone who undertakes something without God's calling to seek his own honor and glory, for he is God himself.

1) See St. Louis ed. vol. VIII, 61, note 3. The Erlangen edition reads here: "eigen".

They know for themselves what is to be done, and have no need of God and his word. That is why they are so blessed, and why their plans proceed as the crab does, as one sees before his eyes and learns every day.

68 But I, Doctor Martinus, was called and compelled to this, that I had to become a doctor without my thanks, out of pure obedience; so I had to accept the office of doctor, and swear and vow to my most beloved holy scripture to preach and teach it faithfully and purely. Over such teaching the papacy has fallen in my way, and has tried to prevent it; it has also come upon him, as before his eyes, and shall come upon him still worse, and shall not resist me. I will walk in God's name and calling upon the lion and the viper, and tread under foot the young lion and the dragon; and this shall begin at my life, and be accomplished after my death. St. John Hus prophesied about me when he wrote from prison in Bohemia: "They will roast a goose now (for Hus is called a goose); but for a hundred years they will hear a swan singing, and they shall suffer it, and it shall remain so, whether God wills it.

69 This is what I want to have said about this edict as a gloss. If I am alive and someone is treating me, I can still itch and scratch a lot. But let no one be afraid of this edict, which they so shamefully lie about and omit under the pious emperor's name. Should they not let out their lies under the name of a pious emperor, when they have begun and maintained their whole blasphemous, shameful nature, status, doctrine, life, and what they are and do, all under the name of God and the holy church, now more than six hundred years ago? But the same our dear God wanted to put an end to such blasphemy one day, and to sanctify his name again, so that his kingdom would also come one day, and his will be done, amen, amen. And let the blasphemous ministry and all that is attached to it fall into the abyss of hell, as John proclaims in Apocalypsi [Revelation 14:8, 18:2, 22:20], amen; say whoever wants to be a Christian, amen.

1158. D. Martin Luther's writing "against the assassin at Dresden", written to save the "Warning to his dear Germans".

Towards the end of April 1531. 1)

As an introduction to this writing, one should read what we have included in the 19th volume of our edition in the introduction, p. 22d f. We have spoken about the expression "Meuchler" in No. 25, Note 2, in the appendix to the 19th volume, Col. 1822 ff. The first printing appeared under the title: "Widder den Meuchler zu Dresen gedrückt. Wart. Luther. Wittemberg. 1531." At the end: "Gedruckt zu Wittemberg Durch Hans Lufft. M.D.XXX I." 4 sheets in quarto. In the same year there is another edition, in which the printing errors of the first are corrected. Further, an edition, though under Lufft's name, but still a reprint, with the date 1531, and finally a Low German, without indication of the place (at Magdeburg, Mich. Lotther). In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 4596; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, p. 303; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 559; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 336; in the Erlangen (1st), vol. 25, p. 89, and in the second edition, vol. 25, p. 108. After the latter we give the text.

The papists have now let a book of shame go out against me at this Leipzig 2) market. And although they have hitherto cried out splendidly against the books of shame, so that before great respectability and virtue they have also called the books books of shame, since the names of the poets were printed on them, it is even vain virtue with such people. But this little book has no name, and is printed in Dresden, where there should be no boys' school, as in Wittenberg, and a village priest in Cöllen near Meissen must praise and extol it. What shall I say? If the papists would do otherwise, they would not be papists; they should do all kinds of the highest knavery, and yet be called good; what other people do in the very best, that should be called the worst. But all this serves me that my next two books may be confirmed and proved by this, that one must take hold of how I have spoken the truth, and have not lied about what I have written of the papists.

1) The following is to be noted about this time determination: According to the first words of this writing and what is said K 50, the same is written during the Leipzig Fair. In 1531, Easter was on April 9, and the Easter Fair was therefore from April 24 to May 13. On May 8, she was already in Dresden, as Luther reports in No. 1163 of this volume to Brück.

2) Original: "Leipzigen".

(2) Come, it is indeed artificially concealed, that must not be said; no one shall know where it comes from. I don't want to know it either, but want to have the snuff this time, and not smell the bachante; nevertheless, I will try my art, and hit the sack: If I hit the ass with it, so that he feels it, I will not have hit him, but only the sack; and as I said before, I will attack no papist alone, but all of them, be it one or many, who attack me; what one does, they shall all have done to me, and I will set before their noses their papist virtue, committed in this little book.

The first is (as said) that the poet of this booklet, the dear layman, 1) conceals his name, and yet brings it to the priest at Cöllen, who also does not name him.

(4) The other, that in the title and in the beginning he disgracefully blasphemes me and my book, as if I had taught that one should not be obedient to the emperor, when the insolent villain knows otherwise, and my book convinces him otherwise before his eyes. So now almost all the world knows that no one has written so splendidly of the emperor and obedience as I have; and what the papists know of it they have from me, before they knew nothing of it; but (as I said) my books must be proved right with such perfidies; and they, the papists, if I could not reproach them enough, must reproach and disgrace themselves with the deed, and call out their own name like the cuckoo.

5th The third, that he reproacheth me seditiously, and as he that would make the Germans disparaging to the emperor, and contrary to all authority 2c. This he denies as an arch-villain, and as a true pope; and if he is worthy of honour, or has a good drop of blood in his body, let him stand up freely, and prove the same. There are my books in the daytime, marked with my name, which shall cheerfully stand before the nose of this scribbler and assassin, and thus say: If emperor or sovereignty wants to oppose God and justice, then no one shall be obedient to them, especially who knows such things.

1) Duke George of Saxony, the author of the "Counterwarning of an Impartial Layman."

That's what the villain wants to make me believe, that I have completely disobeyed the emperor and the authorities. So I hear well, St. Moritz and the holy ten thousand knights (as they are called) must also be rebellious, rebellious, and eternally damned, that they have thrown away their weapons, and do not want to obey the emperor to fight against the Christians; And every subject, if his mad fool (I would say, prince) would be against God, and would have justice, must also be disobedient, rebellious, and contumacious, if he would not be obedient, and help to shed innocent blood.

(6) Then see, my dear reader, whether Luther has lied in his two little books, since he has scolded the papists as traitors, murderers, evil-doers, and, alas! not enough. This villain wants to teach us the virtue of the papists, namely, that the subjects should not disobey where the authorities want to shed innocent blood against God and justice. For Luther wrote of the same tyrants, and not of the authorities, who have right good things, as the books lie there and testify. Nor does he write against it, and wants to defend the obedience of such tyrants. Where authority is right, he himself knows well, the fearful villain, what Luther writes of obedience. No, fellow, you shall not adorn or cover your murderous, treacherous tyranny with the name of rebellion or disobedience. 2) I have well kept my little book in the play, and put a stake in front of it for all blasphemers, so that whoever opposes it shall run up honestly, like this assassin.

(7) The fourth is when he shows how the Lutherans are preparing themselves with orders, with conspiring and alliances, which does not happen with the emperor and his own, but the emperor, as the most kind and gentle lord, has always acted to settle the matters amicably and peacefully 2c. Of the dear Emperor Carol I consider it certain that [it] is so; I also know well that his imperial majesty has been kinder and gentler at Augsburg, and still is, than the bloodthirsty tyrants and priests would like, and they have become almost mad with malice, that his imperial majesty has acted in such a way that he is able to keep the peace.

2) So the Wittenbergers. Original: "Disobedience".

Majesty did not want to be a bloodhound with them. But the fact that this villain goes on to say that the others are also like this, he denies as an arch-villain: for, as has now been said, they are almost mad with malice, since the pious emperor does not want to rage with them; this is clear in the day, as we will hear hereafter.

(8) But that the Lutherans should arm themselves and assemble, that is not my business; I have neither told them to do so, nor advised them, nor do I know what they do or do not do. But because the papists indicate by this assassin that they believe the Lutherans to be in armament and order, I am glad to hear it from the heart, and I am glad that they are under such delusion and worry, and must believe that such Lutheran pretensions are true. And if I could, I would gladly help to strengthen such delusion and anxiety in them, until they should fear to death, and would sing of them such a song: "Squire Cain, if thou canst slay thy brother Habet, have also thy reward, that thou must tremble and fear that whoever meets thee may slay thee, and never be safe, and even a rustling leaf must frighten thee. If Annas and Caiphas can persecute Christ, they also have their reward, that they may be afraid of the people, saying, Awe, Awe, lest there be a tumult among the people [Matt. 26:5].

009 So also our murderers, who have shed so much innocent blood, and would willingly shed it, shall have the plague, that they shall be anxious and fearful lest there be a riot; and though the Lutherans be not armed, yet shall they be anxious lest Germany be full of armed Lutherans, and think not otherwise than that this year no tree shall bear leaves, but instead all Lutheran cuirassers and riflemen; this shall they have. So I have asked and still pray, as it is written, MZit iwpius N6wiu6 psrseyueuts, that they may be frightened and despondent at their own thoughts. Rather, yea, ye ought to be murdered, and to say, Mercy-juniors, ye are right, ye must not fear; he that helpeth you not is seditious. Yes, you ought to be ordered to do it!

010 Now if it were true that the Lutherans were arming themselves, who told thee that
they do it against you murderers and papists? Or who gave you, a thief of God, the divine power to judge other people's hearts and minds? Are there not enough perilous times now, that need honest, lasting armor in all places? But thou doest right, and speakest as a pope should speak. Now I also suppose that such armor should apply against you murderers and traitors, so I still say, as I said, where they do it, in the opinion that they defend themselves against the bloodhounds, who want to shed innocent blood against God and right, then I will not let them rebelliously rebuke. Thus it is written in my books, and thou writest against the wicked, and wouldest that such bloodhounds should be free; and whosoever resisteth, I will reproach him seditiously: thou shalt not persuade me. Thou knowest that I speak of bloodthirsty tyrants, and not of the authorities, which have right things: thou hast sent my words thither, as a poisonous wicked man.

(11) The fifth, that he reproacheth me, that I do lie, even as (1) it were true that the Papists would war against the Lutherans, and as he said above, that the Emperor and his own do no such thing (2c). Here I say, where the assassin does not know how things stand, and stood at Augsburg, I have never seen a greater, coarser fool, who may write of unknowable things so exceedingly, and should call him fairly, not Norou Norotatou, but sspties Uorian. 2) But if he knows it, he is next to the pope the greatest villain on earth, and should be called the pope himself. I will indicate the causes of my poetry, so that everyone can see whether I have invented it or whether the assassin is right.

First, as I also reported in my booklet, it was decided at Bononia 3) that the emperor should suppress the Lutherans with the sword. They cannot deny this, and it is not my poem, but was publicly spoken and heard at Augsburg.

013 Item, it is evident, and not mine.

1) "equal sam" == equal as. Thus the Jena edition correctly separates the words. In the Wittenberg and in the Erlangen: "gleichsam".

2) Siebe St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1823, note 2.

3) Compare St. Louis edition, Vol. I V, 1417, 818.

poem that they have killed, burned, drowned, and shamefully murdered many individual persons, and still do so. From this everyone must conclude how they intend to suppress the Lutherans by force, wherever they can. And they made no secret of it; they also asked and urged the emperor to do so. But since the Lutheran princes are not single persons, it is to be expected that they will have to be subdued by war. The executioner in Leipzig will not behead the Elector of Saxony. The executioner of Mainz will not behead the landgrave either, and so on.

014 For when our brethren delivered their confession at Augsburg, one pope said, Oh, they deliver up a book written with ink; I would they would write them another with blood: to which another answered: Yea, if ye would write thus, ye must take heed lest the presilies be sprinkled under your eyes. I did not invent such a thing.

Item 15, D. Eck said: Ah, if the emperor in his entry into Germany had swiftly struck with the sword, as it was decided at Bononia! That's not my poem either.

016 Item, the bishop of Salzburg hath spoken with Master Philipps, and hath said, I have often considered these things, and have seen four ways or means, which cannot be more. The first way, that we should follow you Lutherans and turn aside; we will not do that. The second, that you Lutherans yield to us; this you cannot do (as you say). The third, transactio, that we may use reasonable means, and that a union may take place on both sides. This is not possible. For since the doctrines on both sides are contrary to one another, there can be no peace nor true unity. Therefore the fourth is that each part should think how it will outdo the other part. If this is not said of the will to war, I do not know what can be said of wars.

017 But I would have known another way, which should have been the fifth, that Christ should sit down at the right hand of God, and make his enemies his footstool [Ps. 110:11. But so they must lead out, and confess that they will not They suffer the word of God, and think only to murder and to take, that they may know what they are worth, and what they ought to be counted for. The same bishop also said: What *conscientia*, what *conscientia*! the emperor will not suffer such separation.

018 Item, the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke George of Saxony are said (I believe I have heard) to have promised the Emperor that they will help him against the Lutherans with five thousand horses.

019 Item, the priests shall have promised immeasurable money for it.

020 For without my writing there was such rejoicing, and rejoicing, and rejoicing, among all the priests, in two years, that the earth was filled with it. How they have defied the emperor! how they have sung: Lalvator vonit, Lalvator vonit! Many bet that the Lutherans would all be defeated around Michaelmas; in the same way, great lords and earls boasted, and some of them were soon slain by the drip.

(21) Item, at Augsburg nothing else was said by the papists during the whole Diet, except: Where do you Lutherans want to stay? Where do you want to go? Do you not see the great power of the emperor? Do you not see his great fortune? Know ye not that the King of France is with us? And there has been neither measure nor end to the oppression and defiance, and I have not invented anything at that time.

22 Item, the Elector of Brandenburg said in his farewell: the Emperor and the Empire wanted to put body, blood and goods, land and people on it.

023 Item, I have heard of great men of truth, that on the side of the Papists the fierce tyrants have walked and sat with their faces downcast, and could not be seen otherwise than as if the hangman had hanged them three days, that it might be seen in them what malice, murder, and misery they had in mind. Just as Cain the villain hanged his head, and hid his face, because he was about to slay his brotherabel [Gen. 4:5, 6]. So this mortal...

1) Drop in the brain, causing disease and death. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 644, note 2.

When they had resolved on war and murder, they could no longer look at anyone because of the unrest and evil thoughts of their hearts.

(24) I will now hold my peace concerning what more the bishop of Salzburg said. I will also be silent now as to how things stood when the Landgrave of Hesse rode from the Diet.

25 Item, D. Schmid, the future bishop of Constantinople (salvo jure Turei), has publicly said before the empire: it is true that a concilium should be made, for there are many infirmities and abuses in the church; but nevertheless the emperor should restrain the Lutherans beforehand, so that it should not have to be said that they had to reform for the sake of an impotent monk.

026 And again, behold the noble fruits, how they profess our doctrine to be right, and yet condemn it, and war against it, and murder it. Their own right says that a single person, where he has better reason and scripture than a concilium, should give way to a whole concilium, and they lead to this the example of the Concilii Niceni, which followed the one man Paphnutio. But what do our proud, coarse asses do here? It is true (they say) what Luther writes; but because we have not taught it so, but a fainting monk, let the emperor put it to the sword. These are called papists, who respect neither God's word nor their own right. They freely confess that they do not want to respect it, but murder and do as they please.

027 Seest thou now, thou assassin, who they are that begin to war, and will not keep the peace? Whether they be thy murderous bloodhounds, the Papists, or my Lutherans? Nor may you, impudent villain, adorn yourself and your bloodhounds, that they act peaceably and do not war, and publicly present ours as rebels and peacebreakers; If thou hearest here, and otherwise knowest well, that our people at Augsburg have so warmly, humbly, patiently, most earnestly, and unceasingly asked for peace, and have never yet pretended either to threaten or to insist, nor have they ever thought of doing anyone any harm, and still to this day desire nothing else but such peace, and would gladly be silent that, if the

If the heart of the bloodhound had been vain and closed the peace in it, it should have been softened by such a humble, heartfelt, Christian request to let the peace out.

028 But there was no help for it; all had to be put down, and in short they urged and showed that they wanted to war, to murder, and to suppress; so the Diet has decided, and this is the final verdict.

29 Now you come here, dear assassin, and talk to us; your papists want to be peaceful, and the Lutherans want to fight. I am surprised that Duke George suffers such a shameful book of lies in Dresden, who wants to be so pious that he does not want to suffer an evil book even in foreign principalities. If such a book had gone out against him in this principality, as this book against our princes, God help us, how heaven and earth should tremble!

Thirty, Squire Assassins, hear now, we will speak with you. Since peace has been publicly denied to our people, and war and murder have been publicly prophesied and decreed, tell me, who is the first here to plunge the knife and draw it? Who begins the war? Is it he who kneels down there and humbly says: I pray for God's sake, keep peace, I will gladly keep peace; or is it he who says: No, you wicked one, you must take your place, I will slay you, nothing can help that. Hoi, Squire Assassin, pipe up, let's hear your judgment. Whistle at thy book, yea, whistle at thy forehead and heart, that thou may'st so brazenly before all the world give up thy assassin and shameful lies, and so wickedly lie to such pious people, and praise and adorn such obdurate bloodhounds. But thou art a papist; therefore the abominations of the papacy oppress thee, that thou must become so mad, and spew forth such shame.

031 Wherefore I say again, as before, because the Lutherans have not threatened any man, have not undertaken to do any man any harm, but have asked for peace; again, the Papists have refused peace, and have threatened with wars, and still persist and threaten that no man can but make wars to them, and have been all the hour of the strokes.

must be. Wherever this part, which asks for peace and cannot obtain it, stands up to defend itself, which I neither call nor advise, I will not reproach it, nor let it be reproached, but I will call the other part wicked, tyrannical, treacherous, and murderous, and I will reproach it myself. Thus it is written in my booklet, if thou wouldest have opened thy mouth and nose as an assassin, since thou couldst not see with thine eyes. Now you think you will interpret my words and turn them against me; no, assassin, you are not the man to teach Luther to speak German, or to take his words from him and interpret them to your liking.

032 But that thou dost boast with blind words, that it is not seen that the papists arm themselves as the Lutherans do 2c. This I truly believe, that it is not seen; for I see it not, neither do many others, as little as I see the armor of the Lutherans. But how if thou be one that knowest and seest it, and wouldest persuade us, because we see it not, that it should not matter? Who would believe that ye are not armed, because ye have made war, and have determined as ye have heard? Or perhaps ye were armed long ago, and may not arm yourselves, and now smear our mouths with such words: We will not prepare now, for ye have done it long ago. For I cannot reckon how the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke George of Saxony could promise the emperor five thousand horses, when they were sitting so completely unarmed; for it is well known that they are not capable of so much.

33 So I also know well, what two years ago and up to now for practices are driven, now to Breslau, now to Dessau, now to Leipzig and more places ridden 2c. And what a murderous council was that held at Mainz, as is known; and many are still of the opinion today that the princely Rotterianism and alliance of two years ago was certainly true, and now say that, since it could not continue the same time, it has nevertheless tried the Emperor, and finally played out to the point that it has been concluded at Augsburg, and that the Emperor is now in favour of the alliance.

1) The so-called Pack Alliance; see No. 829ff. in this volume.

now get the emperor's name and come out under the emperor's mantle. But whoever wants to believe that, I know that now, after the Imperial Diet, the papists have taken great pains to prepare themselves secretly and to order horses, but they have not been able to find what they were looking for.

034 If then they are not equipped (which I will never believe), they will certainly be sorry that they cannot equip themselves. For there is no lack of good will, as is shown in the above-mentioned pieces. What then is your high fame but this, you shameful assassin, that you say that your bloodhounds are not seen to be arming themselves, but a great, thick, strong lie, which you know that they have been arming themselves for a long time, and in short want to make war where they can, and have completely cut off peace?

035 I will tell thee another thing. If thou sayest true, and dost not deny that thy bloodhounds are not arming themselves, and ours are arming themselves; if it be true (I say), then it must be a great and excellent grace of God upon our part, that they have hitherto been so long quiet and kept the peace, and have not long since smitten thy bloodhounds over the head. Because your bloodhounds first threw the knife, and sent the war to our peaceful part. So that one deserves (according to worldly law) to think who would come first and do the first stroke; But because they have been silent so long and are still silent, and you assassin also deny everything else that you say, I will truly believe that you also deny in this as an arch-villain, who also sees and grasps in our work differently than you speak, and must help our part to honor with your lies, that they are so pious and honest, that they are also abundantly peaceable and quiet, against their public, renounced enemies, and have long since not done the first stroke, which perhaps they would and should have done according to worldly law.

(36) Yes, that is what your bloodhounds would like, that our part should not only wait for the threatened and forbidden war of their enemies, but also keep quiet, and let themselves be murdered without any defense, like slaughter sheep. My dear assassins, if you are torn to pieces, the devil will lambaste you; I, as a preacher, shall suffer it, I know it well.

He that hath grace, let him also suffer it. But I do not want to assure the bloodhounds that all others will suffer, nor can I assure them of this. For if I publicly advised our people that they should all suffer, the bloodhounds would be strengthened by it; I do not want to do that; I do not want to make them worry and fear that their murder and warfare will not be resisted. If they wish to become knights of our blood, let them do it with care and diligence, as befits honest knights. If they wish to murder, they shall wait to see what they will encounter.

Thirty-seven: and what shall I speak of it now at length? I'll read thee, O noble assassin, the true text. I suppose that all these aforesaid things are lies, and that thy bloodhounds are living saints; what wilt thou say to this: The edict has gone forth, in which our doctrine is condemned, and it is forbidden and commanded to our people (not for rebellion's sake, as thou vile assassin denieth), in express words, that they shall lose life, limb, goods, and honour, if they leave not the damned doctrine. Thou hast read these things, thou wicked one, and art not ashamed in thine heart that thou hast reproached us? Where art thou now, thou lying fool? Tell me, who doth here sow war, murder, and woe? Are they the ones who are viciously condemned by public edict, and who want to take away their life, limb, property, and everything? or are they the ones who instigated and enforced such edicts? Thou hast seals and letters for this, that all the aforesaid murderous, treacherous pieces of thy bloodhounds may be convicted and convinced.

038 Tell me, art thou bold, where have the Lutherans sent forth a letter, that they might defend themselves (I will hold their peace, that they are seditious, or that they would begin to be seditious), as here thy bloodhounds, under the pious emperor's name, let forth a public edict, wherein they condemn our doctrine, and for the same cause threaten to take from them body, life, goods, and all? Now if you and all your bloodhounds had vile infernal jaws, which spit vile fire, and peeled us eternally rebellious, we set this edict before your noses, and show you your seal and letters, that you are murderous bloodhounds. And the edict is a mighty witness that the Lu

The pope and the papists cannot be rebellious, even if they would like to be. For they cannot begin; the papists have begun with this edict. If the Lutherans sin greatly in this, it must be their sin to resist out of necessity; they have begun, and the papists have begun before them.

Thirty-nine, dear, let us reckon what this edict can do. It condemns our doctrine, and threatens to take life, limb, property, and everything. Who can interpret or understand it otherwise than that with it the sword of the whole empire is awakened, sharpened, overthrown, and already drawn. The whole empire's guns are loaded and aimed. The whole realm's armor, men and horses, are armed and embittered, and admonished that everything should go over the Elector of Saxony and his followers, to murder, to burn, to rob life, limb, wife, child, land, people, property and honor, and to fill everything with blood and sorrow. This is the edict of their murderous purpose, there are seals and letters. This is still called peaceful action; and as Junker Meuchel lies, there is no armor on his bloodhounds, but the Lutherans must be called rebellious, and the emperor would like to attack them with the sword, not because of doctrine (as the edict clearly says), but because of the rebellion that Meuchel lies to us and maliciously fabricates.

040 Now the Lutherans sit still, and must be damned, and wait every hour for the fury and violence of all the kingdom, and yet are rebellious. Dear me, what more shall they do? I think that when the assassin writes again, he will not be satisfied that we sit still and suffer, and that they condemn us, renounce us, threaten and start war and murder, but will urge us further to take the sword of the kingdom ourselves and impale ourselves on it; otherwise he will not let us be innocent of rebellion. We shall not be called peaceable, for we lie stabbed before his eyes, and drowned in blood. Ay, saith he, but nothing is yet done in the matter. Of course, this is what I have said now, that we must be stabbed and drowned in blood before we can defend ourselves or rise up.

We are pious, and they are not murderous. But there are seals and letters, wills and opinions, words and intentions to do the deed, and there is a whole conatus. What the right say of this, I leave to the lawyers; my Theologia is called such saints: Cain, Saul, and Judas.

041 But they stay not at the edict and the decree, but take hold also of the deed, and execute such an edict. Where then, sayest thou? But knowest thou not? Nay. Knowest thou also a city called Halle in Saxony? There the bishop of Mainz acts quite kindly and peaceably against his pious subjects, and, they say, lets himself be heard publicly that the Elector of Brandenburg, Duke George, Duke Henry of Brunswick, are imperial executors of the edict. Devil, how great peace is there! Junker Meuchel shall call it not only a peaceful trade, but also a merry dance or paradise. And so the Papists would be quite pure, and the Lutherans quite rebellious overcome. Ah, that you desperate wicked! 2c. I would have cursed.

(42) Yea, with the subjects the rulers may deal 2c. It is true, but it is also true that the dog that eats the lappets will certainly eat the leather where he can get it. If they do this with their subjects, there is no doubt that they would do it in all the world, if only they could. As the Bishop of Mainz and the Elector of Brandenburg must prove, since they tried to attack the city of Magdeburg and wanted to execute the edict, because the city of Magdeburg did not like the peaceful trade of such peaceful people; therefore they are rightly to be scolded as seditious, where otherwise Squire Meuchel rightly says, whether they sit quietly, and do no harm to anyone, and allow themselves to be condemned, and suffer the bloodhound's rage and thunder. Now it is well known that Magdeburg is not the Elector's nor the Bishop's subject, as Halle is; nevertheless, they also wanted to eat the leather with great devotion, to act peacefully with the Lutherans.

43 I say for my right of court, I have read Muenzer's seditious books, but methinks this assassin's book is far over it. For he does it so rudely and foolishly, and does not apply any semblance of peace, that [it] does not almost move, but rather deters. But this wicked man is a cruel coiner, in that he praises peace, and yet under it he does things so vexatiously, as if he wanted to force the people and urge them to rebellion. For you yourself must reckon that he knows what was done at Augsburg against our people (as reported above); he knows that an edict has gone out in which peace is denied to the Lutherans and war and murder are forbidden; he knows that their part has already begun the deed; he knows and sees that the Lutherans are sitting quietly, suffering and waiting for all their rages, and yet he praises his bloodhounds as peaceful and scolds the Lutherans as rebellious.

44. If it were not for the great mercy of God upon us, it would be impossible for our nature to bear such unpleasant wickedness, that we should not only be condemned to hear of war and murder from our enemies, who have renounced us, and should leave our life, limb, goods, wife, children, land, and people to be driven about every hour, and know that they intend all this in earnest, and have already begun the deed honestly, and in addition still sit quietly and suffer, but shall also bear the shame that we are rebellious in all this, and they, the perpetrators, have the honor that they are peaceful and act peaceably. It would be (by God!), no wonder that out of this would come a clamor, since not a hair nor a skin would remain of the papists. What is the point of such high, excessive, unpleasant attempts?

(45) Yes, the Lutherans want to be Christians, therefore they should suffer and not defend themselves (2c). True; but the papists want to be even better Christians, and condemn the Lutherans; therefore they should also murder much less and shed blood against God and right. But if they can remain holy Christians, and yet, as traitors and evil-doers, innocently shed blood, murder, burn, and torment pious people without cause, then the Lutherans can much more remain good Christians, and yet defend themselves a little against such bloodhounds and ravagers. Although the Lutherans do not yet do so. For if they would defend themselves, and would not much rather have peace

1716 Erl. (2.) 25, 125-127. sect. 11. the other imperial decree. No. 1158. W. XVI,2081-2084. 1717
the Elector of Saxony, together with his followers, should now protect and save those in Halle, since the Lutherans are now being severely attacked. For just as the bloodhounds boast that they have united at Augsburg, and have put together land, people, blood, and goods, whoever attacks one should have attacked them all, so ours should also say: Those at Halle are Lutheran, and are now being attacked, therefore the Elector of Saxony, together with all his relatives, and all Lutherans are also being attacked. If one is to apply, then the other must also apply. Now my Lutherans do not do this, they sit quietly, let themselves be tortured and plagued by their bloodhounds, after all their courage, and Junker Meuchel, the noble scribe, scolds them rebelliously to me.

046 But if thou sayest that thine opinion is, where the Lutherans rise up in rebellion, and would take from the people their own, then the emperor ought to attack them with the sword. Dear Hans Worst, who knows not this? There is great art here; I have written better of it than you and all the papists will ever learn or write, and you learned it from me-before you would not have known how to advise anyone. But thou wicked one knowest that the Lutherans, when they arm themselves against you murderers, may not be rebellious; nor can they rise up against you; for you murderers have begun, and have both attacked with edict and sword. Now what they do against you I will neither praise nor reproach; but you shall not interpret it to me as a rebellion, but let it be and be called only a rebellion against murderers and evil-doers, and you shall have no thanks. What is it now said, thou dear lululemon: where the Lutherans are indignant 2c. Yea, they have reproached themselves in their prudence! It is just as if I said, If the ass had wings, it would fly; if the Lutherans were cranes, they would fly in the air.

047 Thou must not teach us to be obedient to Caesar, and to punish the rebellious. But here you should prove your art, and convince the Lutherans that they are rebellious. There lies the knot. If you do that, I will take you for a man; but here you are silent and

you run about, meanwhile you spout much, and click the paper with unnecessary words, how one should punish the rebels, as if you had just come down from heaven with such a new art. If you nevertheless call us rebels, and cannot make it true nor prove it, do you know what such fellows are called in German lands? They are called desperate boys, traitors, and dishonorable villains, who take away the honor of pious, innocent people with their poisonous mouths, and want to deprive them of life and limb; that is your right name, you be who you will.

048 And, lo, the scripture shall not fail me, neither shall it lie; which sheweth that the world is fine, either Cain, or the children of Habel, either the children of the devil, or the children of God. What is Cain and the devil's, there must be a murderer and a bloodhound in it; what is Habel, there must be a pious, peaceful heart in it. Now it is easy to tell from the fruit which is Cain or which isabel in this case. The papists did not want to observe peace, but decided on the Diet with anger and wrath, then instigated the murder with the edict, and began the deed. My assassin himself must not deny this. Again, the Lutherans have asked and still ask for peace without ceasing, and have suffered all ridicule, scorn, disgrace, defiance, and pride because of it, and still sit quietly and tolerate their raging.

49 Since it is now clear that the papists themselves confess, by words and deeds, that they are our enemies and against us, Doctor Martini's true judgment, founded in Scripture and proven by those fruits, is that the papists must certainly have in mind, day and night, striving, lurking, practicing, how to destroy and exterminate us. Every man may be sure of this, and of no better than they. And there is no doubt that what they do about it, friendly or peaceful, must be a treacherous thing, and Judas' kiss; or they must do it out of worry and fear, that they are not yet able to do what they would like to do. This is the sentence I have given to our people and to all the world, and whoever wishes to do so must be judged by it. I know that I do not lie, unless the Scripture is false. Therefore this assassin is a two-faced wicked man...

1718 Erl. (2.) 25, 127f. cap. 13. of the Imperial Diet at Augsburg 1530. w. LVI, 2084-2087. 1719
Who knoweth all these things well in his heart, and yet setteth his bloodhounds before us as the pious and peaceable, with whom there shall be more fruits of faith than with us.

(50) This I will have said this time in defense of my books against this assassin, and confess that he has me as an evil-doer. But I had to hurry to the Leipzig market; but soon after I will comb his fine tender book further. For there is still much good papist virtue in it, and ask nothing of it, that he complains: there are almost all evil words and devils named in it; that shall be my glory and honor, and I want it to be so, that it shall be said of me henceforth, how I am full of evil words, scolding and cursing about the papists. For more than ten years I have often humbled myself and given the very best words, so that I have made them the longer the angrier, and the peasants have only become the more puffed up by their pleading. But now, because they have decided to do no good, no evil, but only evil, so that there is no hope, I will also curse and smash myself to pieces with the evil worshippers, right into my pit, and they will no longer hear a good word from me. I will ring to their graves with my thunder and lightning.

011 For I cannot pray, but must curse. If I should say, Hallowed be thy name, I must say, Cursed, damned, profaned be the name of the Papists, and of all them that blaspheme thy name. If I should say, Thy kingdom come, I must say, Cursed, damned, and destroyed be the papacy, and all the kingdoms of the earth that are contrary to thy kingdom. If I should say, Thy will be done, I must say, Cursed, damned, defiled, and destroyed be all the thoughts and designs of the papists, and of all that strive against thy will and counsel. Truly I pray verbally every day, and with my heart without ceasing, and with me all who believe in Christ, and I feel that it will be heard. For one must see God's miracles, how he destroys this terrible imperial diet and the immeasurable raging of the papists, and also how he thoroughly destroys them.

...will make it impossible for me to live. Nevertheless, I keep a good, kind, peaceful and Christian heart towards everyone; even my greatest enemies know this.

52 Therefore I now close this booklet, that in my warning I have not incited to rebellion, as this assassin lies, no one will prove it from it; but I have wanted to deter the papists and everyone, so that they would not obey the murderous edict; and I have also not wanted to advise ours to fight back. In this way I have tried to keep and advise peace on both sides. Where the papists were not deterred, and some did not want to resist them, in such a case, because I could not keep a part, I tied a shillelagh to the neck of the murderers, and to the other, innocent part, the bloodhounds to suffer and be condemned, to the bloodhounds' grief and annoyance, that the papists should not be able to boast (as they would like to do) as if they punished or murdered rebels, and that these should not have to consider their opposition disobedience or rebellion. Such my opinion my books show clearly, that I truly know. God help the truth, amen.

1159 Report (of a papist) what was done for the good of the Christian faith at the Diet of Augsburg Anno 1530.

The first Latin edition of this papist report, which was furnished with the imperial privilegium, is printed in Cyprian's Beilagen zur Historie der Augsburgischen Confession, p. 87; German in Hortleder, "Von den Ursachen des deutschen Kriegs," vol. I, lib. I, oup. 9, p. 60. Against this "report" is written Document No. 959, which is taken from the work shown in the next number.

With peculiar imperial freedom. Maj. liberty.

Summa and Contents Imperial. Majesty Freedom.

Carl von GOttes Gnaden der Fünfte, Roman Emperor, all times Mehrer des Reichs.

What has been done for the good of the Christian faith in this city of ours and of the Holy Roman Empire shall not be printed, or, if printed elsewhere, sold, to our and the Holy Empire's dear and faithful Levino Paganatho or to anyone else throughout the Roman Empire.

...shall be granted. And if any man shall act contrary thereto, he shall be hereby declared and fined twenty marks in gold. Given in the above-named city of Augsburg, of ours and of the Holy Roman Empire, the 6th of November in the year 1530, of our Empire the eleventh.

Carolus.

A. Valdesius.

(1) In order that the Emperor might unite the many disputed religions in the Empire of the German Nation, keep the steadfast in the right faith, confirm the wavering, and (where possible) raise up the fallen, he appointed a general Diet of all the estates in Augsburg, after Welschland had been brought to peace. When he heard that nearly all the princes and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire were coming, and that the Lutherans had been defeated, he ordered a general assembly to be held at Augsburg. When he heard that almost all the princes and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire were coming, and that the Lutheran preachers, who were everywhere openly teaching their doctrine, had been brought by their princes, and that many of the marks and secrets of our religion had been abolished in the city, he celebrated this much less to begin on Green Thursday 1) there, so that he might solemnly celebrate, even against the will of the heretics, the services held by our forefathers, which had long been omitted in the city. The estates of the Holy Roman Empire, however, when they heard that the Emperor was arriving, marched to meet him with the Augsburg Council in great splendor; and when they escorted him into the city, and the Elector of Saxony, according to custom, presented a mere sword of the Imperial Majesty to the Emperor, the Emperor was presented with a sword of the Holy Roman Empire. Majest. the bishop and chapter of the city received him and led him into the church of the cathedral, where he received the blessing of the pope's envoy, Cardinal Campegio, who had come with him and had been present at all the religious acts that followed at the same imperial diet, received the blessing, after which he departed to his palace, and had the princes announce that he would immediately on the following day have the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ (inasmuch as it had come to him from his ancestors) led through the city. When on the same day the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the other Electors and Princes of the Empire came to the Emperor, with the exception of Elector John of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Ernst of Lüneburg, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Prince Wolf of Anhalt, and other adherents of the Lutheran doctrine, the body of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was brought to the Emperor.

1) This is wrong. It was the Thursday after Trinity, the day of Corpus Christi. The day before the emperor arrived.

with ordinary ceremonies and all deference.

(2) Thereafter, by the Emperor's command, in spite of the Lutherans' objections, it was publicly proclaimed and enjoined that no one should preach in the city without the Emperor's indulgence. Majesty should preach in the city. And before he began the imperial action, the Emperor, together with the princes, princes and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, ordered himself to the main church to celebrate the mass which Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, Cardinal and Elector of the Holy Roman Church, had celebrated. Church Cardinal and Elector, held by the Holy Spirit with ordinary ceremonies, and the prayer which Pimpinellus, Archbishop of Rosan, publicly and gracefully heard, and after the same had recited to the Imperial Estates by Count Palatine Frederick of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria:

(3) He would therefore have gone from his Hispanic considerable hereditary kingdoms, and from his wife and young reign, first to Welschland, and afterwards to Germany, that he might receive the crown of the empire there, but here set the German minds, which had been seduced and made restless by new errors, in unity and tranquillity. Since all things had been happily accomplished in the French, after the bestowal of divine grace, he admonished the estates that in Germany, too, each in his own place would help to further his Christian and praiseworthy intentions for the benefit of the common fatherland.

(4) Thereupon the Lutheran princes named above, and with them two cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen, for four days presented a document in Latin and German to the emperor, with the condition that it be read publicly in the imperial council, in the opinion that it would win applause. When the Emperor noticed this, he did not want to grant their request. However, in order that men might see how graciously and kindly he dealt with them, he permitted the following day, not that, according to their request, the same document might be read out in the council chamber, but rather in the imperial court; to the extent that, in the presence and presence of the emperor, king of Hungary, and the estates of the empire, this was done and, after the reading, the same document was handed over.

005 But because they wished to maintain their sectarian doctrine and opinion with many causes, and because some things agreed with the Gospel and the Holy Scriptures, but most of them were flatly contrary to them, the emperor, upon counsel taken beforehand with the papal authority, has given them the right to be heard.

The Emperor has ordered the Catholic, honorable, and highly learned men of the Holy Scriptures of various nations, envoys and princes of the empire, to let pass that which they would consider good in the confession handed over, but to refute the other. This rebuttal, after it had been approved by the authorities, the papal envoy and the princes of the empire, was read out by the emperor to the estates of the empire, and among them to the Lutheran princes themselves, at the very place where their confession or confession had been read out. And although the Lutheran princes most earnestly requested and desired a copy of the refutation, the Emperor, in order that what had once been adopted by Christian synods and held immovable by the dear ancients might not be drawn into doubt or dispute, by no means let it be communicated to them.

(6) But the Electors and the other Catholic princes of the empire, when they heard how the emperor expressly exhorted the Lutheran princes to desist from their false delusions and errors, and to return to the common Christian church; or, if they did not wish to do so, he could not avoid doing that which his imperial office and conscience would require in order to control this evil. On the other hand, as they, the Lutherans, did not mean to deviate from their opinion, to which they had once surrendered, they, as peace-lovers, petitioned the Emperor that they should cultivate negotiations and try to see if by some means the dissension could be brought to an equal understanding. And for this purpose the Archbishop of Mainz, Elector, the Bishop of Strasbourg, Duke George of Saxony, Duke Henry of Brunswick, and Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg, as well as George Truchsess, the Archduke of Austria, and several other imperial princes' delegates, have been ordered by common consent. When they gathered together in one place with the Lutheran princes, Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, a brave protector of the Christian religion, made a long speech on this opinion in the name of the Catholic estates:

(7) They were well aware of how anxious they were that the Emperor should grant them an amicable negotiation with the Lutheran princes, 1) and where possible to settle the matter; for this reason he reminded them, the Lutheran princes, that they should consider how clear and open the matter is.

1) With Walch: entertainment.

I have the honor to dispute with the Gospel and apostolic writings the doctrines they have recently accepted; likewise, what a loss of many souls, shedding of Christian blood, and misery would result throughout Germany if they did not obey the imperial commandments and in part prevented what should be decided and decreed for the good of Christendom and especially the common fatherland of the German nation on this day. I further request that they allow themselves to be softened by the pleas of many relatives and blood relatives, as well as brothers-in-law and friends, to renounce their false hopes, and not to be found separated from the common church any longer. For if some abuses had crept into common Christianity, the emperor would now have come to Germany to abolish them with the help and advice of the pope and to establish peace and unity in the empire.

(8) To this the Lutheran princes, after asking for time to consider, answered in writing and at length after several days: because they knew that the confession or creed, which they had recently delivered, was in agreement with the Gospel and apostolic writings, that they could therefore neither yield to the Emperor's refutation, nor renounce their doctrine and opinion with an unimpaired conscience. And when many things had been further argued and acted upon by both parties, and the Lutherans complained that they had not been sufficiently heard, nor that a common Christian council had been appointed after the Diet of Speier, the Catholics answered: It would have been their duty to obey the Edict of Worms (as is only right), and not to draw into doubt and dispute so many articles of faith, which, according to the common counsel of so many holy, God-fearing people, would have been accepted and popular, and sealed with the blood of so many martyrs, in a manner that is quite unpleasant and forbidden by corporal punishment, and to make use of their consciences. As if it were not sufficiently known and evident what kind of consciences they had, and how wantonly they separated themselves from the Catholic Church, made new laws of their own, which had nothing to do with the apostolic ones, took in and nurtured new sect masters, and were ever too at odds with themselves in doctrine, now for Lutherans, soon for Anabaptists, then for sacrament violators and iconoclasts, and what more such abominable sects might be called. Yes, if they would look at their teachers' lives and customs a little better, they would undoubtedly easily

themselves, how beautiful, praiseworthy, and fine it would be for them to trust such people with their honor, goods, bodies, and souls, and to give more credence to them than to so many councils of the common Christian church, so many writings and judgments of the orthodox church fathers, and finally to the emperor himself, whose irreproachable customs should move them to a different course, as well as to so many princes related by blood and otherwise. Indeed, if they were to see the fruit of this new doctrine, namely, tumult, rebellion, strife, and contention, and more such harm and inconvenience, they would be able to discern more clearly than the bright sun the spirit from which such a doctrine came. But as far as a Christian concilium was concerned, although it was known to everyone what their teachers thought of concilia, how rashly they contradicted them, and how they weakened and despised the prestige and power of the conciliorum: the emperor, as he is most concerned about the welfare and peace of the German nation, would always see to it that a common concilium, which has been prevented by war until now, is scheduled, if they meanwhile abandon their errors, undertake something new, remain in the old state until a synod's decision, and would rather adhere to the emperor and the common Christian church than to their "seductive" teachers.

(9) By which Christian remembrance, when the Lutherans found themselves moved, they asked time to answer, and thereupon said that they were not a little offended by such sharp remonstrance. To which the Catholics replied that what had been brought forward in their name had not been done to offend them in any way, or to say anything against them, but only to seek agreement with them. But after several days, the Lutheran princes, together with the two cities mentioned above and four others that had come to them in the meantime, made a written statement in response to what had recently been held against them, rejected and repudiated everything, and thus revealed their obstinacy much more clearly than before.

(10) Because little was accomplished by this negotiation, the subcontractors thought it best to attack the work in other ways, and to select some experienced and learned people to hold a discussion with the Lutherans and try to find a way to unity. To this end, with the consent of the Emperor, who wished to see quarrels and strife reduced, the following were immediately appointed: the Bishop of Augsburg, Duke Heinrich
of Brunswick, likewise D. Eck, Cochläus, and Wimpina, scholars of the Holy Scriptures; and of jurists, the Chancellors of Cologne and Baden. But when these seven Catholics had long argued with seven Lutherans, and had reached agreement in many articles, the Lutherans did not want to deviate from the content and opinion of the following articles:

1) That in confession it is not necessary to recount all sins.

2) That the satisfaction for sin, for the remission of the punishment of sin, is not meritorious.

3) That the vows and doctrines concerning the choice of meals and days are quite useless and contrary to the gospel.

4) That no works of men, be they ever so good as they will, can be ascribed any merit.

5) That the invocation of the saints is quite dangerous.

6) That the blessed bread shall not be carried about through the streets.

7) That those hardly sin who go to the table of the Lord in one form only.

8) That laymen who ask for only one form should not be given it.

9) That one may bless bread and wine otherwise than at Mass.

10) That the priests, monks, and nuns are not forbidden to be free.

11) That private masses may not be held according to the old custom and institution of the Roman Church.

12) That the masses for the living and the dead are of no avail.

13) That the 40-day fast and other fasts set by the Church should not be kept.

(11) Of these and other such errors, of which Luther's and the Lutheran books are full, they have not been able to be led away with any harmless discussion, although they have admitted many things, the contradiction of which they have taught before, and have proved so fickle that what they yielded today, they revoked tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow again approved and considered acceptable.

(12) For this reason, since the desired unity is so unlikely to be achieved by this means, it was considered advisable to make such a parting of the ways, lest they should leave each other without having achieved anything:

(13) That they stand firm on the points on which they have agreed this time. The others should all be postponed until a future Conciliar decision, and the Lutherans should be

The monks are to be faithful and obedient to the Holy Roman and Catholic Church; they are to keep silent about the incompatible articles, nor are they to disclose or teach anything about them. The monks who are still in their monasteries are to use their statutes and ceremonies freely and without hindrance. The abandoned monasteries, convents, and other ecclesiastical properties, however, which have been confiscated by the Lutheran princes and estates, are to be administered by faithful people whom the emperor will appoint for this purpose, until a common synod decides to give an account of this. The poor and the monks who have been expelled from their monasteries are to receive their sustenance from their estates, but the Lutheran princes are not to object to this. The common and special masses should be held with ordinary ceremonies and festivities. If, however, any of these ceremonies and festivities were to be considered controversial, they were to be postponed to a future synod. In addition, the Lutherans were to remain quiet and calm, not to spread or undertake anything new, and in other common Christian affairs, and especially in the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire, as befits noble princes, they were to render obedience and assistance to the Emperor.

014 Which decree, though it did not seem to be unpleasant to the Lutherans for many reasons, yet because the Lutheran princes and many cities had robbed many churches, and taken property from many monasteries and convents, which they should have restored according to this council, which seemed very hard to them, they could by no means be persuaded to accept it.

(15) Thereupon the emperor, so that he would not omit anything that would only serve and be profitable to gain the obstinacy of the people, summoned the Lutheran princes especially to him, and admonished them to turn back with so much kind and gracious waiting that iron, not to mention fleshly hearts, might have been softened by it. At first, however, they surrendered themselves completely to the emperor for all submissiveness and obedience in all things, as much as could, should, or would always be done with an uninjured conscience; but when it was requested of them in a more actual and explicit manner that what they had done new in Christian doctrine should be restored to the previous and old status until the future Council's decision, they only gave to understand that they wanted to adhere to the Speierian imperial decree, in the part that had been set.
was that each one should live in such a way that he could give an account to God the Almighty, and to the Concilio, of his actions and omissions, until a future Concilium.

(16) As far as the rest was concerned, however, they had already decided to remain with the appeal, which they had objected to at the Diet of Speier. And even though they had been circumstantially reproached for being so unstable, and now wanted to adhere to the Speierian imperial decree, now to the appeal, against which they objected, that even such appeals and appeals in matters of faith would not take place, still nothing was accomplished with them, because the longer, the more stubbornly they sought out their consciences, evangelia, souls, appeals and appeals, and threw them in the way. Therefore, all hope for unity, which the Lutheran princes themselves, and their most distinguished teachers, had publicly and secretly offered to the emperor, and to the envoy, both with words and with writings, three months after each other, has completely disappeared.

(17) When the emperor saw that the Lutherans were becoming more and more obstinate, and that no kindness would be shown them, because they cared so little for the reputation of the forefathers, the gospel, and the holy Scriptures, he issued another decree on Sept. 22, saying that his imperial majesty had set up a Diet at Augsburg, so that, with the advice of all the estates of the empire, Christianity and the German nation before it, things might be put right and the disputes that had arisen over religion might be settled. Majesty had therefore set a Diet in Augsburg, so that with the mature counsel of all the estates of the empire of Christendom and before the German nation, things might be put right, and the disputes that had arisen over religion might be resolved. In order that he might accomplish this more effectively, he would have listened to the Lutheran confession, and what he found contrary to Christian truth therein would have been refuted by the Holy Scriptures, and he would have given him the unquestionable thought that, since the truth would be laid before their eyes more clearly than the bright sun, and his Imperial Majesty, as well as the others, would be able to see the truth, he would have been able to see it more clearly than the bright sun. Majesty, and also the minds of the other princes and rulers, they would put aside the erroneous opinions of their sect. But since they have discarded some, but have retained most of those in which they are at odds with the Roman Church, and His Imperial Majesty has decided not to subordinate anything to the Roman Church, they have decided not to subordinate anything to the Roman Church. He wanted to appoint them a period of reflection until April 15 of the next year, during which they were to declare with seals and letters whether they wished to keep to the Roman Catholic Church in the uncompromised articles, until a future Conciliar decision,

or not? They should take care and ensure that no new religious trafficking takes place or is sold in their territories, and that peace and unanimity prevail among all the princes, rulers, and cities of the Holy Roman Empire. In this way, they should not attract foreign subjects to themselves, or lure them to their sect and faith. And if any of their own subjects, whether of ecclesiastical or secular rank, should wish to retain the old faith and ceremonies, or to rejoin them, they should not hinder them in any way, but allow them to use their church customs and ceremonies without hindrance, and should not cause them any trouble on that account. In order to abolish and completely eradicate the Anabaptist and sacramental desecration sects, they should assist the Emperor, the Catholic Princes, Princes, and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire with counsel and action, as the Catholic Princes have already promised the Emperor. However, as far as a common council is concerned, which has been so much and often desired by all the estates of the empire, both Catholic and Lutheran, and which has so far been prevented by the force of war, the emperor will make a provision to the pope, as well as to the other kings and princes of Christendom, that within six months after the end of this imperial council, a common Christian meeting will be scheduled, and within one year after the schedule has been set, it will be held. I have no doubt that through this meeting, by the grace of the Lord Christ, who will undoubtedly be with those gathered in his name, all controversial religious matters will be settled, and dear Christianity will be helped to a lasting, eternal peace.

(18) When the Lutherans were heard, there was so much lack of their thanking the emperor for such a gracious decree, that they even much more refused to accept it altogether, arguing that their doctrine was so founded in the holy Scriptures, that they could neither renounce it in some ways, nor, with their consciences intact, keep others from it, nor rather promote it. And what therefore was taught and acted by them would not have flowed from them as well as from God Himself. They could have easily refuted the imperial refutation of their confession with testimonies from the Gospel and the apostolic writings, as they had already begun, if they had been given a copy of it.

19th Whereupon the Elector of Brandenburg in the

In the name of the emperor, the Lutheran princes and cities have addressed this opinion:

20. The imperial majesty cannot be sufficiently surprised that they may publicly pretend that they are so founded in their futile delusion that they cannot be mistaken at all, and what has been done by them up to now would rather be of God's command than of their own discretion, because everyone can see that their preachers have not brought anything new into the world, but have, as it were, resurrected from hell and from the dead what was condemned and buried many years ago by the holy fathers. And if the emperor had nowhere read in the Gospel, of which they boasted everywhere, that it was permitted to take other people's goods, and to keep by force what had once been taken, contrary to the will of the rightful lords, and if one were asked at some time or other to restore the stolen goods, then to say that one could not restore them with a good conscience. The emperor was also surprised at the boldness with which they could proclaim the orthodox doctrine to which the emperor and the other imperial estates adhered to be false, as if it were not a great sacrilege to believe that so many pious Christian emperors, so many princes and rulers, in so many hundreds of years, had erred, and had not rightly understood the doctrine which they professed. Since this is not at all like the truth, the emperor can neither put up with their presumption, nor approve and endorse their doings and actions. If they now understand and accept yesterday's decree (which the Emperor again earnestly admonished them to accept), they will undoubtedly recognize that it is meant for their good and to preserve peace and unity in Germany. If, however, they did not want to accept it, they should consider for themselves how much misfortune they would thereby cause and bring about, and not at all hope that anything would be changed in it, because nothing more could be yielded to them without violation of all respectability and godliness; otherwise, however, since they would obediently submit themselves to the treaty, they should have a gracious emperor in all their affairs. And they would have done wisely by not bringing forward the answer to the imperial refutation of their confession, and by sparing themselves with vain toil and labor, since they did not want to allow that one should dispute articles of faith without her Majesty's knowledge. But that Imperial Majesty's refutation had not been communicated to them in copy, they would never want to-

to anyone but themselves, because they would not have wanted to accept the condition that was proposed next to it.

21. when this in the name of kaiserl. Majest. Prince Joachim of Brandenburg, he added this in his name and in the name of all the imperial estates: they, the princes and cities, were themselves well aware of how diligently the Catholic princes themselves had acted with them at first, and then their representatives for discussion and dialogue, so that these disputes and disagreements might be resolved and the beloved fatherland might be brought to good trust. But what they had done with it was not known to them. For this reason, he again asked them to accept the imperial treaty and to consider how much damage would result to the common Christianity and to Germany before it if they did not allow themselves to be moved to do so by any plea. If, however, they would allow such a request to be made, the other states would be willing and inclined to accept the same with all servitude. If not, they should know that the other princes, rulers, and estates of the empire have already resolved to support their emperor with all loyalty and allegiance, and to shed not only their goods, but also their blood beside him: even so, the emperor would not only have surrendered all his kingdoms and dominions, but also his body, blood, and soul for the Christian religion, and its and their teachers and confessors, to God the Lord. Even if he had not wanted to leave the soil of the empire before, he would have seen these things brought into a better state and order.

022 To which the Lutherans answered again with more truth: they were sure that their opinion was not based on evil grounds, but on the holy Scriptures; they also trusted them to prove it before the last judgment. And they wondered not a little how they might be reproached for having stolen other people's goods and still withholding them from them, since they had never taken from anyone what was theirs, and since they wanted to suffer the future Council and the Emperor's Majesty's judgment, since they had confiscated some monasteries and their goods, whether they had done right or wrong in them, and whether they were obliged to restore them or not. But since they could not in good conscience accept the emperor's leave, they requested that the matter be postponed until April 15. Thereafter they turned to the princes, princes, and other estates of the empire, and for this reason appealed to them sharply, that they alone should wait for the Emperor's
and wanted to be regarded as the obedient ones, since they, the Lutherans, are no less willing to recognize the imperial majesty as their supreme head and lord and to obey him as faithful subjects. Majesty for their supreme head and lord, and to obey him as pious and faithful subjects.

23 To which the Elector of Brandenburg again replied: the Emperor does not wish to enter into any dispute or quarrel with them about their answer, because he is sufficiently aware that their new doctrine has long since been condemned by the Conciliorum judgment and council, and has been expelled from the Christian Church as contrary to the Protestant and Apostolic Scriptures. But since they wanted to accept the imperial decree, in which nothing could be changed, the imperial majesty and the other states wanted to change it. Majesty and the other estates would do again what they ought to do by right and equity. But if not, then not only would the Emperor have to negotiate with the princes, princes, and other imperial estates another agreement and decree, so that the Christian religion could be protected and managed, and the rebellious teachings could be purged from the empire, but also the Pope, kings, princes, and authorities of Christendom would have to be informed of these things, and the diligence would have to be applied that would be required of a Roman Emperor as protector of the faith, and of Catholic princes in this case. And it would be well known that the pope and the other kings, princes, and authorities of Christendom do not abandon the emperor and the electors, nor the princes and estates of the empire, but rather resolve to assist them with help, counsel, and action. And since it was forbidden in all ecclesiastical and secular laws to deprive another of his own, just as only too many ecclesiastics complained and pleaded with the Emperor that they had done so in their territories, and provided in law that the deprived should above all be restored to his own: The Emperor again earnestly admonished them that they should restore to their rightful lords the monasteries, churches and convents or orders, estates, dominions, lands and fiefs which they had taken contrary to law and equity, and that they should restore to their monasteries and estates the ecclesiastical men and women who had been expelled, so that the Emperor would not be compelled to do otherwise. But the fact that the Catholic estates came to the Emperor was for no other reason than that they might, with common counsel, better protect the Christian religion brought to them by their forefathers and, first of all, that God the Almighty might take care of the matter.

And hereafter do the emperor, their lord and head, due honor and service. And from this and other movements or councils they would have come to such a composition. But how supposedly innocent the opposite would be, and how they would have given the emperor and the estates of the empire more than too much cause to complain, could easily be judged by those who remembered which part broke the imperial edict of Worms and led to the shameful uprising of the common rabble, and had seen that in his lands and dominions the honor and dignity of the emperor, then of the Hungarian and Bohemian king, and soon of the princes, princes and all the estates of the empire had been publicly attacked from time to time with defamatory writings and with impunity. Also, the Emperor's own honor, welfare, and goodness would have been compromised, and those who are now in place would have deviated from the Worms Decree once accepted by the Emperor, and with their own approval and consent. Thus they should indicate by what right or equity they thought they had the right to revoke what they had once affirmed with their seal. If they would now do the same, and consider what is more suggested, they could easily become aware of how pure and innocent they are. For there are many other reasons why they should have incurred the hatred and disfavor of the people through their own guilt, and for the sake of this beloved brevity he must remain silent.

(24) To which the Lutherans thus said: they had listened with due reverence to what had been brought to them in the name of 1) Imperial Majesty and the Imperial Estates. Majesty and the imperial estates to them. And although their necessity required that they answer to every point in particular, they must nevertheless, for the sake of brevity of time, only touch upon this, that they hoped in all desperation that they would be given and granted a copy of the adopted treaty of confession and time to confer with one another. But because they saw that the Emperor did not consent to this, nor was it due to them to give their Imperial Majesty measure and order in this matter. They wish that Her Imperial Majesty and all the estates of the Empire will certainly consider that they do not want to refuse to accept the parting, if they can always do so with a good conscience. And herewith ask again what they asked before through Georg Truchsessen and the Chancellor of Baden, namely, that they be granted the farewell made.

1) Walch: an; immediately following "in" instead of "an".

They wish to be granted half a period of reflection until April 15, on which day they wish to declare with letter and seal what they intend to do, and ask the Imperial Majesty not to be moved to any disgrace against them. Majesty that they would not allow themselves to be moved to any disgrace against them, and that they would thereby most humbly command themselves to God and to their Imperial Majesty, as their most gracious Lord.

(25) Next, they repeated their previous complaint that the other princes had departed from them and gone to the emperor, because they had never given her any cause for complaint, nor (when they had been blamed) had they aroused the revolt of the common rabble. Yes, it is so far away that the Elector of Saxony is the founder of the same rebellion, that he also resisted it splendidly, yes, contested it much more bravely than others, which the Acta of the Diet of Speier would easily prove, if one were to look at them. For this reason, they ask the Emperor and the other estates to refrain from disgraceful and unpleasant decisions against them, nor to give credence to such a request.

(26) To this the Elector of Brandenburg said: the Emperor had heard what they had brought forward, and had completely agreed not to depart from the agreement once made, nor to allow them the requested time for reflection, because in matters of faith no delay is to be allowed for deliberation and debate. Thus the other estates also wanted to persist in the opinion they had presented to them, as befits catholic people, and they do not accept the apology they have presented, because their grievances are only known to men, 2) than that they could be disguised with some pretended appearance.

(27) To this the Lutherans replied that they likewise wished to leave it at their opinion, and to entrust the matter to the Almighty, to whom alone it concerned, imperial majesty, most humbly requesting that they remain their most gracious emperor. Majesty, asking most humbly that they be and remain your most gracious emperor and lord.

(28) But the Elector of Brandenburg answered that it would be sufficient to show how the Emperor, together with the Catholic Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, would unanimously persevere in the Catholic parting. Therefore, several words would be unnecessary.

029 After which the Lutherans all departed, and the same day the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Lüneburg departed from Augsburg.

030 Now that, in the present measure, the Lutherans are thus acted upon, the four cities of the kingdom, Costnitz, Strasbourg, and the Holy Roman Empire, hand over the Lutherans.

2) With Walch: become.

bürg, Memmingen and Lindau, a strange confession or writing, not only with Lutheran, but also with many other errors against the most holy mystery of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and other points of the Christian faith, so often that it was also not worthy of any answer.

1160 Beginning of the work written by D. Gregorius Brück, to correct the very deficient and often untrue papist report (No. 1159), under the title: "Handlung der Religionssache zu Augsburg."

This work is usually cited as "Brück's History of the Augsburg Diet". The manuscript of the same is in the Weimar Archives, 8,6^. toi. Müller, "Historie der Protestation," 2c., brings from it many of the principal pieces, some of which have been included in this volume. Walch has had this "beginning" printed from Cyprian's Beilagen zur Historie der Augsburgischen Confession, p. 103, because it is clear from it what is to be thought of the preceding "report."

1. after the most illustrious, highborn princes, noble and wellborn counts, Mr. Johann, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen; Mr. Georg, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, Pomerania, the Cassuben and Wenden 2c. Duke, Burgrave of Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen, on Oderburg; Messrs. Ernst and Franciscus, brothers, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg; Mr. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, on Dietz, Ziegenhain and Nidda; Lord Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascanien and Lord of Berneburg, and Lord Gebhard and Lord Albrecht, brothers, Counts and Lords of Mansfeld; also the honorable free and imperial cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Costnitz, Ulm, Magdeburg, Bremen, Reitlingen, Heilbrunn, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Jsni, Biberach, Winsheim and Weißenburg am Nordgau 2c., shortly crazy days come into believing experience, how a booklet should have gone out in print in Latin, under this title or inscription: "For the Christian religion passed acts, at the Diet of Augsburg, after the birth of the Lord, a thousand five hundred and thirty." After this, several of these books came to the attention of their electors and princes. They have seen and read their unanimous contents.

002 And howbeit a writing, in the shape of an alleged privilege, charging that the

The same shall not be reprinted by others in a named year, with avoidance of a heavy penalty: "Of the most majestic, grand and invincible prince and lord, Lord Carl the Fifth, Roman Emperor 2c., our most gracious lord" 2c., so that the poet of the same booklet, together with the printer, may appear to make people believe that Her Imperial Majesty had foreknowledge of the contents of the same booklet, and that it is Her Majesty's gracious favor and will to do so. Majesty had knowledge of the contents of this booklet, and that it was her Majesty's gracious permission and will to publish the Augsburg action in question, as far as religion is concerned, in the manner in which the poet has written it, then her electoral and princely sovereigns and the imperial cities can nevertheless make it appear that the poet has not been aware of the contents of this booklet. and the imperial cities, mentioned above, cannot take it for them, nor do they know how to believe that such a supposed description of the acts that took place of such an opinion, as the aforementioned poet indicated in the booklet with too much mild, also too little report and expressed insensitivity, also concealed truth, 1) with imperial majesty as a most virtuous, most powerful emperor [approval], 2) should have happened or come about.

(3) Their sovereigns and princes also know that their majesty is too virtuous. and the cities, out of subservience to their Majesty, as their Lord and Emperor, are too virtuous that their Majesty's mind should be, beforehand, out of God's Word, on their Electoral and Princely Graces and the cities, as their Majesty's most subservient Electors, Princes and Estates. and the cities, as her Majesty's most subservient Electors, Princes, and Estates, in such a manner as has been done with this printed booklet by too few and also too many mild reports within and outside the Empire of the German Nation, and especially because males, who were at the next Imperial Diet in Augsburg, know how more than once to their Electors and Princes and the cities, from her Majesty's word. and the cities, on account of their Majesty, for special moving causes, to keep some acts of religion secret and not to let them come into print.

4th For, where it is to be considered that this printing was given with her majesty's prior knowledge, with which nothing but vain displeasure was to be blamed on the aforementioned elector, princes, and cities, by the poet: so it should also be further heard that it would not be contrary nor opposed to her majesty that all that would again be brought into print and given for a counter-report, which would be contrary to her elector, princes, and cities.

1) Here we have erased the word "stands". - Just before: "mild" - unfit, insufficient.
2) Inserted by us.

and Princely. Gn. also the cities' Christian need to reject the disrepute which has been visited on them, but first of all on the Gospel and God's Word, both in the realm and outside it, by all Christian potentates and estates.

(5) And even if Her Majesty had the right science to see that the acts performed in Augsburg for the sake of religion should be printed, it is certainly not in Her Majesty's mind and good pleasure that the poet should destroy the acts in such a way as happened. The poet, however, has not been pleased by her Majesty's mind and good pleasure that he should mutilate the aforementioned acts in such a way as has happened, express a little of the above-mentioned Elector, princes and cities' unhappiness with many untruths, and that, so on and more, even at the same time and in the same way, and that, so further and more, also acted at the same time and besides, [should] be omitted, 1) but the things, as they would have been acted and proceeded on both sides, it would be to Glimpf or Unglimpf, from beginning to end, should be explained and given to day; as also to the poet, if he, together with his printer, has included the Imperial Highness and Majesty in his work. Highness and Majesty in his booklet, but rather has written it as a bad historian 2) outside of the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Science, the same has not otherwise befitted to describe the truth, also all actions on both sides completely, unmutilated, and without such wide stag or hare jumps.

(6) And even if he pretends that he was not always present at all the acts, and especially what happened outside the public audience, for which reason he could not have described everything, this may not excuse him from being untruthful.

1161: Joh. Aurifaber's report of the Diet of Augsburg, and what happened to Luther and his teachings in 1530.

This account is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 160; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 524; and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 196.

1st Anno 1530, the 24th day of February, Emperor Carl was crowned in Italy at Bononia by the Pope, and from the same place he sent out notices to all the estates of the Roman Empire to hold an Imperial Diet, and to convene it at Augsburg on the 8th day of April.

(2) This Diet of Augsburg is twofold.

1) "should omit" put by us instead of: "omitted".
2) So put by us instead of: "but himself before a bad historian."

The reasons for the appointment were twofold. First, that the division in religion, which had arisen between the papists and the protesting estates many years ago, was to be settled. Secondly, because the Turk fell in Austria in the past 1529th year, with great war power, on the 21st day of September, and the Turkish army had been destroyed. Thereupon he stormed the city, but lost several storms before he did so. On the sixteenth day of October he set out from Vienna, set fire to his camp, and marched again to Hungary and Constantinople. Then there was great fear that in the thirtieth year the Turk would return and attack Germany. For this reason, at the Imperial Diet, it was decided to propose and take action for persistent help against the Turks.

3rd Duke John of Saxony, Elector, together with his Electoral son, Duke John Frederick, also Duke Ernest and Duke Franzen, brothers, Princes of Lüneburg and Brunswick, also Prince Wolf of Anhalt, together with a stately knighthood, arrived at Augsburg on the 2nd day of May, and was the first of all the princes and princes to appear at the Imperial Diet; which the papists had not provided for themselves. For they did not mean otherwise, S.C.F.G. would not attend the Diet, but would shun the light, so that their C.F.G. and their relatives would not be allowed to answer and give an account of their Christian doctrine and religion.

When the Elector of Saxony arrived in Augsburg on a Monday, their C. F. G. preached in the preacher's monastery of Magister Eisleben on the following Wednesday, and in the same monastery their C. F. G. heard God's word for a while. And when Landgrave Philip of Hesse arrived in Augsburg on the Thursday after Jubilate, their princely lords had them preach the following Friday in the monastery of St. Moritz by O. Erhard Schnepfen, and afterwards in St. Ulrich. Such preaching by the protesters has greatly annoyed the papists; therefore they have practiced so much with the emperor that their imperial majesty has sent a message to the Elector of Saxony out of pressure, and has earnestly requested that their electoral graces cease the preaching; as the preaching has since been stopped for them.

5th In the evening of the feast of Corporis Christi Emperor Carl rode in at Augsburg, and with their Imperial Majesty Campegius the Cardinal, the Pope's legate, arrived; and all the Electors are

and princes, ecclesiastical and secular, rode to meet her Majesty and led her into the city. This evening, the Imperial Majesty again requested that they, the protesting estates, refrain from their preaching, and in the morning walk with Her Majesty in procession on the day of Corporis Christi. Both of these requests were denied to Her Imperial Majesty at that time for Christian reasons.

(6) On the day of Corporis Christi, the Imperial Majesty summoned the protesting princes and chieftains early and earnestly requested the above-mentioned two articles from them again. But they have rested on their negative answer, and have offered to give the reasons for their excuse in writings. Then the Imperial Majesty was moved with anger and disgrace against them, and nevertheless granted them to write their answer in a document and to hand it over to her Majesty. And Her Majesty, together with the Papist princes and churls, has performed the Procession Corporis Christi (as the same Papist festival is called).

(7) On the Friday after Corporis Christi, when the protesting churons and princes submitted such a document to the Imperial Majesty, Her Imperial Majesty submitted it to all the other churons and princes for consultation. When the latter now noted that Her Imperial Majesty would be displeased with the protesting estates, they asked Her Majesty to grant them action between Her Majesty and the protesting estates.

(8) And for this negotiation a committee was made among them, as the Archbishop of Cologne, Margrave Joachim the Younger, the Elector Palatine's Courtier, Duke George of Saxony, Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, and Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg. Which, after negotiations had been held, finally proposed the means that all estates should be forbidden to preach in Augsburg for a time by the imperial majesty, and that also D. Faber, preacher of the royal dignity in Hungary, should not preach. On the other hand, her Majesty wanted to decree and appoint preachers who would preach the Gospel purely and peacefully. And should Her Imperial Majesty Majesty should then take the religious action in hand and hear and settle it amicably. So that the protesting estates were satisfied. And on the Saturday after Corporis Christi, an imperial herald and drummer abolished the preaching by publicly blowing the trumpets.

9th On the Monday after Corporis Christi, which was the twentieth day of June, the beginning of the Imperial Diet was held at Augsburg, and the Imperial Majesty had the proposition made, which was based on the two points: first, to declare the unity of the faith, and that each part should present its grievance in writing in Latin and German, the secular against the clergy, and the clergy against the secular. And the presentation has been politely arranged, so that the Elector of Saxony, nor other princes, nor D. Martini Lutheri, is thought to murder in it. Secondly, about the persistent help against the Turks. And the religious act was the first to be carried out. For the protesting estates did not want to agree to the act of the Turkish tax, unless the article concerning God's word and the Christian faith had been dealt with first.

(10) On the Saturday after the feast of St. John the Baptist, the protesting princes and princes, and the two cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, made a confession of their faith by 21. Philippum Melanchthonem, publicly read before the Roman Emperor and King Ferdinand, as well as before all princes, princes and estates of the empire, ecclesiastical and secular, and offered to hand over an apologia and a more extensive explanation of it to the imperial majesty, princes and princes of the empire.

(11) And when this confession of faith was read out, Doctor Gregorius Brück, Saxon chancellor, wanted to hand over and deliver the copy of the confession, German and Latin, to the imperial secretary, Alexander Schweiß, and through him to the archbishop of Mainz. Then the Imperial Majesty himself took hold of it, and took the copy to him, with the gracious request of Duke Frederick, Count Palatine, to consider the matter further.

(12) The Imperial Majesty had this confession translated into French by Alexander Schweiß and, at the request of Cardinal Campegii, had it translated into French for the Pope by another of his secretaries. Such a confession was also immediately sent to the pope by mail. It was also sent to the King of France, the King of England, and the King of Portugal. And the imperial majesty of the pope and the other kings has sought and requested theologians eensurara and juäieium about it. Is therefore the protesting estates' confession as-

soon been spread in the high potentates' courts.

(13) On the Sunday after St. John's Day, the imperial majesty sent a confession to the papist churl and princes of the protesting estates for consultation, who then submitted it to their theologians, who were Johannes Faber, D. Eck, D. Mensing, Cochläus, and others; these then made a confutation, and on Wednesday after St. Margaret's had it returned to the imperial majesty by the above-mentioned churl and princes. At that time, a papist prince said in the presence of other princes and lords: "The Lutherans have handed over a confession written in ink; if I were emperor, I would give them a confutation and a script with rubrics, that is, written in red ink. Immediately another prince answered that the emperor should nevertheless take care if he wanted to write with rubrics, so that the prisilgen 1) did not splash under his eyes.

(14) On the third day of August, the imperial majesty summoned all the princes and chieftains again, and had the confutation of the papists read to them by the secretary, Alexander Schweiß, which at first had been written very quickly, vehemently, and hatefully, to overbite the emperor with it, and had been written in two hundred sheets. But the imperial majesty himself had ordered to soften this and to shorten the writing a little, about which three weeks of time had passed. The protesting estates requested a copy of this confutation, but it was refused to them by the imperial majesty.

(15) When, after the reading of such a confutation, the emperor earnestly desired of the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen that they would rejoin the Roman church in doctrine and faith, and accept the confutation, they should have a gracious emperor; if not, their imperial majesty would not leave the Roman church with protection, and would punish those who planted repugnant doctrine. Thereupon Elector John of Saxony has for his person a very Christian and constant confession of his church doctrine and faith (whereby his electoral grace also wanted to remain in its pit, by divine grace and bestowal) to the Imperial Majesty in Latin, French and German on the evening of the Feast of the Assumption.

1) Otherwise, the form: "Presilgen" - Brazil, that is, red color.

Magdalenä, which is printed in the fifth German Jenische boriiv, iol. 31d, printed in 1561. 2)

16 Since the matter of the protesting estates was now approaching Augsburg in a very dangerous and painful manner, Landgrave Philip of Hesse let himself be led out of Augsburg at night through a gateway with a few horses on the 6th day of August, and rode off to the Hessian land. This has annoyed the Emperor, and therefore he has seriously ordered the Augsburg City Council not to let anyone out through the gateway at night. He also summoned the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen, and agreed with them that they would wait in Augsburg until the discussion of the religious matters and the end of the Diet. For their Majesty wanted to try all means and ways that might be useful for peaceful unity. The protesting estates then granted this.

(17) As a result, a number of princes and chieftains have presented themselves to the Imperial Majesty and requested further negotiations between Her Majesty and the protesting estates. So on the sixth day of August the other committee was appointed, in which were the two Electors of Mainz and Brandenburg, the Chancellor of the three Electors, Cologne, Treves, and Palatinate, and Mr. Georg Truchsess of Waldburg, Baron, on behalf of the House of Austria. Item, the bishop of Salzburg, Speier and Strasbourg. Also three secular princes, as Duke George of Saxony, Duke Henry of Brunswick, and Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg. The Abbot of Weingarten, the Chancellor of Baden, and the Chancellor of the Duke of Jülich, who summoned the protesting estates to the Chapter House of the Augsburg Abbey, and negotiated with them for several days for a settlement in religion, and discussed the disputed articles with each other, but were unable to unite or settle.

(18) Then a small committee was appointed in the sixteenth day of August to see if a settlement could be reached beforehand, and seven persons were appointed on each side. On the papist side, the Bishop of Augsburg, Duke Henry of Brunswick, the Archbishop of Cologne, Elector, and Chancellor of the Margrave of Baden, and three theologians, Doctor Johann Eck, Doctor Johannes Wimpina, and Doctor Johannes Cochleus. On the protesting side there have also been two princes, as Margrave Georg

2) This is "the second article" of No. 995 in this volume.

of Brandenburg and Duke Johannes Friedrich of Saxony; two jurists, as D. Gregorius Brück, and D. Heller; then three theologians, as N. Philippus Melanchthon, Johannes Brentius, and Erhardus Schneppius. These came together, took the Augsburg Confession of the protesting estates before their hands, and conversed with each other from article to article, and the first day compared themselves in eleven articles. The next day they went on, and united with each other in twenty-one articles. But on the articles concerning the mass, the marriage of priests, the Lord's Supper, the monastic vows, and the jurisdiction of bishops, and others, they could not unite, but remained at odds.

(19) Therefore, on the 22nd day of August, the papists of the committee reported to the princes and lords of the realm what they had hitherto done and arranged, and suggested that unity would be achieved much more if few persons were used in the action than if this matter were to pass through many heads and hands. So it was considered good that a small committee was appointed, who also acted in unity. And on the Tuesday after the Assumption of Mary, Philippus Melanchthon, together with D. Gregorio Brücken and O. Heller, and on the papist side D. Eck, and the Bishop of Cologne, and the Chancellor of the Margrave of Baden were used. But since these six persons had talked and disputed with each other for a long time, they were not able to compare.

On the 20th of August last, the joint committee informed the sovereigns and princes of the empire of the opinion and will of the protesting estates, from which they could not deviate in any way or give in to anything. This was followed by all kinds of advice and proposals on how to reach a peaceful agreement. And on the seventh day of September 1) the Emperor summoned the papist and protesting estates to his presence, and himself negotiated with them, and offered to work with the pope so that a concilium could be favorably arranged, in which the religious schism and separation could be heard, judged, and resolved, and harmless concerns about a peaceful parting between the time and the concilium were made.

21. on Saturday after Nativitatis Mariä are of some private persons, as, Mr. Georg Truch-

1) In the old edition wrong: "Decembris".

seß, Baron, and Doctor Vehus, Chancellor of Baden, the protesting estates 2) were asked how the religious matters were to be settled peacefully, or how they were to be given a hearing, or that one might come to a peaceful parting and end of the Reichstag.

22 When neither great promises, nor serious threats, nor clever tricks and practices could drive away and turn away the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen from the Christian doctrine and religion; as then the above-mentioned pieces were quickly tried against S. C. F. G. and the same kinsmen at Augsburg, and the Elector of Saxony broke away from Augsburg on the 18th day of September, and returned to his lands. C. F. G. and his kinsmen were attempted at Augsburg, and the Elector of Saxony wanted to leave Augsburg on the 18th day of September and depart again for his own lands, as if their Electoral Grace, at the Emperor's request, had not been able to do so. Grace remained there four days at the Emperor's request. And on the 22nd day of September, which was Thursday 3) Mauritius, the Imperial Majesty summoned all the estates of the empire together, and gave the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen their farewell, with gracious permission of a period of reflection between here and the first 4) day of April, Anno 1531, what they wanted to give the Imperial Majesty in reply.

23 And on the same day the Apologia on their confession was delivered to the Imperial Majesty by the protesters through D. Gregory Bridges. Gregory Bridges. The next day the Elector of Saxony departed from Augsburg, leaving his advisors there behind him.

(24) During the Diet of Augsburg, Martin Luther was in Coburg, and from there he gave advice and instruction to the Elector of Saxony and his theologians, and there he wrote many useful good books and had them printed. As, a letter to the Bishop of Mainz, Cardinal, together with an interpretation of the other Psalm. Admonition to the clergy, assembled at the Diet of Augsburg. Also interpretations of several Psalms, such as the 118th, the hundred and eleventh; item, the hundred and seventeenth; also many textbooks, such as, Admonition to Receive the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, item, of the Keys, of Matrimonial Matters, and How to Keep Children in School. Item, of Purgatory 2c.

25th On the eleventh day of November the final parting of the Diet to all Estates from the Quay is celebrated.

2) "The protesting estates" put by us instead of "the protesting estates". See No. 1099.
3) Here we have deleted "after" because it is wrong.
4) Instead of: "the first" it will be read: "the fifteenth". See No. II2I.

The Lord's Day has been given, and thus this Imperial Diet has had its finality, at which the teaching of the Gospel, revealed by God through D. Luther in these last days, has been publicly proclaimed before the Emperor, the King, and all the princes and rulers of the Empire. Luther in these last days of the world, was publicly confessed before the emperor, king, and all the princes and rulers of the empire; and what is written in the Psalms was fulfilled: "I spoke of your testimony before the kings, and was not ashamed. And the confession of our Christian faith was then delivered to the whole empire at this imperial diet, continued to come and spread, and many people became attached to it; it still exists to this day against the raging and fury of the world, the devil, and the gates of hell. And what this Augsburg Confession has done and worked, D. Martinus Luther once said about tables like this

Tanta est Verbi Dei efficacia et virtus, ut, quo plus persecutionis habeat, eo plus floreat et crescat. Considerate comitia Augustana, quae vere sunt ultima tuba ante extremum diem. Quam aestuabat totus mundus tum contra nostram doctrinam. O how we had to pray that Christ would remain [safe] from the papists in heaven! *Tandem nostra doctrina et fides ita prodiit in lucem per confessionem nostram, ut brevissimo tempore, mandato etiam Caesaris, ad omnes reges et principes mitteretur; ibi multa praeclarissimorum virorum ingenia in aulis fuerunt, die* fingen diese Lehre gleich wie ein Zunder *[et postea ubique incendebant]. [2]) Ita nostra confessio et apologia [3]) in summa gloria est edita. At illorum confutatio in tenebris sordescit. 0 quam optarim, ut ipsorum confutatio in lucem prodiret;* How would we set about the old torn fur, and so shake it, that the spots should thrust to and fro? *Sed ipsi orunt lucem.* They will not come hither. We have offered them peace and unity enough. *Sed ipsi superbissime nolebant consentire. Ideo oportet papistas perire sine ulla misericordia. Sicut in Josua [cap. 9,15.] legitur, quod Josua omnibus civitatibus pacem obtulerit, et nullam praeter Gabaon pacem*

1) Compare: Tischreden, Cap. 55, s 3 and?5. St Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1375 ff. The redaction here given is from the records of Mathesius. G. Lösche, VnuteetA Initlierann 6t MelanUioiiinna, p. 279, no. 446.

2) Inserted after Lösche.

3) ^poloAju is here another name for the Augsburg Confession, which was initially called a Schutzschrift. The "Apology of the Augsburg Confession" was not accepted by the Emperor.

suscepisse, caeteras omnes eam excussisse, et ideo sine misericordia periisse. Ideo nostra [4]) illa comitia omni laude digna sunt. What has been consumed there, let no one regret, quia Verbum Dei divulgatum est passim contra omnium hominum, Caesaris, papae et Epicureorum opinionem. They wanted to dampen our doctrine by force, but then it began to rise.

27. at this Augsburg Diet O. Martin Luther's father, Hans Luther, citizen in the valley of Mansfeld, died blessedly in God.

(28) During the Imperial Diet of Augsburg, some of the cities of Upper Austria, which had adhered to Zwingli's and Oekolampadi's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, submitted to the Imperial Majesty and the Estates of the Empire their own confession on this article. Majesty and the Estates of the Empire their own confession on this article. For the protesting estates have therefore been at odds with them; as Martinus Bucerus, preacher at Strasbourg, has sent from Augsburg to D. Martin Luther against Coburg, to discuss it with him, and whether an agreement could be reached in it, which then followed in 1536.

In the month of November the Imperial Majesty departed from Augsburg together with King Ferdinand and other princes. Majesty of Augsburg, together with King Ferdinand and other princes, departed for Cologne, whither her Imperial Majesty required all seven princes by writing on the 21st day of December to elect a Roman king there. Maj. summoned all seven Electors by writing on the 21st day of December to elect a Roman King there. This election was contested by Prince John of Saxony, who publicly protested against it through his son, Duke John Frederick. Hence the beginning of all displeasure, enmity, and bitterness of the House of Austria against the Elector of Saxony and his son, Duke John Frederick.

On the 22nd day of December, the protesting estates held a meeting at Schmalkalden. And there a covenant and agreement was made among them. They also challenged the election of the Roman king by writing to the emperor.

1162 Luther's letter to the Elector John because of the violent writings forbidden to him. April 16, 1531.

The original of this letter is in the archives at Weimar, Ü6A. X, toi. 73. afterwards in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 66, No. III; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 238 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 223. We have used the variants given in Burkhardt, p. 190.

4) nostra is missing from Lösche.

1746 Erl. 54,223-225. cap. 13. of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. w. XVI, 2119-2121. 1747

I. Grace and peace in Christ! Most Serene, Most Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Lord! The respectable, most reverend Lord, D. Gregorius Brück, has notified me of E. C. F. G.'s writing and order to forbid me the violent, sharp writings, of which I recently let two go out, so that incorrectness 1) may be prevented: in addition, I have also seen two shameful letters written to the monastery of Rissau from Wittenberg under the name "M. L.". L.", 2) whereupon I am also compelled to report my humble opinion to E. C. F. G..

(2) First, I myself can testify with these two sharp writings that I do nothing rebellious in them, nor will any man prove rebellion to me from them, and I will (whether God wills it) keep the same against everyone.

(3) Secondly, it is also clear that I have praised and extolled Imperial Majesty to the highest degree. Maj. to the highest degree, and in sum, as the words clearly state, 3) to instruct nothing but the consciences in a Christian manner, and to discover the evil practices of the abusers of the Imperial name, so that pious hearts may be unconcerned and unharmed. name, so that pious hearts may remain unconcerned and unaffected.

(4) Thirdly, how Christianly and honestly E. C. F. G. and her relatives have acted in such an edict, I think E. C. F. G. should feel better than all the world, and have also made it well known in Augsburg with objections and protests.

(5) Because that part nevertheless condemned our matters and, continuing with the head, neither wanted to hear nor to answer, did not pay attention to anything about that, that one so highly, heartily, earnestly asked for peace, nevertheless omitted such a sinister, cruel, bloodthirsty, false edict, and thereby (to tell the truth) drew the sword against E. C. F. G. and the same relatives, and put the whole realm in armour, as one cannot interpret such otherwise; and that is even more, E. C. F. G. and the same relatives have been in a state of panic. C. F. G. and her relatives, and put the whole realm in armour, as one cannot interpret such otherwise; and that is even more, E. C. F. G. together with her relatives have been kept in such a state for more than half a year.

1) In the old edition: "a correctness".
2) The two letters are printed by Burkhardt, p. 190. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p. 22 d.
3) Walch: Christian.

and such dangerous and miserable patience proved all too great an excess, and yet did nothing with that part, but only made them more defiant, more proud, and more wanton, so that I had to worry that they would not stop, that they would cause misery. Therefore, whether E. C. F. G. and her relatives wanted to remain silent and suffer forever in this matter, it has not been my intention to remain silent nor to suffer for a long time, as the matter is initially and most nobly my own. For if I should finally keep silent about such a public condemnation of my doctrine, it would be just as much as if I abandoned it and denied it; before I want to do that and suffer, I want to incur the wrath of all the devils, of all the world, before I keep silent because of the mob 4).

(6) That perhaps some pretend with E. C. F. G., the two writings are sharp and swift, that is truly true; nor did I write it to be blunt and mild, and I alone am sorry that [it] is not sharper and fiercer; for whoever sees or notices the sharpness and swiftness of the trade on that part, will not count my writing for special sharpness and swiftness, unless that would be a mild and gentle trade, that one over E. C. F. G. together with her relatives should deny such a gruesome edict and condemnation of unheard-of 5) matter. C. F. G. together with her relatives such an atrocious edict and condemnation of unheard-of 5) matter and denied answer to be let out publicly, and thus the whole empire's sword and fury in E. C. C. F. G. life and limb, and to make Germany full of innocent blood, widows, orphans, and to disturb and devastate the whole realm.

(7) Yes, my writing can be regarded as sharp and vehement; but when will that part also once take itself by the nose and judge your writing to be sharp? When has ever Imperial Maj. Maj. punished or forbade the writings that have gone out against us in the whole Empire, also in his hereditary lands and in the French lands, in the most severe and disgraceful manner without intermission? When did King. Maj. of Bohemia too harshly damned D. Faber's and the like lying, blasphemous, ass-like

4) Walch: "aller kaiserlichen Räthe"; DeWette: "der kaiserlichen Räthe".
5) "unheard" unheard.

Scripture? When did the Dukes of Bavaria punish or rebuke D. Ecken and other writings full of lies and blasphemy in the most bitter way? When did Margrave Joachim punish his Wimpina and Mensingen, the poisonous vipers and liars? When has Duke Georgen ever been displeased by what Emser, Doctor Cochleus, and many others in his lands have written so sharply, bitterly, and shamefully against us? Therein also the tender, pious prince, Duke Frederick himself, honors not a little touched, I will keep silent, how E. C. F. G. is mischievous and bruised with it. Duke George himself has written against me, and many times so, that a loose Emser or Notzlöffel should be ashamed to write so; but it should not be given to him either.

(8) From this E. C. F. G. sees that the opinion of such people is that if a hundred thousand wrote on that part, yes, if all the leaves and grass wrote and cried against us in the most poisonous and bitter, most shameful and lying way 1) and we kept silent and said yes to it, that would be right and fine. But if I alone, poor man, should cry out against so many monstrous wonders and abominations, no one has written sharply except Luther alone. Yes, if that be right, that they may pretend: Let us write and cry out most flagrantly against you and your doctrine, and be silent, and say yes to it; let us drive upon the Elector of Saxony with edicts, bats, and guns of the whole realm, but he hold our peace and say that it is right: who would not like to be judged, most gracious lord? They are certainly not silly people, but attack it very wisely!

(9) Accordingly, my most humble request to E. C. F. G. is that they do not allow evil mouths to be moved against me, and from the indicated causes consider the great unavoidable need that has urged me to write sharply, so E. C. F. G. will well judge that I am much, much too blunt and soft with my writing to such evil knots and branches. But if this is not enough, let them write against me or sue me in writing, where I have acted rebelliously or unjustly; if I will not answer for it, then I will suffer my right to do so.

1) In the original: "schreuten".

far that I do not want to have told them nor advised them to do such against me, because I did not write it drunk nor in sleep. The other two letters to the abbess at Rissau see E. C. F. G. himself that they are not mine, so I know neither monastery nor abbots inside, do not know where it lies, whether they eat or drink inside. Although a great deal of shameful writing has gone out against us from Duke George's country, and yet 2) everything has been done well, namely by Hasenberger in Leipzig, which our enemies also spit upon, it is so exceedingly shameful. He still walks in Leipzig, and has a gracious lord, praise and honor, along with his followers. But this is the sum of it: what we speak and do is wrong, if we wake up the dead; what they do is right, and if they drown land and people with innocent blood; and such people should be attacked with cotton, courted, and said: Mercy-junior, ye are pious and fair. The merciful Father in heaven comfort and strengthen E. C. F. G. in his word and command until the blessed end, Amen. Sunday after Easter Day [April 16] 1531.

E. C. F. G.

blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

Luther's letter to D. Gregorius Brück concerning his published booklet "Against the Assassin at Dresden". 8 May 1530.

Lx unto^raplio Oleioüii in Tentzels curiöser Bibliothek, 1764, p. 393; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 67, No. 112; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 252 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 231.

Olarissimo viro, ckurium

Doetori ot Laxoniao Louatori, suo in Domino mu^ori.

Mercy and peace, my dear Lord and Godfather! That my little book should come to Dresden before to Torgau, I should excuse [against] 3) you, so I hope it is not necessary. For E. A. was too long outside, as I had provided for E. A.'s future. So

2) Walch and De Wette: thereafter.

3) Inserted by us for ease of understanding.

I also think that my little books, if they should come to the court first, they would find so much of the master that nothing would ever come of it, and make countless other people suspicious of me. But now they see only Lutheran, and everyone can excuse himself that he did nothing to it.

(2) Well, I will still spare the bishop; I cannot do it even now that I write, and must forgive other writing. But I am surprised that the good man..,

1) It might want to be read: "with the master" or: "with the master". Only with this or a similar reading does the following sentence seem to give us a corresponding sense.

D. Johann Rühel, lets again so fool to believe the loose and false man 2) since he knows that nothing good is behind.

(3) I have asked E. A. through Er Johann to help me finish the book of assassinations, for I want to work on it again; but I know little of the point, since it deals with the duke of Wittenberg. Theologically I want to do it, but to do it historically would be very useful to me.

I will do what is dear to E. A., if they are not slow in exhorting. Hereby commanded to God, amen. Ootava Na)i 1531.

D. Martinus Luther.

2) the Bishop of Mainz.

The twelfth section of the thirteenth chapter.

Of Luther's stay at Coburg during the Diet of Augsburg.

A. How Luther informed his good strangers of his arrival at Coburg, and how lovely he described the region there.

1164. D. M. Luther's report to Jakob Probst, preacher in Bremen, of his stay in Coburg.

See Annex, No. 2, Z1.

1165. D. M. Luther's joke letter to Justus Jonas from the Coburg Imperial Diet of the Jackdaws. The 23?) April 1530.

This letter is found handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Ooä. Il6lm8t. 108, lol.9k; in the 6oä. RoKtoeU.; in the Ooä. 4611. d, toi. 214; in Copenhagen, LIs. 1393, L>1.213. printed at Oo6l68tiiiu8, tom.I, toi. 38 d; at Lu6ck6U8, x. 87; at De Wette, vol. IV, p.4 (datirt of April 22) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 305.

Newly translated from the Latin.

3) Walch and De Wette: "the 22nd", which is not permissible, since the Uebersiedelung of Luther on the fortress Coburg happened in the night from April 22nd to 23rd. Köstlin, Martin Luther (3.), vol. II, p. 652 aä p. 198, 2), first called attention to this. The Erl. Briefwechsel brings still further evidence for it.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus! At last we sit here among the clouds, and in truth in the kingdom of the birds, dearest Jonas. For to say nothing of the other birds, whose song is so great that it drowns the storm, the jackdaws or ravens take up a whole grove just before our eyes. "I mean, there is a gekecke," 4) from four o'clock in the morning 5) on, all day long tirelessly and incessantly, and perhaps all night long, so that I believe that there is hardly a larger crowd of birds gathered anywhere. There is not one among them that is silent but a moment, lest we should be compelled to hear each one perkily, as the elder with the younger, the mothers with the daughters, praise the name of jackdaws. They may sing so sweetly to lull us to sleep, which, God willing, we shall know this night. It is a very noble race of birds, and to the commonwealth (as you know) exceedingly

4) In this the Erl. Briefwechsel alludes to Eck; but here Luther seems to us to speak only of the natural birds; only afterwards does he interpret it of the Sophists and people like Cochläus.

5) At this hour Luther arrived there.

necessary and useful. I interpret it in such a way that the whole army of Sophists and Cochleites from all over the world is gathered before me, so that I may become better acquainted with their wisdom and this sweet song, and view with pleasure their service and benefit both in the physical and in the spiritual community. So far no one has heard a nightingale, 1) while its precentor and accompanist, the cuckoo, praises in the glorious ornament of its voice, as befits a victor 2) in the public battles and victorious opponents of the nightingale, in the same way also the other fellow singers of the same, the blackbirds, warblers and larks cheerfully praise the Lord. This is something quite unheard of here. You see that I have nothing to write about; therefore, in order not to write anything, I would rather joke than remain silent, especially since the jackdaws are screaming so loudly and filling heaven and earth with their cackling. It seemed shameful to me that one who can speak words did not even dare to murmur. The Lord is with you, and let us pray for one another. That is necessary. Give my regards to Magister Agricola and Aquila, to whom I will write especially as soon as possible. Farewell. From the realm of birds, especially jackdaws, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

1166. d. Matt. Luther's joke writing to his table companions in Wittenberg, of the jackdaws and crows Reichstag, behind which is nevertheless a great seriousness. April 28, 1530.

Handwritten in the Ooä. 6otti. L. 28, toi. 72; in the Ooä. 4oii. L. 246, toi. 218; in Copenhagen, iVIk. 1393, toi. 209. Printed in the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 406; in the Jena (1566), vol.V, p. 206; in the Altenburg, vol.V, p. 20; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 141; in the Erlangen, vol. 54, p. 143, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 7. The address is found only in the manuscripts. On the other hand, the date offered in the same, "the 22nd of April," is wrong. See the previous number.

1) In the next letter to his table companions Luther reports that on April 28th the first nightingale was heard.

2) In the Erlanger Briefwechsel, in the explanation of the word tiisroniess, probably by a misprint: "singer" 2c.

My dear table companions, Petro and Hieronymo Weller and Heinrich Schneidewin and others at Wittenberg, all and especially.

Grace and peace in Christ, dear lords and friends! I have received all your letters, and have heard them as they are due everywhere. In order that you may hear again, as is the case here, I would like you to know that we, namely I, Magister Veit and Cyriacus?) do not go to the Diet in Augsburg; but we have otherwise come to another Diet.

(2) There is a rubet (4) just outside our window, like a little forest, where the jackdaws and the crows have laid down an imperial day; there is such a riding to and fro, such a shouting day and night, without ceasing, as if they were all drunk, full, and mad; there young and old are scuffling about one another, that I wonder how voice and breath can last so long. And I would like to know if there are some of these nobles and travellers still with you; methinks they are gathered here from all over the world.

(3) I have not yet seen their emperor, but otherwise the nobles and the great men are always hovering and dandling before our eyes; not almost exquisitely dressed, but simple in one color, all alike black, and all alike gray-eyed; all sing alike one song, but with lovely difference of the young and the old, great and small. Nor do they regard the great palace and hall; For their hall is vaulted with the fair wide sky, Their floor is vain field, paneled with pretty green branches, So the walls are as wide as the world's end. Nor do they ask for horses and armour; they have feathered wheels, that they may flee from their guns, and sit down to wrath. They are great and mighty lords, but what they will do I know not yet.

004 But as I have heard from an interpreter, they are about to make a mighty war against wheat, barley, oats, malt, 5) and all manner of corn and grain.

3) Veit Dietrich and Cyriacus Kaufmann.

4) "Rubet" (rul)(Kuin), a dense copse. In the previous letter: n "rnn8.

5) Of which the name "Malztürken" at the end of this letter.

and many a knight shall become here, and do great deeds.

005 So we sit here in the Diet, and listen and watch with great delight and love, how the princes and lords, together with the other estates of the realm, sing and live so merrily. But we have special joy when we see how chivalrously they play truant, wipe their beaks, and overthrow the army, so that they win and gain honor against grain and malt. We wish them good luck and good fortune, that they might all be impaled on a fence post.

006 But I hold that there is nothing else, but the Sophists and Papists, with their preaching and their writing, I must have them all in a heap before me, that I may hear their sweet voice and their preaching, and see how very useful a people it is to consume all that is on the earth, and to make merry for boredom.

Today we heard the first nightingale, because it did not want to trust April. So far the weather has been delicious, it has never rained, except a little yesterday. Perhaps it will be different with you. Hiemit GOtt commanded, and keep well house. From the Diet of the Maltese Turks , April 28, 1530.

1167 D. Matt. Luther's letter to Spalatin, the thoughts of which are quite the same, but the words of which are somewhat different from the two preceding ones. April 23, 1530.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesammt-Archiv. Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Cock. Hslmst. 108, toi. 13 (datirt den 19. Mai); in the 6o<I. Ratscnd.; in the Ooä. Rostock.; in the Ooü. Ootknn. R. 28, lol. 71; in Copenhagen, Ns. 1393, col. 216 (datirt 29 April); in 6oä. u, 221; in Ooä. Icn. k, 138. printed in Goclestinus, toin. I, col. 37 k; in Rucl6mi8, x. 90; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 12, and in Walch; in all these editions datirt of May 9. German also in Chyträus, p. 22 (datirt vom 28. April). With the date given by us in the Erlang correspondence, vol. VII, p. 307; the original printed there is without date.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the dear man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the faithful servant of Christ in the Gospel, his superior.

Grace and peace in the Lord! It is not you alone, my dear Spalatin, who have come to the

We, too, soon arrived at a Diet, just as we left you, and thus preceded you by far. And our journey to the Diet has not been hindered at all, but only changed. You are going to Augsburg, of course, but uncertain when you will see the beginning of your Imperial Diet; we have arrived here in the midst of the Imperial Diet. Here you may see noble kings, dukes, and other great men of the realm, earnestly caring for affairs and dependents, and shouting their resolutions and doctrines through the air with a tireless voice. Yea, they dwell not, or rather are not shut up, in such holes and caves as are at court, which ye call palaces, yet not with great goods, but in the open air, so that the sky itself serves them for a ceiling, and the greening trees are their exceedingly richly and variously panelled floor; moreover, the walls are at the same time also the ends of the earth. Then they also despise the foolish expenditure of gold and silk, but they all have the same manner, the same color, the same manner and speech, and are clothed with incredible similarity and equality. All are alike all black, all have dark-coloured eyes, all are unanimous in the same music, but with a sweet difference between the voices of the old and the young. Their emperor I have not yet seen nor heard. I see that they also despise the four-footed cavalry, since they have a better, winged one, by which they can also escape the wrath of the guns. As far as I have been able to hear from the interpreter of their resolutions, they have unanimously decided to wage war this whole year against barley, both raw and dried, then against winter and summer wheat, and everything else that is good grain. And there is danger that they will gain the victory in many things, for they are a crafty and cunning kind of warriors, wonderfully skilled in stealing and robbing. At this Diet we sit here with great pleasure as idle spectators and listeners.

1) By moving from the city of Coburg to the Feste.

For besides that the common and beautiful Moorish color delights us exceedingly, seeing that these heroes are so splendidly dressed, so also the unanimous singing of all, interspersed with beautiful modulations, delights us exceedingly. Then the hope and expectation of their bravery and the victories which we assume they will win over the wheat and the barley (and other such things) makes these fathers of the fatherland and preservers of the commonwealth exceedingly pleasant and endearing to us, so that, if something could be done with wishes, we would wish them to be rid of that ignominious name "jackdaws" (Noneäulurum), or rather of the reproach that they are thieves, and to be praised with expressions worthy of their virtue, that is, that they were all together spitted or speared (but in a suffering sense). But, if they could find a cheap interpreter, they would have enough honor and praise from their own name Non Läulue, as it were "Man Edel," or with a transposition of the words: "Edelman"; only that here an insult of your Reichstag is in view, where your noblemen (Läelmani) distinguish themselves too much by Dohlentugeud. However, our Läulini at their Imperial Diet have the advantage that they have a smaller and more tolerable court (Lorum) than yours at Augsburg will have.

This is enough for a joke, but a serious and necessary joke, which should drive away my thoughts, if it would drive them away. The rest you will learn from Jonas and Philip. From the realm of the winged jackdaws at five o'clock, D 1530. Yours, Martin Luther.

B. Of Luther's works at Coburg.

1168 Luther's report to Melanchthon of his intention to publish the Psalms, Prophets, and Aesopus.

See Appendix, No. 4, § 1.

1) That is, "impaled on a fence post." See No. 1166, § 5.
2) The 23rd of April, in the afternoon.

1169 Luther's report to Melanchthon that he is still working on his exhortation to the clergy.

See Annex, No. 5.

1170 Luther's letter to Wenceslaus Link, in which he also commemorates the publication of some Psalms and his translation of the Prophets and Aesop's Fables.

See Appendix, No. 6, § 2.

1171 Luther's repeated report to Melanchthon of his partly completed, partly still intended work.

See Annex, No. 7, Z1.

1172 Luther's report to Conr. Cordatus that he had finished the translation of Jeremiah and would now take Ezekiel in hand.

See Appendix, No. 8, § 2.

6. of Luther's temptations and illnesses with which he is afflicted at Coburg.

1173 Luther's report to Melanchthon of his not yet healed foot.

See Annex, No. 5.

1174 Luther's letter to Melanchthon, in which he complains of his head ailment and satanic temptation.

See Appendix, No. 7, § 2.

1175. Luther's report of it to Conr. Cordatus and Gabriel Zwilling.

See appendix, nos. 8 and 10.

1176 Luther's further report to Melanchthon of his, however alternating, indisposition.

See Appendix, No. 11, s 3 and No. 12, § 3.

1177. Luther's message of it to Justus Jonas and Conr. Cordatus.

See Appendix, No. 13, § 2 and No. 14, § 1.

D. About Luther's prayer and joy of faith, by which he directed himself and others, even though he sometimes grew tired of the Reichstag, yes, of his life.

1178. beautiful choice sayings of the holy scripture, so that Luther comforted himself in his temptations during the Reichstag.

See Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1712 ff.

1179. Luther's hymn: "Ein feste Burg ist unser GOtt", which is said to have been written around this time.

See Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1460.

1180 Luther's Letter to Duke John Frederick of Saxony. June 30, 1530.

In the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 16; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 165; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 64, and in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 157. Latin at 6o6l68tinu8, torn. I, x. 202 and at Luää6U8, x. 125.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ JEsu! Sublime, highborn prince, gracious lord! E. F. G. sees before his eyes what kind of a lord the devil is, who leads such great wise people captive in fine service, and performs all fine deeds with crafty and cunning trickery. And although I know that E. F. G. is well equipped against this (praise God!), and know and judge all their great art and advice, I still, out of other concern, want to write to E. F. G. to humbly admonish them that they do not let themselves be annoyed by the poisonous, evil tricks that their closest blood friends are up to. For where the devil can do no more, he works to make our hearts wrong, and to provoke us to vexation with his unpleasant attempts. A good remedy for this is the seventh and thirtieth Psalms, which finely show how evil the devil's mind is, and lead us to trouble.

If he should tear out any word, work, or deed, that he might disgrace us as disobedient and rebellious, let him provoke patience without ceasing. But it is written, "If God be with us, who shall be against us?" And we must learn to eat into ourselves the deceitfulness of evil men, as Saint Paul says Rom. 12: "Overcome evil with good."

It is true that the Emperor is a pious heart, worthy of all honor and virtue, who may not receive too much honor on account of his person; but, dear God! what can a man do against so many devils, if God does not help mightily? It vexes me myself that E. F. G.'s blood friends do it so wantonly, and scrape so; but I must have patience, otherwise I would much rather wish them this and that. How much more can I think that E. F. G. would more cheaply destroy and move. But for the sake of God and the dear Emperor, E. F. G. will have patience, and will also pray with us for the wretched people; after all, they have not yet made it out. If I was wrong here in saying that E. F. G. would be annoyed by the evil treachery of his friends, I am glad, and E. F. G. wants to give me some patience and pray with us for the wretched people. F. G. will forgive me; for I mean it heartily well, sit here and think: this will go to the heart of this one, that one will go to the heart of that one, or make me unamused, because I am the devil of all malice without ceasing. E. F. G. be hereby graciously commanded by God, Amen. Given at Coburg on the last day of June, Anno 1530.

E. F. G.

blackmailer

Martinus Luther, D.

1181 Luther's Letter to Spalatin. July 13, 1530.

Handwritten in 6oä. len. d, 67, and in Aurifaber, vol. ill, bl. 53. Printed in Luääerm, x. 148; at 606l68tinu8, tom. II, lol. 228 V; and at De Wette, vol. iv, p. 91.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord! I also believe, my dearest Spalatin, that the goodness of the emperor is great, as you all praise him. But I have no hope that

...that he will be favourable to our cause, though he may wish it. For what can one man do against so many devils? Therefore the Lord is our refuge, who is mighty in weakness, and is pleased to comfort the fainthearted, and to help the forsaken. But I have strong thoughts about what may have happened to you in the meantime, according to your last letters, and I make assumptions, supposing that the matter has long since come to a decision, and that you are not only condemned, but also suffer threats and wanton behavior. For it is to be wondered at what victories the adversaries are blasting out of Augsburg, that they would already have trampled us under foot and made us a laughingstock. But be of good cheer, saith the Lord, I have overcome the world: he that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh at them. Thus think I upon the matter. For we shall not be helped, we feien but forsaken before. "Blessed are ye (saith he), when men persecute you, and speak all evil against you, if they lie against it" 2c. We have taken upon us the ministry of which it is said, "Ye shall be hated of all men for my sake." And now we wonder that there is this hatred which has been foretold by Him who has such great credibility and standing? If we would that this prophecy were void, we should either not have taken this office upon us, or should have taken care that this should not be prophesied. For since it is foretold, and we have taken the ministry upon us, we are too tardy to think it vain and vain, and to desire to merit the favor and grace of men. Therefore may this prophecy be fulfilled, and we feel such hatred as may justly and not in jest be called a hatred. For the Scripture must not only become true, but must be fulfilled, become full, full, full, "that it may be called fulfilled, and full, full fulfilled." I am glad to hear of Duke George, that he is acting in this way; God will pay him with the nonsense of which he is worthy, and will add other plagues. May the Lord comfort and strengthen you all. From the desert of Gruboc ^Coburg), on the day of Margaret (13 July) 1530.

1182 Luther's Letter to Spalatin. July 20, 1530.

Handwritten in 6oä. 36". a, toi. 234 and k, toi. 66, and in Aurifaber, vol. ill, p. 66. Printed in Luääeu8, x. 158; in GoeleMnrm, tora. II, toi. 232; in Schütze, from the Grammische Sammlung at Copenhagen, vol. II, p. 153; and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 101.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To Georg Spalatin, the servant and faithful confessor of Christ, who is now in Augsburg, and who is to be highly honoured in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! First of all, I must thank you, especially you, my dear Spalatin, that you write to us so diligently and abundantly, as you have material (ivuteriuiv) and sufficient (suKeiontos) causes, or rather abundant both formal and final (tiuulos) and effectual (oEeiontes) 1) causes. We are hermits here, and as it were a land without water; we can produce nothing worthy to be written to you, except that we go up to heaven with sighs, supplications, and with all power of prayer and offering, and, though unworthy, knock at the door of him that hath said, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you." All that is necessary is that we persevere and wait a little while.

Oh, friends,

You have suffered greater hardships, but God will soon put an end to them,
Just hold on faithfully, save yourselves for better times?)

Or rather this word, [Ps. 27:14, 31:25:] "Harvest ye the LORD, be ye confident and undaunted, all ye that wait for the LORD." [Hab. 2:3.:] "Though he be consumed, wait ye, he will surely come, and the prophecy will not lie." Verily I see that ye are in the battle, and what devils shall ye not hear speaking most venomously in the answer of the adversaries? For I foresee all this now; but it does not mean so much. For since Christ hath already given the goods which this world comprehendeth not, and hath promised much greater things, why should

1) Luther plays here with scholastic expressions.
2) Virß. lib. I, v. 198 8y., v. 207.

do we not suffer this little evil, that the unclean flies stain us with their proboscis, or soil us a little, since of the natural flies even the highest and most beautiful queens are compelled to suffer this in the midst of their faces? But what are these angry people but buzzing flies that rush with their wings against our heads? But after they have swished very angrily, they give forth an outrage that one can hardly hit with a needle. So great is the power of so great a rage. But ours is the forgiveness of sins, salvation from death, eternal life; Christ himself is ours with all that is his, for whose name you now sweat. He will not forsake his cause; and if he forsake it, it would be beautiful and salutary to be forsaken with him, though he were not GOD. But I carry wood into the forest. Greetings M. Eisleben, Aquila, Brenz, and all ours. Christ is with you. From the desert of Gruboc, July 20, 1530, your Martin Luther.

Luther's report to Justus Jonas, how he was tired of the Diet and how he wished to be sacrificed in this Concilio, like John Hus at Costnitz. July 21, 1530.

See Annex, No. 15,8 6.

1184 Veit Dietrich's letter to Melanchthon, in which he holds up to him Luther's example of faithful trust and zeal in prayer. July 30, 1530.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 430; in the Jena (1566) vol. V, p. 117; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 244, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 188.

To his dear Preceptori, Philippo Melanchthoni, Vitus Dietrich wishes good luck.

Dear Mr. Philippe. You do not know how distressed I am because of your health. But I beg you, for Christ's sake, not to regard so lightly the letter written to you by the Doctor. I cannot sufficiently marvel at his excellent constancy, joy, faith and hope in these miserable times. But such things he daily multiplieth.

He is a man of diligence in the practice of God's word. Not a day goes by in which he does not take at least three hours, which are most convenient for study, for prayer.

(2) Once I heard him pray. Help God! What a spirit, what faith is in his words. He prays so devoutly as one who speaks with God, with such hope and faith, as one who speaks with his father. I know (he said) that thou art our beloved God and Father, therefore I am sure that thou wilt destroy the persecutors of thy children. But if thou wilt not, the journey is thine as well as ours; the whole matter is thine: what we have done, that must we do: therefore, dear father, thou mayest protect them.

(3) When I heard him pray such words with a loud voice from afar, my heart burned with great joy, because I heard him speak so kindly and devoutly to God; but especially because he pressed so hard on the promises from the Psalms, as if he were sure that everything he desired must come to pass. Therefore I have no doubt that his prayer will be of great help in this lost matter, which will be dealt with at the present Diet.

004 I would that the Salzburg doeg, the Edomite, had all misfortune, because he hath afflicted you so. The Lord Doctor said: had he been in your stead, he would have answered him thus: If your emperor will not suffer the destruction of the empire, neither will our emperor suffer blasphemy. Only defy your emperor with confidence, and we will also defy ours, and see who will prevail.

(5) You, my dear preceptor, would do much better if you followed the doctor in this case. For with your sorrowful care and useless weeping you will do nothing but cause a great misfortune to yourselves and to all of us (for whom nothing is dearer or more useful than your salvation). I pray diligently for you and for all of you, as much as I can.

(6) May our God, who is condemned by ungodly people, destroy the nations that desire war and save us, his poor army, from the terrible hand that seeks murder and our blood, amen. Now, dear Mr. Preceptor, God keep you most blessedly in our Lord Christ, and do not charge me with my letter, for you know my heart toward you. God bless you once again. Given from our desert, July 30, 1530.

1185 Luther's Letter to the Chancellor of the Electorate of Saxony, D. Gregorius Bruck. August 5, 1530.

This letter is handwritten in the 6od. den. d, toi. 306. printed by Chyträus, p. 96d; in des Flacius deutscher Sammlung, no. 4; in the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569) vol. IX, p. 423d; in the Jena (1566), vol. V, bl. 119d; in the Altenburger, vol. V, p. 246; in the Leipziger, vol. XX, p. 182; in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 183, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 127. Latin in Buddeus, x". 172 and in Goslsstiuus, tom. II, lol. 275.

To the respectable, highly esteemed Mr. Gregorio Brück, the Right Doctor, Electoral Chancellor of Saxony and Councillor, my favourable lord and friendly dear godfather.

1. grace and peace in Christ. Esteemed, most reverend, dear Lord and Godfather! I have now written several times to my most gracious Lord, and to ours, that I think I have done too much, especially to my most gracious Lord, as if I doubted that God's comfort and help would be more and stronger with S. C. F. G. than with me. But I did it because of the suggestion of our people, some of whom are so wistful and careful, as if God had forgotten us, if he cannot forget us, he must first forget himself. Unless our cause were not his cause, and our doctrine not his word. Otherwise, if we are certain of this, and do not doubt that it is his cause and his word, then our prayer has certainly been heard, and help has already been decided upon, and prepared, so that we may be helped; this cannot fail. For he saith, Can a woman forget her child, that she should not have mercy on the fruit of her womb? Though she forget her own, yet will I not forget thee: behold, I have marked thee upon mine hand."

002 I saw two wonders the other day: The first, when I looked out at the window, and saw the stars of heaven, and all the goodly vault of God; and yet I saw no pillars anywhere, whereon the Master had set such a vault; neither yet did the heavens fall, nor yet did such a vault stand fast. Now there are some who seek such pillars, and would gladly take hold of them and feel them. Because they are not able to do so, they wriggle and tremble, as though the
The heavens are sure to fall, for no other reason than that they do not grasp the pillars or see them. If they could grasp them, the heavens would stand firm.

003 And another thing, I saw also great clouds hovering over us, with such a weight, that they might be likened unto a great sea; and yet I saw no ground whereon they rested, or whereon they footed, nor any runners wherewith they were bound; neither yet did they fall upon us, but greeted us with a sour countenance, and fled away. When they were past, there shone forth both the ground and our roof, which had held them, the rainbow. But it was a faint, thin, small ground and roof, that it disappeared in the clouds, and was more a shadow (as it is wont to shine through a painted glass), than such a mighty ground to look upon, that one should despair so much even of the ground, as of the great load of water. Nevertheless, it was indeed found that such a faint (to look at) shadow carried the water load and protected us. There are still some who regard, respect, and fear the thickness and weight of the water and the clouds more than this thin, narrow, and light sheath, because they would like to feel the power of this sheath; but because they cannot, they fear that the clouds will cause an everlasting flood.

(4) I must jest with your respectability, and yet write unjokingly; for I have had special joy in experiencing how E. A., above all others, has good courage and a brave heart in this challenge of ours. I had hoped it would have been the least pax politiea to obtain; but God's thoughts are far above our thoughts. And is also right, for he (saith Sanct Paul sEph. 3:20.)) heareth and doeth supra ^uam inteHiZiMU8 ant potimus. For we know not how to ask, Rom. 8:26. If therefore he should hear us, as we ask, that Caesar should give us peace, it might be said, inkra, not supra ^uani intelliZimus, and probably Caesar, and not GOD, should get the glory.

005 But now he himself will make peace for us, that he alone may have the glory which is his alone.

is due. Not that we hereby despise Imperial Majesty. Majesty, but ask and wish that Imperial Majesty do nothing against God and imperial rights. Majesty will do nothing against God and imperial rights. If, however, she does so (since God is in favor), we, as the loyal subjects, do not want to believe that [it is] His Imperial Majesty who does so. Majesty, but think that other tyrants do it under the name of Imperial Majesty. Majest. do it, and therefore kaiserl. Majesty. Majesty's name and the work of the tyrants, just as we also distinguish God's name which heretics and liars use, and honor God's name and avoid lies. Thus, we should not and cannot approve of the actions of tyrants, nor should we assume that they will be punished under Imperial Majesty. Majesty's Imperial Majesty's name.

006 But such work as God has graciously given us, He will bless and promote by His Spirit, and will well choose the time and place to help us, and will not forget it yet.

...miss. They have not yet half brought it, the viri sanAuirium, which they have now begun, are not all home again, or where they would like to be. Our rainbow is faint, their clouds are mighty; but in Lns viäsbitur 6uju8 wni. Your respectability give me credit for my talk, and comfort Magistrum Philippum and all the rest. Let Christ also comfort and keep me our most gracious Lord. To whom be praise and thanks forever and ever, amen. Whose grace I also faithfully commend to E. A. Lx Lroino, 5th ^uA. ^nno 1530.

Martinus Luther, D.

1186 Luther's report to Melanchthon, according to which he looks forward with great desire to the outcome of the Diet.

See No. 1103, s 1, in this volume.

The Fourteenth Chapter.

About the meetings of the Protestants at Schmalkalden and the so-called Schmalkaldic League, also about the very first religious peace concluded thereafter.

First paragraph.

Of two meetings of the Protestants at Schmalkalden and the alliance established there, and what has happened in the meantime because of the election of Ferdinand as Roman king.

1187. farewell of the first convention at Schmalkalden, at which a rotel of a covenant was conceived and immediately approved and accepted by some estates. Given the 31st of December, Anno 1530.

From Hortleders Ursachen des deutschen Kriegs, tom. I, IN). 8, 6ux>. 7, S. 1322.

1. as the most illustrious, noble, highborn princes and lords, lord john, duke of saxony, of the holy roman empire archduke of saxony, of the holy roman empire archduke of saxony, of the holy roman empire archduke of saxony.
marschall und Churfürst, Herr Ernst, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, Herr Philipp, Landgraf zu Hessen, und Herr Wolfgang, Fürst zu Anhalt 2c., of his own person; also of the noble and highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg, appointed councillors; likewise the well-born and noble, Lord Gebhard and Lord Albrecht, Counts and Lords of Mansfeld, of their own person, for themselves; and then Count Albrecht, of Duke Philippsen of Brunswick, on account of himself; also of the subsequently named honorable, free imperial and other cities' messengers, and of the noble and highborn, Lord Philipps of Brunswick.

The following cities, namely Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Constance, Ulm, Magdeburg, Bremen, Reutlingen, Heilbronn, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Isni, Bibrach, Windsheim, and Weissenburg am Nordgau, have recently come here to Schmalkalden in the matters of our holy faith at Augsburg for the sake of the arduous treaty with the empire, and for the sake of all their electoral and princely graces. They have talked and united with each other for the sake of the points and pieces mentioned hereafter.

2. And namely, first, the said my most gracious and gracious lords, electors and princes, also the two counts of Mansfeld, who have been assembled here in their own persons, and then the cities of Strasbourg, Ulm, Magdeburg and Bremen, Reutlingen and Heilbronn, have sent messages for themselves, and as rulers of the other cities of the upper country, of a Christian understanding for the resistance and rescue of a mighty invasion, and put up a note, which was immediately granted and accepted by the princes, counts, and the two cities of Magdeburg and Bremen; In which, however, some of the said cities are to sign or copy, as they know, namely in six weeks, the next after the date of this decree, to the Elector of Saxony. Since, however, our gracious Lord Margrave George of Brandenburg's appointed councillors, as well as the envoys from Nuremberg, Windsheim and Weissenburg, have had no command in this matter, they have neither been able nor willing to do anything about it outside their gracious lords and friends.

3. Therefore our most gracious and gracious lords, as reported above, are of the will and mind to request our gracious lord Margrave George and the people of Nuremberg by messages or writings with a Christian good report, on account of other Christian states, in the consoling confidence that our gracious lord, Margrave George, and those of Nuremberg, together with the cities of Windsheim and Weissenburg, will thereupon settle such a matter with the aforementioned our most gracious and gracious lords, also the counts and other estates, in a friendly and benevolent manner.

(4) Secondly, all the above-mentioned lords and princes, including the counts, and then our gracious Lord Margrave Georgen, as well as the embassies of the honorable free cities and imperial towns, have agreed to send a letter to the Roman imperial majesty to mediate the arduous parting, as much as imperial majesty's fiscal process involves, and to send the same letter from here to the imperial majesty. Majesty's Fiscal Proceß, in peace, and to do the same writing from here to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty, also
besides more thought of our most gracious and gracious lords, the Elector of Saxony, also Margrave Georgen of Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and then of the Nuremberg Council's embassies, which are without that now in other matters at Cologne, written to present such writing to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty such writing, and besides to request a gracious and dignified 1) answer.

(5) Thirdly, my most gracious and gracious lords, the electors and princes, also the two counts, and then our gracious lord Margrave George's councillors, also of the honourable cities, have promised each other embassies for themselves, and instead of their principals, on whose account they are here, and on whose account they have power, where the imperial treasurer, the Confederation of Swabia, or someone else, their electors and princes, or reported counts and cities, one or more, or someone of theirs, in matters of our holy faith, or what is attached to the same. or reported counts and cities, one or more, or one of their own, in matters of our holy faith, or what is attached to the same, would or would undertake on the outgoing parting, and in appearance of right or other ways complain, that all of their graces and favors shall be constant, reverent and helpful to each other in such, as for this reason also a special list has been drawn up, in which it is also provided in the end, if and when the said Protestant estates, or in particular, the aforementioned agreement or edict or mandate in matters of faith has been sent and inserted, how the aforementioned estates all, and each in particular, are to conduct themselves with the non-acceptance of such agreement, edict or mandate, so that it is unanimously held by their graces and in their favor, and nothing else is noted, except that all of their graces and in their favor want to stand and remain with each other in matters of faith.

6. Fourthly, because hitherto, from the fact that in almost every one of the Christian states of the principality, princely state, authorities, and territories, and indeed in almost every parish church, customs have been kept, as every pastor, regardless of whether he is learned or unlearned, has considered good, therefore causing such manifold annoyances not only among those who are contrary to the holy Gospel, but also among the good-hearted, and especially those who are still weak in the faith: It is considered Christian and good that all, and the greater part, of the above-mentioned Christian princes, rulers, and estates, their excellent learned theologians, legal scholars, and other persons of understanding, should be summoned to a named day, which our most gracious God has appointed.

1) Perhaps it is to be read: "gewierige", that is "granting" answer.

Lord, the Elector of Saxony, shall, within two months, send and appoint the next one to a place situated as against Nuremberg, not only to discuss whether a unanimous or uniform church order should be agreed upon and be good, but also to discuss how the public sin, disgrace and vice, by which not only the Gospel is blasphemed, but also God's wrath and punishment would be brought upon us, may be spiritually and temporally punished, stopped and occur. Which then would be pleasing to God Almighty, and would promote the holy Gospel in many ways; item, the same deputies are to compare immediately the counsels, which each estate is now to have made pending by its learned people, for the defense against the Fiscal, the League of Swabia, the Imperial Commission, or other authorities. The same applies to the appeal against the Augsburg Treaty, with a Christian and proper report on the articles written therein, and how our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, has in the meantime, through his electoral grace, brought together excellent theologians and theologians of the Church. The other Christian states shall nevertheless have their theologians and other scholars draw up their consideration and opinion of such appeal in writing, and send it to our gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, as soon as possible, to be sent to his electoral scholars. The same is to be sent to the scholars of his electorate, if they find anything good in it, and if they would like to make use of it, so that the appeal can be made first of all according to all necessity.

(7) The estates, if they have not been authorized to appeal here, shall send their ratification of such appeal to the Elector of Saxony in the best form as soon as possible, so that there will be no lack of it.

(8) Fifthly, since the Anabaptist sect will not cease, and much evil and trouble is to be expected from the same rotteries, conventicles, and doctrines, as is also found in daily experience, the councils (as stated above), being appointed together, shall confer with one another and compare how the same Anabaptists, since their transgression is not the same, should and may be punished with God and a good conscience.

009 Sixthly, because the Christian estates, by public proclamation, and in other ways, have accused the whole of Christendom
and are called out, as if they had neither reason nor justification for their actions, nor had they been consistent in their confession and actions at Augsburg, but had wavered from time to time, and had acted one against the other, which not only caused apostasy and harm to the Christian estates, but also to the holy Gospel, which, for the salvation of God's word, honor, and truth, and also for the salvation of the Christian estates, is a Christian letter and notice of all actions, in Latin and German, and also, where it could justly be done, in French, and be put into print, so-that now each of the above-mentioned estates may soon have its good consideration and opinion of it put forward, and give notice to its learned councilors, who (as stated above) are to meet for other matters, to also compare it with one another, so that it may be put into print and go out in the future.

(10) It is also to be considered that, after the Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Holy Roman Emperor. Maj, and the kings of France and England, together with other potentates, are to meet shortly at Camereck 1) that the Christian estates may, without any doubt, be most highly reviled in the place, and practiced to move them against the Christian estates, that it shall be necessary and good to prepare the notice, or otherwise a short report of the action, in Latin, and where it may be, also in French, as soon as possible, that it may be sent to the Christian kings and other potentates, and, if need be, also in French, so soon that it may be sent to the Christian kings and other potentates, for the excuse of many Christian estates, and a true report of the transaction, which will then hopefully do much good, and prevent all kinds of harm.

(11) And because the appeal of the Christian estates is to be made not only in respect of nullity, but also in respect of justice, according to all necessity, and with the introduction of all action, it is deemed good to send to the kings of France, England and Poland, Navarre, Denmark, Sweden, and other potentates, credible copies of such appeal, at the first, and, if possible, before some of them meet with the imperial majesty, at their own embassy or otherwise by letter, or to demand that such appeal of the Christian estates be dismissed or promoted. Majesty, at their own embassy, or otherwise by letter, or if they should be required to deserter or promote such an appeal of the Christian estates pro aeslutioris, and (not) to object to the Christian estates being admitted and allowed to execute their appeal.

(12) The same shall also be presented to the Imperial Majesty and to the Imperial Council. Majesty and the Imperial Chamber Court the appeal

1) Oameraeurn - Cambray.

with humble and gracious request to establish and promote a Christian concilium in Germany as soon as possible, as the writings are therefore to be placed in the most gracious and necessary manner.

(13) Let every one of the Christian estates also consult with his scholars, and let them do so, seeing that there are some indications and suspicions that a council will shortly be instituted, that they may diligently seek to know the ancient constitutions of the churches, as well as the ancient decrees, and how the fathers taught and held the articles which are now ambiguous, and which are for and against us. Item, how the old Christian churches are held, and should be held in a Christian way. And if the opposition, as is to be presumed, wants to have a papal council, in which the pope is to be the head, and only the papal bishops are to vote, how this is to be countered and averted. That the same scholars of all estates may otherwise, in holy divine Scripture, make themselves skilful and ready to defend and preserve our holy faith and all that depends on it, with God's grace and help.

(14) For all these things may our Lord God give His Holy Spirit, wisdom, grace, power, strength, and eternal constancy, and in addition give peace to the Christian estates and to all Christendom, and everything that is conducive to His praise and glory; wherefore also the common estates should and will obtain God the Almighty in their churches of all their principality, principality, and territory, with earnest diligence and heartfelt petition, for the most beneficial.

(15) Finally, it is considered necessary and good that this parting, especially whether and how one has acted with the other for the sake of Christian understanding, be kept secret in the highest secrecy, and that no state should remember otherwise than as if one had indeed finally been compared with the other.

Actum on the last day of Decembris Anno Domini 1530.

Nota: After the other estates and cities have asked our most gracious lord, the Elector, after the decision of this farewell, if his electors have let the appeal of the Augsburg farewell be made to Nothurft. have had the appeal of the Augsburg parting made according to necessity, that his Electoral Grace grant the other estates and cities the right to appeal. Graces to send a copy of it to the other estates and cities before it is published.

1) "off" put by us instead of: "off".

so that they may also see themselves therein, it is granted by all such estates and cities that such shall be done, and the reported appeal, without their knowledge and will, shall not be published. Actum Schmalkalden, Saturday after Jnnocentium [Dec. 31] Anno Domini 1530.

1188 Letter of the Elector John to von der Planitz, after he had learned that they wanted to exclude him from the upcoming election of the Roman king out of hatred, because of religion. Nov. 15, 1530.

From Müller's Hist., lib. III, eup. 47, S. 994.

By the Grace of God John, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.

Noble, dear faithful and councilor! Although you and others of our council have now written and reported to us what Imperial Majesty, together with Princes and Estates, has furthermore indicated to you and our kinsmen in messages of peace. Majesty, together with the Princes, Princes and Estates, has sent you and our fellow Councillors for the sake of peace, and you have acted diligently on this: You know, however, that in our departure from Augsburg we ordered you and the others to write from Torgau that you, for the sake of the four articles, namely our fief in the Church of Saxony, the confirmation of our son's marriage, and the others, where Count Palatine Frederick might be pardoned, should apply to the Emperor himself. Maj. himself. Now we have heard from your next writing that you have spoken to Count Palatine Frederick of this matter once more, and that his dear one has offered to ask Imperial Majesty again about it. Majesty; however, we have not heard from the letter that has now reached us what the matters of the four articles mentioned stand for, and whether you have received further notification from Palgrave Frederick on this matter from Imperial Majesty. Majesty or not. However, since we have a great deal of interest in this, especially for our fiefs, we write to you and the other councillors to encourage them once again, in accordance with our previous order, and in particular that we do not want to leave your confidential opinion undisclosed, since it is clear to us in many ways and in a credible manner that Imperial Majesty is completely determined to have this matter decided. Majesty shall be fully resolved and willing to support Her Majesty's brother, King Ferdinand. King Ferdinand to be Roman King, so the King shall also make some

We have described that the Bohemian lords are to travel with their royal dignities to Frankfurt on election day, and then to Aachen for the coronation, in such a way that they are to arrive at Nuremberg in the near future on Catharine [Nov. 25], and that we are to be excluded from the election and are not to be required to do so. Now we would like to know as much as possible whether this is to be the case or not, so that we can make our need known to the other Electors, as well as to others; For although we do not want to presume that their loved ones will subject themselves to such an unheard-of innovation and action, contrary to the Golden Bull and all the customs of the realm, in consideration of how they may well regard what incorrectness may result from this in the realm, moreover that we know from the graces of God that we do not give cause to separate ourselves, nor do we overcome any things to such an extent that we might be deprived of our office as churgeon by proper recognition: so it gives rise to no small suspicion among us that the Imperial Majesty Majesty is to break out of Augsburg recently and travel to Frankfurt together with the King and the Electors, and that the King has ordered his people out of the Crown of Bohemia, as has been stated, since we have not yet received any notification of this. And we consider it to be the case that the aforementioned four articles, and especially our fiefs, have now been observed by Imperial Majesty. Majesty, the trans 1) will finally find out whether we are to be lent or not, and thus whether we are to be considered a Elector or not. We have also been willing to send the letters of credence, together with instructions as to what you should have sent to our friends, the Electors and the absent embassies, on account of which we should have advertised; but we have also considered again that if we should send something special to their loved ones and to them, before we actually or safely know what our opinion should be, we would all the more like to give cause for reflection in acting against us. So that we may nevertheless more easily understand what our opinion should be, we graciously request that you, along with the others of our council, promote the answer to the four articles, and especially for the sake of the fiefs, because [we] fear that it is a vain delay on the part of Count Palatine Frederick, with Imperial Majesty, and therefore, with the help of the Emperor, we request that you send us the answer to the four articles, and especially for the sake of the fiefs, because we fear that it is a vain delay on the part of Count Palatine Frederick. Majesty, and therefore diligently persist, and what thereupon has fallen to answer, and you have heard of the indicated election and our separation, or possibly, ours therein.

1) Thran (?).

You will write and make known to us for our own hands in the most conducive and straightforward manner; you will show us special favor in this. Date Torgau, on the 15th day of November, the Tuesday after Martini, Anno Domini 1530.

1189. Excerpt from a letter of the Protestant Estates to Emperor Charles V, dated 24 December 1530, in which they object to the election of Ferdinand as Roman King.

This and the following document are found in Sleidanus, lib. VII, x>. 204.

Translated from the Latin.

You would hear, Your Imperial Maj. would have chosen their brother, Ferdinand, as Roman King at his request; but now it would be known to the men that the choice was with the Electors, and that they had the right, according to the Carolinian Law, to choose another after the death of the Emperor, in the name of the whole Roman Empire; and nevertheless the Elector of Mainz, during his Majesty's lifetime, and since the case in question had not yet occurred, had summoned them, the Electors, to Cologne at the end of this month, contrary to the above imperial law and custom; they also heard that the other Electors would assemble there at his request and, because of Ferdinand's advertisement, would actually carry out the election as if it had been agreed. For this rumor would already have spread far and wide; and since this was the case, they would have reminded His Majesty of one and the other. For although they would much rather refrain from such writing, they could not do so out of love for him and for the freedom of the fatherland gained from their ancestors, and in remembrance that in these last times deceit and trickery are very prevalent. For this reason, he would be well advised to remember above all how highly he has pledged himself to the empire, with what a noble oath he assures to uphold the Carolinian law, on which the freedom of the Roman empire primarily depends; how faithfully he vows not to do anything against it, nor to allow anyone to act contrary to it, as which treaties could not be broken, annulled, or changed, except with the consent of all the estates of the empire; but if now, during his lifetime, a Roman king were elected, and that a brother in the flesh, who would and would apply for it, he himself sees that this would not be possible with the consent of all the estates of the empire.

Because they, too, would not like to hear that either he was accused of not being faithful to the law, to the freedom of the empire, to the assurance given, to the treaty, and to the loyalty given; how it would weigh on him and on the whole empire to have at the same time two chiefs to whom one would have to be submissive on both sides. And because they would not like to hear that either he was accused of not being faithful, or that they were accused of being too sleepy and not seriously concerned about the welfare of the common people, they would rather ask him to believe that this letter of theirs would make them feel the love for the kingdom, ...that this letter of theirs would deprive them of their love to him and their country, and of their present course... ...and that they would take heed of their past histories, and set the election of a new king according to his reputation and power... ...considering what mischief would come of it in times to come, if it were not prevented. For this reason, they also sent letters to the other Electors, hoping that they would also do what would be beneficial to the common good, and that they would not give rise to any separation of the imperial estates. By the way, they would be ready to do everything for his sake that was within their powers and abilities. 2c.

1190: Excerpt from a letter of the Elector John of Saxony to the other Electors, in which he asks them with stated reasons to refrain from the election of a Roman king.

See No. 1189.

Because he had been summoned to Cologne by Churmainz, he had sent his son there together with some of his advisors, who were to present and act in his name; they would also have understood the most important things about them, according to his wishes, and would hear the rest on the 29th day of December. He exhorted them, however, to change their intention and to consider for themselves what harm and damage such an action would cause, both to themselves and to the descendants of the violated right and freedom of the empire; he also asked them to carry out what his son and his advisors had agreed with them in such a way that their love for the common good and for the fatherland could be clearly seen. 2c.

1191 D. Mart. Luther's letter to the Elector John of Saxony, concerning the election of a Roman king. December 12, 1530.

This letter is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 125; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 407; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 291; according to the original at the Basle University Library, VutoFrapü. Vol. XXV, toi. 31 in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 201; and in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 202.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave in Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! My dear lord and friend, Doctor Brück, Chancellor, as E. C. F. G.'s command, has spoken to me secretly, and requests, as I see fit, to elect a Roman King in the matter now before us, after His Majesty has also requested E. C. F. G. to do so, as a Elector. However, as a lowly stature in the eyes of the world, I have neither much to advise nor much to know in such high matters concerning such great estates, for such matters, many circumstances and reputations are hidden from me; nor, as far as I can see from afar and from outside, do I wish to inform E. C. F. G. of my thoughts on the matter.

(2) First of all, I wish, if they want to elect a king, and do not want to resist such an undertaking, that E. C. F. G., in the name of God, always help to elect. And this is my motion. First of all, I am concerned that with this election cause will be sought for E. C. F. G., so that if E. C. F. G. refuses, they will have all the more reason to take the office from E. C. F. G.. Otherwise, if E. C. F. G. were to choose to help, E. C. F. G. would in fact have both fiefdoms and chur, and their cunning plot to deprive E. C. F. G. of the chur would thus be prevented. Just as God prevented their wickedness in Augsburg, since they also thought that E. C. F. G. should not appear, and thus they would have a pretense of condemning E. C. F. G.; but this is wrong and they are sorry. So here in the election their wise senses would also be lacking, and E. C. F.G. would keep the fiefs and chur with great grudge. So E. C.

F. G. that it is no sin to choose an enemy of the gospel in a worldly way, because E. C. F. G. alone cannot prevent this, and yet it happens. For must E. C. F. G. must obey without the church, which condemns the gospel.

The other, where E. C. F. G. now refuses the election, it would perhaps be lent to Duke Georgen or others. Here it seems to me that there would be almost an annual event in the future where the title would once be given to another; for then everyone would want to inherit it for his descendants, and eternal envy, quarrels and discord would have to follow, if not much else. Should now E. C. F. G. be a cause for such a refusal of the election and be burdened with such evil in her conscience, then she could be free and rid of it with this election and without need delve into itZ) I would be sorry, and E. C. F. G. could be free and rid of it with this election, and without need delve into itZ) I would be sorry, and E. C. F. G. could be free and rid of it with this election, and without need delve into it. C. F. G. perhaps in the sight of God. It would be better to dare to choose God, who knows how to send things differently in the future, because we do not care or think that one would get stuck in such certain present journeys and causes of conscience without need; E. C. F. G. can well stay with the Gospel, if King Ferdinandus offers almost as much against it, as has happened so far under the Emperor. Also, God alone is a master and governor of future cases where he is believed. For I would not like that C.F.G.'s faith and trust in God, now so gloriously shown and proven at Augsburg, should now perish in this case, and give way to thoughts of future things, especially because here neither Scripture nor necessity compel such thoughts to be followed, and may well be circumvented.

(4) The third, where the C.F.G. refuses to vote, the empire is already torn apart and Germany separated, from which war and all misery must follow. For neither part will yield to the other, and yet without war neither can conquer the other. Since necessity does not demand this, it will be difficult for E. C. F. G. to burden his conscience with this without necessity, as an initial cause of such separation and all kinds of misery. These are difficult things, God knows that; but

1) In the original: "verteufele".

God help us that we do not make them much more difficult, precisely because we want to make them easier. After all, future things are not in man's knowledge or power, as the old histories teach us, and (where God or necessity does not demand it) things always turn out differently, because one thinks that one must say: I had not meant it. If it has not come to Augsburg now, Pope and Emperor, as they thought, it shall not come to them hereafter, because they want to grasp it with their thoughts. Only that we remain with God and do not, as they do, embark on uncertain future journeys without need.

(5) Thus E. C. F. G. know that the Landgrave wants to come forth without this, and has had himself enrolled as a citizen of Zurich, which I am truly not very pleased about, and where God does not help nor hinder, it must become a great war, and E. C. F. G. will not be able to help. C. F. G. know that in such a war the error of the sacrament must nevertheless be defended, even driven upon us; for this Christ, my Lord, protect E. C. F. G. For the Swiss have not yet recanted, nor do they fight out of necessity, but to preserve the error. O Lord God, I am too childish for such worldly matters. I will ask and entreat that God will grant E. C. F. G. be mercifully protected and guided, as has been the case up to now; or, if something should ever happen that I do not like to see, that he will not leave us with grace, and will give a merciful means and end, amen. E. C. F. G. Will graciously pardon my unintelligible ramblings. I speak as I understand it, but I know well that I would like to have E. C. F. G.'s conscience safe and free, and that it would be the greatest sorrow to me if I should see it driven or troubled. Herewith I command E. C. F. G. in God's grace, Amen. On Monday after Nicolai s12. Dec. j 1530.

E. C. F. G.
blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

1192. Philip Melanchthon's misgivings about the election of a Roman king.

This writing is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 126 b; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 408; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 408, and in the 6orr>. Net. , vol. II, 447.

001 From the time of Carolo Magno, when the Roman empire still had Asiam and Europam, it often happened that an emperor made another emperor to himself. For if the people of war lay in a country far from the emperor, and there was a turbulent captain among them, he would rise up for an emperor. To prevent such rebellion, the emperors would rather elect emperors of their own whom they would tolerate than hear that unfaithful tyrants rose up and sat down against them. Thus Marcus Antonius made his brother Verum emperor at the same time as himself, and Constantinus ruled at the same time as Diocletiano in the Orient, Constans in the Occident, and afterwards Arcadius in the Orient, Honorius in the Occident 2c.

002 After Carolo, however, when the old monarchy was broken up, and only Jtalia and Germany were called the Roman empire, before the order of the electors, some of them, while they lived, but in old age and shortly before their death, made their sons emperors; such was the necessity at that time; as, Oarolus NaMus OuäovieurnOuäovi6U8 ?iu8 Ootliuritim, and OotlEiu8 Ouäovieum Kseunäum.

(3) These are not to be respected as co-ruling emperors, for their fathers died soon after their election. Otto the First alone had his son Otto the Other crowned as a co-ruling lord to rule in Jtalia.

004 Afterward, when the order of princes was made, many, more than before, chose their sons to be kings, and had them crowned.

5th First of all Conradus, in the second year of his reign, before he received the imperial crown, had his son Henricum Nigrum crowned king at Aachen.

6th This Henricus Niger, shortly before his death, had his son Henricum the Fourth, being not above five years old, crowned king.

7th Fridericus Barbarossa made his son Henricum Roman king during his life, and they reigned many years at the same time.

008 This Henricus afterward practiced with the German princes, that they undertook to make his son, Fredericum the Other, king of Rome, when he was yet a child of three years old; but this was kept.

9th Then Fridericus Secundus, while he was still alive, had his elder son Henricum crowned king of Rome, who died before his father; for which reason the father also had his other son Conradum crowned while he was still alive, who was crowned king of Rome at both imperial congresses, at Speier, and at the same time was crowned king of Rome.
and Augsburg, was accepted as a Roman king, and later succeeded his father in the empire.

(10) Carolus IV, who has renovated the bull, has practiced that Wenceslaus is elected during his life. And a historian, Egnatius, says: Dxsmxlo maxims imxrodunäo, that is, that an evil example was made; perhaps especially because he is said to have forgiven some of the kingdom's regalia and other things for that reason.

11 Fridericus III also had his son Maximilianum elected during his life.

1193 History of the Election of the Roman King at Cologne, Jan. 5, 1531.

This writing is found at the locations indicated in the previous number (but not in the Oorx. Lst.) immediately after it.

(1) After the Diet of Augsburg was dissolved, and the princes and chieftains departed again, the Emperor Carol, together with the Imperial Majesty's brother King Ferdinand, then King of Hungary and Bohemia, also departed from Augsburg in the month of November, and many princes with them, and went to Cologne on the Rhine. Her Imperial Majesty Her Imperial Majesty has written to the Elector of Saxony that he should hurry to Cologne on the 21st day of December, since there were things to be done that would be of great concern to the Roman Empire. This letter was delivered to the Elector on the 28th day of November, in which his Electoral Grace was reminded of his highest duty to appear at Cologne. On the same day, a letter, citation, and request from the Archbishop of Mainz, as Archchancellor of the Empire, was sent to His Electoral Grace, informing him that the Emperor requested him to summon the Electors for the election of a Roman king; therefore, His Electoral Grace should arrive at Cologne on the 9th day of November.

(2) When now their Electoral Grace was required by two writs. They have given notice of this to the Landgrave of Hesse and to other relatives, princes and cities of their confession, and have asked them to meet in Schmalkalden on the second and twentieth day of December. In the meantime, the Elector's. Grace has appointed their son, Duke Johann Friederich of Saxony, with

1) Perhaps to read: "the 19th"? The deputy of the Elector, Duke Johann Friedrich, arrived in Cologne on the 19th, as the following paragraph states.

a constant and legitimate excuse of their staying out, delivered in their stead on a certain day with an instruction. As then her F. Grace arrived at Cologne on the evening of the 19th day of December, the end of which the Imperial Majesty had also arrived only two days before. Thereupon H. F. G. on the 20th day of December to announce himself to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty and ask for gracious interrogations, which were graciously granted to S. F. G. the same day. And after the advertisement, Her Imperial Majesty was graciously satisfied with the excuse of the Elector's absence, together with the due offer of inheritance, and was satisfied and pleased with the sending of S. C. F. G.'s son.

(3) And after the other Electors had not yet all arrived, the main remonstrance of the Imperial Majesty was raised until Christmas Eve, which at that time was the second and third day of December. Majesty, on which the causes of her letter were based, was delayed until Christmas Eve, which at that time was the fourth and twentieth day of December, since all the Electors were present in person, except Cologne and Saxony, whose authorized embassy appeared at that time; although Cologne still arrived in person that same evening. And after the revered Electors had required rooms in the Imperial Majesty's. Majesty, the Emperor also summoned the Cardinal and Bishop of Liège, Duke Frederick, Count Palatine, the Margrave of Ansbach, Margrave Henry of Nassau, the Lord of Grate, Camerarium, and Alexander Schweiß, Secretarium. Maj. first in person and orally, then in writing through Count Palatine Friederichen, the Summarial Articles reproached the Electors, concerning the election of a Roman King, that Her Majesty intended to tolerate her brother, King Ferdinandum, as Roman King next to her, whom the Electors also wanted to suffer next to them; and causes were brought forward for this intention:

(4) That Her Imperial Majesty has been endowed by God with many hereditary kingdoms, lands and people. Maj. has been endowed by God with many hereditary kingdoms, lands, and people, over which all may preside, Her Imperial Majesty would not have their essential abstention in the Empire of the German Nation. Maj. would not have their essential abstention in the Empire of the German Nation. Since now her Imperial Maj. Maj. is called to the dignity of the Roman Empire, so that so much faithful providence may be done to it, Her Majesty considers it necessary to have a head of a Roman king next to her, with indication and introduction of several moving causes, the careful and dwindling courses which have occurred and happened everywhere in Christendom, but especially in the German nation, of her absence, above all with the error and the corruption of the Roman Empire.

Conflict of Faith. Item: The Turk's arduous, swift, practiced action, as the enemy of Christianity, which took place last year. The previous general uprising in the empire was also caused by circumstances. It is said that in many other ways disobedience has grown up in the kingdom.

(5) And even though it is not without the order to maintain the regiment and the empire, with the advice and foreknowledge of the princes and the other imperial estates, the same would not be duly obeyed if the empire were not provided with a head that was essentially with it. Therefore Her Imperial Majesty graciously requests Maj. graciously requests that a Roman King be elected in addition to Her Majesty, one who is understanding, laborious, capable of handling, also of possible power in lands and people, who is inclined to handle peace and justice, and who is also knowledgeable and experienced in the affairs of the realm, and in whom Her Imperial Majesty will have confidence. Maj. have to trust.

(6) According to which Her Imperial Majesty Majesty knew of no one more suitable or useful than Her Imperial Majesty's brother Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia. Ferdinandum, King of Hungary and Bohemia, which kingdom and country, as a rampart, protection and shield of the German nation, would be situated at the stay of the Turk, whom also her Majesty would tolerate and suffer beside her.

(7) The princes and embassies took this into consideration, and asked for a copy of the provisions that had been made, which was granted to them. And on the following 26th day of December, on the day of St. Stephen, they met again in the Barfüßerkloster in Cologne, there they read over the articles anew, and in the Council they unanimously agreed that the Imperial Majesty should first of all be requested and asked, in response to such aforementioned remonstrance and request, that Her Majesty graciously wish to remain in the Empire of the German Nation, with the offering of all due obedience, as her Emperor and Lord. Where also her Elector. If their Electors or other estates give their Majesty cause for such a proceeding and departure from the German nation, they would be sorry to take it, and if it were indicated by their Majesty, they would put an end to it and change it.

This was done early that day before noon, and presented to the Imperial Majesty by the Elector of Brandenburg. Majesty by the Elector of Brandenburg.

(9) But the Imperial Majesty has insisted on her previous opinion and gracious request. Majesty insisted on her previous opinion and gracious request and rested, with the appendix that her Imperial Majesty would not know how to attract the Electors nor the Estates with some accusation.

(10) For this reason the Electors have again asked for their consideration, which has been granted to them. So their Electors are all together with King Ferdinand. All of them, together with King Ferdinand, met again the next day, December 27, in person at the aforementioned Barfüßerkloster, and discussed the matter further. In such a council, without any special moving causes, unanimous votes were immediately cast for the election, and were unanimously agreed upon: because the Imperial Majesty was not satisfied with the election. Majesty has persisted in her request and intention that Her Imperial Majesty be further requested and granted. Majesty should be further requested and petitioned that they, the Electors, be allowed a free election.

11 Although the articles, as reported before, were handed over to the Archbishop of Mainz, as Archchancellor, and read out in the Council, the Saxons also requested a copy of the necessity, but they were refused. Then the son of the Elector of Saxony, and also the next in power, Mr. Hans von Mingwitz, knight and skilful, did not want to consent that the Imperial Majesty should ask for the election. Majesty for the election should be requested or asked, according to the recorded concerns.

(12) First, because the Imperial Majesty has finally decided, among other things, that no other than her Majesty's brother is to be tolerated. Firstly, because the Imperial Majesty has finally decided, among other things, that no other than her Majesty's brother is to be tolerated and tolerable.

(13) Secondly, that it may be noted immediately, as if one wished to take part in the election, and to surrender to the Imperial Majesty's will. Majesty's will.

(14) Thirdly, that the articles and causes submitted to Imperial Maj. Maj. and causes among them, the Electors, have not yet been considered in public council.

(15) Fourthly, that it should be much less considered whether the Imperial Majesty, by virtue of the Bull of Gold, should be entitled or entitled to such. The fourth is that much less consideration should be given to whether the imperial majesty, by virtue of the golden bull, should be entitled or entitled to such a thing; for the freedom and justice of the Roman Empire, and of the princes, are based on this, and not the least dedicated to it. For the golden bulla gives them the choice only in the case of necessity, and no further; namely, if the empire is without a head, if it is vacated or transferred, if a Roman emperor or king dies, in clear words, only in the case of death. It would also be in public usage that, in the event of the death of a Roman Emperor or King, both Electors, Palatinate and Saxony, would be vicars, and would have the administration of the Empire, each in his own district.

016 Fifthly, that besides the high obligation and allowance, so by pledged

Oath-true to Her Imperial Majesty. This is to be handed over to each Elector in particular upon the arrival of Her Majesty's election, nor is it yet known, seen, or taken in hand what would be due to Her Majesty in this matter. For such a liberation of the Roman Empire would affect all the common estates of the Empire, and not only the Electors.

(17) From all this, the princes would then have to remember what they all wanted to do with God and God's will. Also, whether such would be considered beneficial to the Roman Empire's honor and welfare, sovereignty and dignity, freedom and justice 1). Then also to consider further that because the Imperial Majesty is the only one who has the right to do so. Majesty. (God grant a long life!) is still alive and in good health and mind, in addition in the choice of her imperial profession with the kingdoms and lands. (God grant long) still alive and in good health and good sense, and in the choice of her imperial profession with the kingdoms and lands, as now, gifted, on which her Majesty's Causes are partly to be found in the desired election, that her Imperial Majesty has also chosen among others. Majesty had also, among others, committed and agreed to remain the greater part in the Empire of the German Nation. In addition, not to act or do anything contrary to the golden bulla, the liberties and rights of the Empire, nor to strive for the succession of the inheritance of the Empire; which would have the Imperial Confirmation Charter and obligation in itself.

(18) Therefore, if the liberty and justice of the kingdom are not primarily based on and dedicated to the bull of gold, let all be careful not to live contrary to it, but to follow the measured and expressed command of the bull of gold in an orderly manner. After obvious causes, from which it happened in former times, that the election of a Roman king could only be decided by the six chapters of the Roman Catholic Church, the Roman Catholic Church was the first to decide. The common estates of the empire had practiced this practice for five hundred years before, but now it has been ordered and directed that these same electors should act according to the contents of the golden bull, as a measured command; However, the King of Bohemia, as the seventh person, was subsequently appointed over a long period of time, and thus placed on the seventh person, out of the coincidence that if in the aforementioned election there were comparable votes, that each part would have three, so that in such a case future errors would be cut off and dealt with. 2c., and the ordinary election, in the case of the dissolution of the realm, is permitted to the same Electors 2c.

1) So put by us instead of: "Also whether in such. ... would be deemed fit."

(19) And if anything should ever be done and acted outside of the order and permission of the Golden Bull, it must be done at their discretion, with the prior knowledge of the Imperial Estates; then that should be considered and taken into account which may be necessary, honest, and beneficial to the Roman Empire, and which may also be conducive to the welfare and service of the Empire.

(20) The bull of gold, which has been mentioned several times, as the principal article of one on which the Roman Empire's freedoms and rights are based, has been confirmed and providentially confirmed by the present Roman Imperial Majesty, Carolo, our most gracious Lord, in the most necessary and honest manner, that the same shall be kept and remain in all respects strong, dignified, and inviolate. In addition, Her Majesty does not wish to act, seek, desire or strive for succession and inheritance by herself in any way other than in accordance with the content of the Imperial Decree. Her Majesty's granting and prescribing, according to the contents of the articles, against all princes and the realm in general, to the highest extent prescribed and obligated, not to be too fine nor to do anything against it.

21 For this reason, it cannot be argued, nor can it be justified, that Emperor Wenceslas blessed was also a Roman king, and that Emperor Frederick, of laudable memory, elected Maximilian king in the same way, so that the presumed intention should also be justified.

22. But against this it is to be considered that by one or two instances of imprudence, in the case of which the liberty and justice of the golden bull, as a measured, orderly command, would have been acted, which is to be indicated by another report, such imprudence or imprudence cannot have so much effect, that with it or by it such liberty and justice of the whole realm, the golden bull, is violated, abrogated, much less applied, and that the electors by it of their own will or interpretation, in such important matters, have to act outside and against the golden bull, for these reasons:

(23) That the succeeding Roman Kings and Emperors, especially the present reigning Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, confirm the oft-mentioned golden bulla, and all the liberty and justice of the Empire, in the most constant and dignified manner. Maj. our most gracious Lord, have confirmed and reaffirmed the oft-mentioned golden bulla, and all the liberty and justice of the Empire, in the most constant, dignified and powerful manner. In addition to all this, the succession to the inheritance of the tribe is not to be sought or claimed.

24th As all these things aforesaid, and the articles of prescription, which pass one to each elector, entail.

(25) For this reason, it is to be considered and heard what the Electors, according to their presumed authority, are to do about the measured and orderly command of the Golden Bull, without the knowledge and consent of the other Imperial Estates.

(26) And what therefore might happen to the division, discord, and disquietude, to the mischief and diligence, among the estates of the Roman empire, from such an act, that they should be related to two lords with oaths. The oath that the princes of the empire take also reminds us of the special assurance that they have made, namely, that they have been duly and properly mentioned, from which they, the princes, may be charged with cause and agitation.

27 Which all in friendly opinion, on the duty, so that the Elector of Saxony Roman Imperial Maj. Maj. and to the realm, thus want to have reminded and advanced.

28 And because of this, the other six Electors, who on the day named hereafter, all wished to proceed personally with the election of a Roman king, have, in spite of all the exhortations, indicated as much as they can in order. The Elector of Saxony, through his son, Duke John Frederick, in addition to the attorney in this most important matter, as Mr. Hans von Mingwitz, Knight, on their written mandate, in the beginning of the ninth and twentieth day of December, has determined to proceed with the election, which was determined and announced for the election (when they, the six Electors, were together with some and many of their excellent counsellors, and assembled and arrived for the office of the mass in the chapter house of the high monastery at Cologne to talk personally in the vault, where the Saxons had also been appointed), against the same their elector. G. and publicly, by well-founded, honorable and lawful causes, against the nullity of the Archbishop of Mainz, Elector and Archchancellor of the Roman Empire in Germania, out of unavoidable necessity, according to their submitted mandate, as a necessary, unavoidable beginning, this time excipitated and protested, in the presence and appointment of two notaries, also the same article of exception immediately handed over in writing, and requested to be read.

29. the same conducive also together with the er-

The offer, so attached, especially to the Roman Imperial Majesty by Duke Frederick of Bavaria, Count Palatine. Majesty by Duke Frederick of Bavaria, Count Palatine, also besides a special writing and a submissive due request to her Imperial Majesty for a farewell. Majesty for a farewell.

(30) But to have the articles of exception and the petition made public at that time was refused by the Electors; therefore the Saxons had cause to be heard: one would not know how to avoid, because it had been refused to be read publicly, to have it passed on, as was due.

(31) Although first of all, before the protestation and exception, the Elector of Brandenburg, on the mandate submitted, indicated on behalf of all the Electors that it would not be sufficient for the election.

32 Answered again briefly: it would be sufficiently provided that H. F. G.'s son, Duke Johann Friedrich, and his deputy would be authorized to do so; for their minds would not be at the election for the aforementioned reasons.

33) On this the articles of exception were handed over as reported before, and the protest was made, but not read out publicly.

34 And so the young prince and the skilful counsellors of the Elector of Saxony, after the public and taken farewell, immediately on the protestation made, after an early meal, rode off from Cologne at 12 o'clock without danger to the Duke of Jülich, Eleve and Berg, the young duke, Johann Friedrich of Saxony's smith.

The Archbishop of Cologne and Elector was initially not present in person at the holding of the election by His Majesty the Emperor. Majesty, also not in the council discussions, but only appeared present on the certain election day begun, the 29th of December, but his councilors were present.

Subsequently the election took place in Cologne over several days, and furthermore the coronation in Aach on January 11, 1531 with all ceremonies in the presence of the Emperor. Maj. attendance happened.

1194 The Schmalkaldic League for the protection of true Christian religion and what is pending to it, made February 7, 1531, six years ago.

See No. 1192.

By the Grace of God, we John, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and John Frederick, father and son, Dukes of Saxony, Landgraves of Thuringia and Margraves of Meissen, Philip, Ernst and Francis, brothers and cousins, all Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, of Diez, Ziegenhain and Nidda, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania, Lord of Berneburg, Gebhardt and Albrecht, brothers, counts and lords of Mansfeld, and mayor, councilman, Jnnungsmeister, council and commonalty of the following named cities of the upper Netherlands, Saxony and the sea, as Strasbourg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Jsni, Lübeck, Magdeburg and Bremen, hereby confess, and make known to all men:

1. After the rulers of this time now and then show themselves in such a way carefully, swiftly and in advance, as if they desired to have those preach and proclaim the bright, clear, pure and unmistakable word of God in their principalities and cities, countries and territories by grace and bestowal of the Almighty, and thereby to put a stop to all kinds of abuses and to change them, and to urge them on with the deed and the painting of their Christian intention, and it is the duty of every Christian authority not only to have the holy Word of God proclaimed to their subjects, but also to see to it with all diligence, earnestness, and ability that they are not compelled by the Word of God or made derogatory to it: Our supreme need and the duty of the authorities require us to determine whether it should happen now or in the future that someone should force us or our subjects by painting or deed from the Word of God and the known truth (which the gracious and merciful God graciously prevents, and we do not wish to provide for anyone else), and thus again to urge them to prevent the abuses that have been committed and changed with all possible diligence.

2. So that such violence may be averted, and the destruction of both body and soul, ours and our subjects, may be prevented: We have therefore declared to God Almighty, for the praise and greater prosperity and growth of divine free doctrine, for the awakening and promotion of a Christian, unanimous being and peace, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, and all respectability, in addition to common our principalities, cities and regions for good welfare, honor, benefit and piety, solely for the defense and method of salvation, which is not only of natural origin to each of us.

The same are not only permitted and granted by human, but also by divine written laws, united with and against each other of a Christian and friendly mind, determined to receive and accept the same, and do so at present in and by virtue of this letter, in measure, form, and shape, as follows:

(3) Namely, that we should and will, in all things, each faithfully and heartily mean, hold, and warn the other from harm; and that we should and will not, publicly or secretly, with knowledge, bring forward, advance, or refrain from the other's enemies and repugnants.

4. And therefore this understanding alone is a defense and a salvation, and is not considered at all that any one of us should begin a war; if it should happen that some part of us, whoever it might be, should be brought forward for the word of God, evangelical doctrine, and our holy faith, or for things which follow from the word of God, evangelical doctrine, and the holy faith, and depend upon the same; or if another matter is brought against one of us for a pretence, but we, the others, who have not been attacked at such a time, may judge that it is primarily for the sake of this word of God that it should be attacked or violated and overdrawn, or that it should be attacked and overdrawn, and that the same should suffer the others to be justified in the end, that then all of us, the others, in this Christian understanding, and each for himself, as soon as we are informed and understand this by the one who has been raped, or otherwise by credible experience, should not let the matter concern us in any other way, than as if each of us were himself attacked, attacked, attacked, and thus were his own cause; Thereupon also, without any delay, each, according to his highest ability, shall unexpectedly help, save, and rescue the other, the attacked and violated, and have and make room for it; How then at any time, according to the occasion of the trade, by us, the rest, most easily and fruitfully considered good and serviceable, and our each Christian love and faithfulness, also his own conscience and even welfare will point to it, and thus faithfully help each other lead the trade, also no part without the other's knowledge let itself or go into some direction, contract or decency.

(5) This Christian mind of ours shall not be subject to the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, or to any state of the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, or to any state of the Holy Roman Empire,

1) In the old edition: "believers".

or anyone else, but solely for the preservation of Christian truth and peace in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, and for the removal of unjust violence, for us and our subjects and relatives, undertaken solely in defence and by way of salvation, since each of us, as touched upon above, may give and take right, and nothing else may be meant.

006 If any man also desire to enter further into this Christian understanding of ours, and were not formerly apprehended therein, who have received the holy gospel, let him be received and accepted therein with the knowledge and will of us all.

007 And this Christian understanding shall begin at this time, and continue six years next succeeding each other, and shall be performed and kept by us all, and by every one in particular, faithfully, sincerely, honestly, and without all danger.

8. And even if it were a fact that one should come to war with someone because of the divine word and the cause flowing from it, and that before the end of the six years mentioned, it should not be brought to an end, nevertheless, that of all parts, regardless of the fact that the Christian understanding has come to an end, no part should withdraw or separate from it, notwithstanding that the appointed years have fully expired, and that the Christian understanding has come to an end, it shall be faithfully maintained and carried out to the end, and no part shall withdraw or separate itself therefrom, and this Christian understanding may then, if it please the parties, be prolonged.

(9) We the aforesaid Electors, Princes, Counts and Councillors of the Cities, by our honours, dignities, true words and good faith, do promise and swear, in lieu of an oath, for ourselves and our heirs or descendants 2c., in and by virtue of this present letter, to hold true, steadfast, firm and unbreakable, to comply therewith wholly and to live, not to do nor create to be done contrary thereto, in any way or manner, all honestly, faithfully and safely.

(10) And therefore, for more evidence, security, and confirmation, we the above-mentioned Electors, Princes, Counts, and Cities have affixed our seals, as we Duke John, Elector, for us, and our son, Duke Frederick of Saxony 2c., and Duke Ernst, for us, and our two brothers, Duke Otten, and Franzen of Lüneburg, do knowingly affix to this letter, and give it on Monday after the Sunday of Invocavit [7 Feb.], after the birth of Christ our dear Lord, one thousand five hundred and one and thirty years.

Luther's, Melanchthon's, and Bugenhagen's Rathschlag on the action at Schmalkalden. August 1531.

This objection is found in the Altenburg edition, vol. VIII, p. 974; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 346; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 281 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 244. The original is found in the Weimar archive, LkZ. 8, p. 42. From it, Burkhardt, p. 197, lists a large number of important variants that have not yet been used in any edition and are now used here for the first time. In the editions mentioned above, Jonas is erroneously named as the third contributor to this concern. It was not Jonas, but Bugenhagen who participated in the deliberation of this consideration, in that he only reviewed the consideration written by Luther and Melanchthon and added marginal glosses. But neither De Wette nor Burkhardt has reproduced these. The first two paragraphs are by Melanchthon, the rest is in Luther's handwriting. - We have set the time according to De Wette, who states that this concern is "about the peace negotiations to be held between the Protestant princes and the Electors of Mainz and of the Palatinate in Schmalkalden".

001 In doctrine, according to the confession, one cannot and ought not to depart. For Christ thus saith, "He that confesseth me before men" 2c. For the parts which we dispute concern the main part of Christian doctrine; if the same is obscured or denied, no one can know what Christ is, and so Christ is blasphemed, and consciences can have no right consolation at all.

(2) Whether, in ceremonies and customs, liberty is to yield and yield somewhat for the sake of peace and love? Whether the bishops are to be allowed their jurisdiction and authority over ours? Some think that nothing should be yielded, even in outward liberty. For if one wants to yield something, one should do so for the sake of the brethren. Now the bishops and the opposing party are not brothers, but enemies and wolves, against whom one is obliged to show oneself as enemies again. And especially of the jurisdiction and power of the bishops it is considered, that though the bishops would accept us, and leave us the doctrine, yet if they persecute the doctrine in their countries, and kill our brethren, we should not hold them for bishops and brethren.

003 In the first place, methinks it ought to be well to slacken and give way a little in outward ceremonies, for the sake of peace. For this union is not with bishops and enemies, but rather with pious men who dwell among them, and love our doctrine with all their hearts, and are to their bishops as we are. Thus we ourselves have hitherto written and taught, that we hold the ceremonies to be free, which for peace and love of the brethren, yea, even of the enemies for service, where necessity and peace require it, both may keep and leave, as Matt. 5: "He that constraineth thee a mile" 2c. For that we have condemned and changed the ceremonies is not because the ceremonies are all evil, but because they are necessary to salvation, which we cannot yet suffer, nor do we ever wish to suffer. But such a union will be useful to prevent much unhappiness, to avoid many causes of further discord, and to avoid much vexation among the pious hearts that dwell under the bishop. For the sake of a pious man, it is sometimes necessary to do ten reels of good, and to put a light on the devil. And it is to be considered whether they would charge us that we ourselves wanted to have the ceremonies free, and offered to keep them for the sake of peace, however shameful it would be to deny such, or even to answer for it. But we speak of such ceremonies as are set by men, and do not strive against God, as, if one would unite, not to eat meat in public, but to keep the solennes kerias and chants; but on condition that it does not weigh down the consciences, as if they were necessary divine services. That the mass may be said in ordinary garments and chants, except what is unchristian of the saints, or contrary to the word of God. For even so it is not at all fitting that everything should be torn apart in this way, without any need, and out of a loud pride in renewal. Nevertheless a manner and measure must be kept in the church, least of all for the sake of the children and simple-minded people. But the Canon, both small and great, we cannot admit, because therein the service of the saints and uxxlioutio oporis oporati pro vivis st äokunotis stands and is practiced, which is contrary to the faith in Christ.

is unpleasant. We cannot restore the private masses, because it is public that they hold and teach them as before, that such masses are all applied, as their foundation, seals, and letters, as well as their books and customs, convince us mightily, and they work to ensure that such masses remain, to prevent and confirm said abuses. But whether they want to pretend that they want to keep the private mass only out of devotion and to report to themselves, 1) one cannot believe that it is serious, unless they condemn and reject their letters, seals, both canons and books, which are written about it. And though they be in earnest, yet it is not lawful for any man to report himself, because it is a sacrament, and hath a *ministrum, as* little as any man can baptize himself, or call himself to the preaching office. Nor can they otherwise use and enjoy the sacrament, and there is no need, nor any need, to set up such a dangerous and annoying secondary service, and to create a superstition.

(4) Whether they would have us teach that it is right to take and administer one form of the sacrament, as well as to give and take both forms, lest we condemn all Christendom. Here we cannot consent or approve in any way that the bishops may have the right and power to command or forbid one form, nor can such an outrage ever be excused before God, because Christ's and Paul's word stands clear, and establishes both forms. Now no man, says St. Paul, should change God's will or do so. But with this we do not condemn those who have been forced to take one form and have done so unwillingly, even though they have done wrong; but we commend them to the mercy of God, who forgives even more and greater sins daily to his afflicted and poor sinners, who can also forgive the sins of his saints. But the bishops are not such poor sinners, because they do not recognize such iniquity and violence as sin, but defend it as the right and article of faith. Therefore

1) "report" - communiciren.

they have no hope of forgiveness of sin in this, but must be badly damned.

005 Neither do we like that absolution should come out of the church, and that men should run so roughly to the sacrament. And although we do not want to force or compel anyone to confess a mortal sin, nor do we want to oblige them to tell all their sins and torture their consciences, as under the pope, yet this is just as unacceptable as prohibiting confession and removing absolution from the church for this reason. For there must remain a form and discipline in the church, which cannot be maintained without confession. And if people were not accustomed to respect sin in confession and to wait for absolution or forgiveness, in time absolution and forgiveness of sin would be completely extinguished and become an unknown thing, and people would again run to the sacrament out of their own devotion, as before. So, too, we must leave room for the consoling free Gospel, that it may be said to one man as well as to many. But what is absolution but the gospel told to a single man, who thereby receives consolation for his confessed sin? Thus Christ's example is found in Matt. 9, where he absolved the gout-ridden one by one, and in Luc. 7, where he absolved Mariam Magdalenam also one by one.

6th On the other hand, to restore the jurisdiction of the bishops, because in this also nothing else is sought for peace, methinks that not enough causes are shown to deny the jurisdiction altogether, that they are wolves and our enemies. In this case we must take comfort in the fact that in former times the Jews also had to receive the priesthood from Herod and the Romans, as Josephus writes, even though Herod also tormented and strangled them. And how have the Bohemians done hitherto, whom the pope condemned and persecuted, and yet they had him ordain them priests and took them; and what have the dear prophets had to do and suffer in the time of the kings in Israel, by whom they were also strangled and persecuted, and yet they were obedient and subject to them, so far as it was not against God. Thus Zacharias, John's father, had to suffer from An-

nas and Caiphas received his office. How much more may I accept the jurisdiction of the bishops, because they sit in the office and in the place of the apostles, even though they are wolves and rabid, if they do not force us to do this against God, but let our doctrine remain. Now if the bishops would consent to leave us the pure doctrine of the gospel, and our priests, our priests shall be subject to them as bishops, and not as wolves. Although we cannot think how the bishops may or can do this, that they should leave us the pure gospel. For in so doing they would have to grant that we should publicly condemn their doings in the pulpit and in the writings, and that we should oppose and discourage everything that is contrary to the gospel; which is impossible for them to suffer, for they themselves would gladly perish, and call us to cry out and write against them. Since this is the case, it seems to us to be of great use not to complain about granting jurisdiction to such measures. For in this way we would have the blessing, and they the displeasure, if they would not accept the offered jurisdiction, unless the gospel had first been denied and condemned by us. This would also excuse our conscience before God and the world, so that we could not be called *schismatics*, and all their arguments would be dispelled, since they claim that they have the possessorium and the tradition, and sit in the place of the apostles. But if we are totally opposed to the jurisdiction, they are in disfavor, and we are in disfavor, since they do not want to give way in any small way. So there's no way here. For if they grant us the free gospel, as it is not possible, they have received evil things in the ceremonies and jurisdiction which we grant against the gospel which they grant us. How would I have to act if I were among the murderers? I would have to be a prisoner and a servant, and yet not do anything against God, as St. Paul was a gardener under King Attila, and yet had not lost his bishopric, nor had he left it. So here also is no more than an outward prison, if we would so accept and suffer the jurisdiction, and yet keep the gospel.

The gospel was freely kept against them. Truly I fear that with such a refusal of jurisdiction we stand in our own light, and take and secure things too surely beforehand with reason; just as if God should not also be able to do something in this, more and differently than we believe or think, since the things are his own, and he will also do better for it, as has been done up to now, than we, if we can only trust him.

007 If the bishops would henceforth take the matrimonial cases to themselves to judge, we would not only not complain, but also consider it cheerfully and willingly, because it is a laborious and perilous work, and perhaps in the future we might pronounce as unjust a judgment as they do, because the time is almost swift, and may become still swifter, with the spirits of the wicked, and many other grievous affairs; wherefore we would well lay aside what we could. For we have enough to do without that. For what we have taught and said about the degrees, we have not done to establish laws or new rights, but to comfort and secure the consciences of those who are not sufficiently assured by the dispensation of the pope, or who are otherwise burdened by such rights, so that they do not think that they must break such marriages before God, and listen to one another for the sake of man's command. For our teaching is always directed to the captive, confused, afflicted consciences, so that they may be granted such Christian teaching and freedom. Hereby we give nothing to the raw rabble, but throw them fresh under the most strict laws, and let them remain under them, and do not call them to make a right out of our comfort and freedom, no lidortus [in 1) oooasioN6IN oorurn äotur.

8 Although we do not want to complain to our Gn. H. conscience that his Electoral Grace has taken some goods from monastery estates. Gn. took some goods from monastery estates. Because this is publicly known, that at this time all church matters and affairs were on his electoral grace's neck, and that it was a matter of great concern to us. and great cost and effort have been expended on them, and yet he has not been guilty of taking any of his own goods from the monastery.

1) We have added this "in" after Gal. 5,13. There it says: in oeeasionkm earnis.

To bear such cost and trouble for the goods. For this reason, according to the Gospel, it is due to His Holy Grace to receive reimbursement. Paul says in 1 Corinthians 9: "Who ever travels on his own fare?" and Christ in Matthew 10: "A laborer is worth his wages. Moreover, many pastors and preachers have to be appointed from common castles. As many parish priests are endowed with such estates. However, it seems good to us that we should be careful about such corrupt estates and

For the sake of our being, we are not very much deterred. And if the clergy were so hard to be appointed, that they might be made to eat and drink in their God's name, yet except the first part, that they should not teach nor live contrary to the gospel, nor set up again their blasphemous services. For if they would reprove and perform these things, they are not to be tolerated, neither are they to be suffered; and though they were to be set up, yet we cannot consent thereto.

The second section of the fourteenth chapter.

Of the first religious peace concluded after the peace treaty at Nuremberg and confirmed by the Emperor at Regensburg.

D. Martin Luther's answer to the Elector of Saxony's admonition to him to refrain from harsh writing, especially against Duke George, so that peace would not be prevented. July 29, 1531.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 470; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 332; in the Altenburg, vol.v, p. 591; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 345; in the Erlangen, vol. 54, p. 240; and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 276.

Grace and peace. Most noble Prince, most gracious Lord! My dear lord and friend D. Brück, Chancellor, in E. C. F. G.'s name, that I would henceforth refrain from harsh writing, especially concerning Duke Georgen, as far as it would ever be possible for the sake of my conscience and doctrine, so that the peace and treaty, recently granted by God's grace at Grimme, would not be shattered or prevented.

Now it is true that Duke George has noticeable knots and lumps in my skirt. But that they may see that I also have a desire for peace, and that I do not write my evil books out of spite, I will let all this go and be given away, so long as Duke George leaves me satisfied and does not cause any new unpleasantness;

also with the reservation, where other papists did not want to keep peace with me, that I may be free to touch them. For I do not mean Duke George by this, but only that he does not mean it to me. This I will have promised to E. C. F. G. in humble service. Hiemit GOtt befohlen, Amen. Saturday after St. Jacob's Day [July 29] 1531.

E. C. F. G.

blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

1197th Treaty of Peace of the Electors of Mainz and Palatinate, between the protesting estates and the Catholic ones, at Schweinfnrt, April 2-5, 1532.

This writing is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 303; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 1016; and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 367.

When, at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530, the protesting estates were given a serious, swift farewell, and Prince Joachim of Brandenburg, the first of that name, publicly stated in the Imperial Council that the Imperial Majesty and the Catholic estates were determined to turn their bodies, goods and blood to the eradication of the Lutheran doctrine, the protesting estates thought their best. Majesty and the Catholic estates were determined to turn their bodies, goods and blood to it, that the Lutheran doctrine should be eradicated: then the protesting estates also thought their best.

and afterwards at Schmalkalden and elsewhere had met for several days, and conferred with each other on a defension, so that they should be attacked and attacked on account of the Gospel. Therefore, since this would give rise to all kinds of noise, discord, and disruption in the German lands, the two Electors, Albrecht, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz 2c., and Count Palatine Ludwig, to the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, have issued a decree to the Imperial Majesty of the Holy Roman Empire. Majest. They offered themselves as negotiators and mediators so that peace could be established between the protesting and Catholic estates, and that no estate would have to resort to violence before the other. Thereupon a day was set for Schweinfurt, where both Electors, Mainz and Palatinate, appeared in person, as well as Duke Johann Frederick of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse's advisors, and the act of peace was performed, as follows.

I.

Of the two Electors, Mainz and Palatinate, Lecture 2c.

1. our, Albrecht, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz, and Ludwig, Count Palatine 2c., both Electors, as approved negotiators, concerns and proposals, how and in what way, in our hope, the disputed religious matters should and would be brought and preserved to a peaceful arrangement; of the Highborn Prince, our dear grandfather and cousin, Duke John Frederick of Saxony, instead of his dear father, also of our grandfather and cousin, the Landgrave of Saxony, and their related princes, counts, lords, and cities, now at this amicable day and action here at Schweinfurt, namely, whether it should be brought about, as both Electors have requested not to spare all possible diligence, as before.

(2) Initially, that the Elector of Saxony, his beloved son, Lord John Frederick, also the Landgrave of Hesse, and other of their beloved kinsmen, who have handed themselves over in writings at Augsburg in the Confession and Assension concerning our Christian faith, should not make any further nor any more innovations about the same Confession and Assension until a future Concilium.

(3) But that the said our dear uncle and cousin, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, and their dearest kinsmen,

That they are not to be dependent on, or in attendance with, the Zwinglians and Anabaptists, nor to show favor to them. Neither shall any party of the other subjects in matters of faith draw upon themselves, nor be subject to maintain, accept, protect, and shield.

(4) That even our dear hosts and cousins, the Electors of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and their kinsmen, should refrain from preaching, and from preaching and publicizing, whether by word, printing, writing, or other means, matters pertaining to the faith, further and more than the Confession and Assension (delivered by them at the Diet of Augsburg) contains. And that neither one nor the other party shall preach, nor procure to be preached, outside their own and their fellow subject lands and territories, nor shall either party speak, say, or write anything grievous or blasphemous against the other.

(5) As far as the prelates' jurisdiction, customs and ceremonies are concerned, in the Dukes of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and their beloved neighboring lands and dominions, as well as in the ecclesiastical estates, because of which much unpleasantness has arisen up to now, it is our good pleasure and in accordance with equity that nothing new be done in this matter, but that the matter be conducted by such reasonable means and ways as may be found to be agreeable to the Imperial Majesty and to peace on all sides. Majesty and on all sides to be agreeable and conducive to peace.

(6) That also beforehand a common peace between those who persist in the old faith and the above-mentioned princes and chieftains, together with their co-relatives, may be and be maintained on both sides, and that with true friendship and Christian devotion, each one as much as is in him, may endeavor and procur that the council be held, as soon as convenient and possible, for the explanation and discussion of the disagreements and troubles which are in the faith; to which then the Imperial Majesty will doubtless hold her hand. Majesty will undoubtedly hold the hand of her fortune.

7. That also our dear hosts and cousins, the Dukes of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and their beloved kinsmen, will all and unanimously make every effort to be and serve the German nation for its welfare, security, peace, and comfort, also for the help, protection, and preservation of the same; to contribute to the resistance of the Turks, according to the content of the farewell, recently established at Augsburg, as they have indicated to do several times; in the same way their loved ones and their kinsfolk

with the other princes and estates of the realm, the like, and so much more, as concerns matters of faith, the counsels, resolutions, and agreements of the imperial congresses, which have been made in various times and will be made in the future, and should comply with them.

(8) And if these things were to take place as reported above, also our dear families and cousins, the Dukes of Saxony, Hesse, and their kinsmen, would obey the Imperial Majesty and the Roman King without opposition. Majesty and the Roman King without opposition, also whether any understanding against their Imperial or Royal Majesty, or others of the old faith, has been raised, or others of the old faith, that they will drop them as invalid: we are of the consoling hope that their Imperial and Royal Majesties will also drop all displeasure and ill-will which their Majesties have conceived against them, put all past matters and grievances into oblivion, and remain their most gracious Emperor and Roman King, and graciously hold them in all their matters.

Delivered Tuesdays in Easter week

s^2 April Anno 1532.

II.

Scripture of the Evangelicals, wherein they desire a more detailed explanation of the foregoing discourse.

(1) On the means handed over to our friendly dear lords and cousins and most gracious lords, the Electors of Mainz and Palatinate, we kindly and humbly request further information and explanation for the sake of the following words and articles.

(2) For first, we understand these words, which are written in the first article: "And others of their kindred, who have entered into the confession and assension, delivered up in writings at Augsburg," 2c. that all we, the states and cities hereafter named, who have hitherto entered into the confession and made ourselves divisible, are thereby meant, viz:

3. the Elector of Saxony 2c. together with Duke Johann Friedrichen, his son, Margrave Georg of Brandenburg, Duke Philipp, Ernst and Franz, brothers and cousins, of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, Gebhard and Albrecht, brothers, counts and lords of Mansfeld. And the cities of Strasbourg, Norimberg, Constance, Ulm, Bibrach, Jßni, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Eßlingen, Lindau, Heilbrunn, Kempten, Weißenburg, Winsheim, Lübeck, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Bremen, Goslar, Eimbeck and Göttingen.

(4) Although the Concilii is thought of merely and not further, we nevertheless provide that the free, common, Christian Concilium is meant, of which some previous imperial treaties report, and the contents of which are to be held in the German nation at one of the places named therein.

(5) Thus the first article has these words: "that no further innovation shall be made concerning the confession in question until the future council. This is understood by us to refer only to the innovation in doctrine concerning the articles which have been taught and preached by our people up to the present time by virtue of the Confession, and not to any change in the customs and ceremonies which have been, or may be, performed in our country in accordance with and based on the doctrine stated in the Confession.

(6) There is a misunderstanding between us concerning the half-word of the third article, inasmuch as it is expressed, "that some party shall not draw to himself the other subjects in matters of faith, nor shall he be subject to entertain or accept them, Whether the article is meant only as long as they still live under another authority and abstain, or also if they leave the other authorities' lands, and have turned or want to turn under someone of our part, it is ecclesiastical order or other, secular people.

(7) In the fourth article are these words: "that the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and their kinsmen should refrain from preaching and publicizing, whether by word, printing, writing, or in other ways, things that affect the faith, further and more than this confession, which is delivered by our part at Augsburg, contains.

(8) Now the Augsburg Confession was a harmless summary of all the articles that had previously been taught, printed, preached, and written in this part. However, this does not include other abuses previously taught and publicized by our people by means of divine Scripture, as well as the information given against these abuses in the enclosed notes, which were issued by the Emperor at Augsburg after the confession had been printed, preached, and written. Maj. at Augsburg, after the reported Confession had been handed over, on Her Maj.'s commanding inquiry as to whether we wished to remain with the Articles of the Confession. Therefore the necessity requires to receive an explanation of the words touched upon, so that through misunderstanding no further errors may occur.

9 At the end of the same article there are these words: "that neither party against the other may do anything abusive".

or blasphemous things" 2c. Now, the well-known doctrine touched upon has for some time been considered heretical, and ours have been accused of being heretics, and of other blasphemous invectives, and do not understand it otherwise than that it should henceforth be shunned.

10th In the fifth article, the prelates' jurisdiction, customs and ceremonies, in the Dukes of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and their related lands and dominions, as well as the ecclesiastical estates, it is proposed: "that the things be drawn up in such proper ways and means as may be found, that they may serve the imperial Majesty and all for peace. 2c., without it being stated what these proper ways and means could be, so that in the future, if the ecclesiastics or others want to insist on them, and they could not be imposed on this part of their intention, as can easily be considered, no new and further misconduct may arise from it.

(11) In the sixth article it is said, "that a good common peace shall be maintained between those who persist in the old faith and the above-mentioned princes and rulers, together with their kinsmen, ...there is some doubt, in that the words..: "so remain in the old faith," are added to the other part; which should be heard, if it should have the sense, as otherwise the words almost read, as if we had departed from the old faith, which we nevertheless have on this part; but do so [teach and preach it] as God has proclaimed and preached it to the world through His prophets, and later through His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Savior, and His apostles, [as we] 1) can show and prove in the contents of our Confession and Apology. For to add anything of this or any other form to the Christian and known doctrine and God's Word would be burdensome, and would not at all suit us with God and our conscience.

(12) Further, in the reported sixth article, there follow these words: "Let every one, as much as he may care, procur that the council be held, as soon as it may be convenient and possible, for the explanation and discussion of the dissensions and grievances which are in the faith, in which the Imperial Majesty will, without doubt, take a hand of her fortune. Majesty will undoubtedly hold the hand of her fortune." From this we do not

1) This and the preceding addition seemed to us necessary to make sense.

how it is to be understood "that each one, as much as is in him, shall endeavor and procure that the Council be kept", since several previous Imperial Treaties already report the same, together with what the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, especially at the last Imperial Diet at Speier, by Her Majesty's Orators and Commissars, has already said. Our most gracious Lord, especially at the last Imperial Diet at Speier, has graciously granted and put off by Her Majesty's Orators and Commissars to the Princes, Princes and Estates, of which Her Majesty was also reminded several times at the next Imperial Diet held by Her Majesty at Augsburg, with further necessary notices.

(13) After such requested declaration we want to let ourselves be heard by the Almighty of our necessity of the done proposals.

III.

The declaration given hereupon by Churpfalz and Mainz.

1. our, Albrecht, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz 2c., and Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, both Electors and approved negotiators, further report and explanation, on some words and articles in our proposed means, by the Highborn Prince, our dear grandfather and cousin, Mr. Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony, on account of his dear father, also the landgravial councillors, and others of these matters in doubt, according to a list, therefore sent and handed over to us.

(2) Initially on the words, incorporated in the first proposed point, of the content that the Elector of Saxony, the son of his dearest love, Duke John Frederick, also Landgrave of Hesse, "and other of their dearest kinsmen, who in the Confession and Assension, concerning our Christian faith, have handed themselves over in writings at Augsburg," (2c.) we, the Electors, are concerned that all those who have handed themselves over in the above-mentioned Confession and Assension, and compare themselves with them, will also remain as they are now, We, the Electors, are concerned that all those who have entered into the above-mentioned confession and assension, and who compare themselves with them, remain in this action as they have now submitted themselves by name, and that we also insist with Imperial Majesty that all those who have submitted themselves by name are to be treated as Christians. Majesty that all of them, as they are now indicated to us here in writings, will be conceded in such an agreement, as it gains its progress, and that we will act with the best of diligence.

(3) In response to our uncle and cousin, Duke John Frederick, and his dear kinsmen, "that in the above-mentioned Articles the Concilii is merely thought of," 2c. we may well remember what was said before at the Imperial Diet that such a Christian Concilium, as we have called it, is not a Christian Concilium.

It is our opinion that it should not be held by one nation, but that a settlement must be reached with Papal Holiness and other high Christian potentates, each of whom believes to have such a council in the same nation. Therefore, if these things are to be endured and maintained in accordance with our proposals, we are obliged to apply to His Imperial Majesty with all our best diligence. Maj. with all our best diligence, as we do not doubt that Her Imperial Majesty will be inclined to support us. Maj. will be inclined to promote and help whether such a council, as much as possible, should be held in the near future in German lands or within the borders thereof.

4th And concerning the words in the first article, "that no further innovation should be made about the reported assension and confession," and what is indicated for the sake of the ceremonies by our dear grandparents and cousins, and their relatives, besides, such words, and how it is meant for the sake of the ceremonies, are reported, further declared, and explained in the article of jurisdiction, ceremonies, and spiritual goods.

(5) Furthermore, the third article states that "neither party shall take to itself the other's subjects in matters of faith," (2c) such an article is for the constant preservation of unity for the sake of peace, and is therefore established. Where, however, special and private persons, out of one party's authority, and with the same knowledge and will, wish to go to another place, and would appear to be accepted thereupon by the other party, this article is not to be contravened.

(6) To the words of the fourth article, "that the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and their kinsmen in the matter, abstain from preaching, and from preaching and publicizing" 2c. The above point has the meaning with us that their loved ones and the others are not to preach, teach, write or have printed any further, for as much as their confession and assension can, according to the same and no further 2c.

(7) To the words of the above-mentioned fourth article, "that neither party shall speak or write anything defamatory or blasphemous against the other" 2c. In this it is our opinion, and fairly observed, that neither party shall offend the other with profanity or blasphemy in preaching, writing, printing, or otherwise speaking, as may be done, as set forth in the article, and that every authority shall thus keep the same with his own in earnest, for the sake of more peace.

8. on the fifth article, "the prelates' jurisdiction, customs and ceremonies 2c. be
appropriate" . Although this article is considered by many estates to be most burdensome, but nevertheless, so that good peace and unity may be preserved until the future Concilio, and as far as the other articles and proposals also take place and are preserved, we are of the comforting hope to obtain this point from Imperial Majesty. Majesty in this way:

(9) That, as far as the prelates' jurisdiction, custom, and ceremonies are concerned, in the lands and dominions of the Dukes of Saxony, of the Landgrave of Hesse, and of their kindreds, as well as in the ecclesiastical estates, nothing shall be innovated in that which now exists until the next Concilium.

010 And when in the sixth article the words, viz: "2c., we give this report, that such words are used solely for the distinction of the parties, and not to burden anyone with them. Nor is our mind to speak of who is of the old or new faith, but to act in peaceable decency until future Concilio. But in the event that our dear grandparents and cousins, and their relatives, should ever find such words burdensome, they shall be provided for, namely: that good common peace be maintained between both parties. 2c.

(11) Finally, when doubts have arisen as to how each party should proceed (1) so that the Council may be held as soon as convenient, it is to be understood that both parties, in addition to the Imperial Majesty and other estates of the realm, should persevere and endeavor as much as possible to promote the holding of such Council. Maj. and other estates of the realm, shall persevere, and as much as in them, endeavor, and promote, that such Concilium, as may be most convenient, shall be held. The undoubted confidence that Imperial Maj. Maj. will not let any lack or delay appear in it, as has been done and sought in many ways by Her Majesty.

Delivered Friday in Easter Week [5 April] Xrnio N. V.XXXII.

1198. d. Mart. Luther's cry to the Elector Prince John Frederick not to refuse the peace offered. February 12, 1532.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 47IK; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 483k; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 959; in the Leipzig edition, vol.XX, p.362; in the Erlangen edition, vol.54,p.271; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 337 and (from a manuscript) in the Unsch. Nachr. 1711, p. 16.

1) "procuriren" put by us instead of: "provociren", according to the preceding writing, No. I, Z6 and No. II, s 12.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious Lord.

1. grace and peace in Christ. Sublime, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! The Chancellor, O. Brück, has sent me the articles that the two Electors of Mainz and Palatinate are to act on by imperial command. Maj.'s command, are to act on a treaty between this part of the Princes and the Emperor 2c., and I have indicated to him my opinion as to how they are to be well suffered and accepted. Since I believe that God hears our prayer, meets and greets us with grace and peace, and would now like to hear a humble answer, I have not failed to write to E. F. G. and to present my humble request.

2. for I must fear that the one article of the king 2c. E. F. G. might want to move, and seem burdensome, and that not without cause, as now everyone is well aware. But, my lord, because E. F. G.'s virtuous deed and resistance to the king's unjust choice has been widely heard and known to all the world, the king's and everyone's injustice has been sufficiently punished, and E. F. G. together with her theologians have been punished. F. G. together with her part is sufficiently and abundantly pardoned, so I will humbly and for God's sake have asked E. F. G. to let such article go henceforth, to God's praise and honor, and not to let it hinder peace and treaty.

(3) For the F.F.G. himself can well consider that if it should come to war, and even if it did well, peace would have to be made in the end, because such wars cannot be eternal; and then, after such damage and misery, the same peace would perhaps have to be accepted with more annoying and more difficult means than it is now being offered. Moreover, even now E. F. G. sees how firmly and surely the cities and alliances hold, that it is nothing else but splendid thoughts and exquisite proposals, which seem almost comforting, because there is no need; but when it comes to the encounter, it all turns to water, and there is no one at home; so then no citizen nor city can be found, who can ask for peace.

...will risk his life and goods for the sake of a prince...

004 For this very reason also such comfort and confidence are dangerous and harmful (not to say unchristian), because they teach and accustom the heart to rely on the help and counsel of men. Which. God finally does not suffer, but certainly puts to shame. It is true that the help of men, where God gives and gives it, is not evil; but to seek it, or to rely on it, and to begin something, has never been well done, and never will be.

(5) But now that the emperor, as an authority ordained by God, has so graciously given himself, and has so mildly given a free order to make peace, it is truly not to be regarded otherwise than as if God were offering us his gracious hand. And it is time that we do not let him stretch out his hand in vain, which would make him highly distressed, as he laments in Proverbs 1.

6th So it is also E. F. G.'s length not sorry that the longer the longer the displeasure and resentment of that part grows. He who is not a prince, since more is at stake than in a single person, is easy to defy and expect wars; for he has not much to lose, or at least comes out of the mud more easily than the prince himself, whom he has led into it.

But I have become too wise and talk too much. E. F. G. would graciously credit me with it. For I do it out of humble concern and loyalty to E. F. G., as my dear Prince. I will hope and trust that E. F. G. will do better than I think. For this I will also call upon God's help with earnestness, and faithfully pray for E. F. G.. For it is he who must begin, continue and complete what is to become good. Man's thoughts are of no use, saith the Psalter. Christ, our light and life of love, be with us forever, amen. Monday after Estomihi s12. Feb.) 1532.

E. F. G.
blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

1199 D. Mart. Luther's two letters to the Elector John of Saxony concerning the peace treaty.

a. First letter, because of the action at Schweinfurt. In Feb. 1532.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 472; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 495; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p.960; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 363; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 269, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 335.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! D. Brück, E. C. F. G. Chancellor, has now again indicated to me the articles, as before, on which the two Electors 2c. are to act with E. C. F. G., between Kais. Maj. and E. C. F. G. to make a treaty or peace, and thereupon on account of E. C. F. G. my concern requested 2c.

(2) Therefore this is my humble concern, that such articles are well and acceptable. And whether some of them are still obscure or suspicious, I think, if it came to action, everything would be clear and certain. And indeed (as far as I understand myself), it seems to me to be the earnestness and right opinion of the two Electors, since they have received such a broad and free command from the Emperor to act, and have also used Count Palatine Frederick for this purpose in such a message, so that they may indicate that it has been important to them, and still is.

Because the matter has now come to such a point that nothing would prevent such a treaty and peace, except perhaps the article of the king 2c., my humble request is that E. C. F. G. should give the same to Christ and let him go. If he is unjustly chosen, he is quite atoned for it until therefore.

Thus also E. C. F. G. has sufficiently contradicted such injustice, and has shown himself well against it. One must also allow this Christian article to rule, which is called forgiveness.

Of sins. Otherwise, when one blows his nose too hard, blood follows, and when anger is urged, strife arises. It will remain in the world that many things are done wrong, and when they are done, they must remain unchanged, as the law teaches, to prevent greater harm.

(5) And this is also to be highly considered, that God has given us such causes for peace, that He perhaps intends to further His Gospel with it and through it, and yet we are guilty of denying and abandoning ourselves as well, where we can praise and promote God's honor, name and word. All of which is to be prevented by strife, and perhaps the contradiction would come, so that we, too, would be prevented or deprived of the Gospel through war and strife.

006 Christ our Lord, to whom these things are given in honour, shall make E. C. F. G. glorious again, as he promised: so saith and teacheth St. Paul Rom. 12:18, that we Christians, as much as it is in us, should keep peace with every man. This is so much as to say, that we ought to leave our rights for the sake of peace, that we may not lack it. For peace is more important than justice; indeed, justice is established for the sake of peace.

7th For, since God for fei! where the treaty should be hindered, for the sake of this article, then it must finally follow that a war will result, whether the Emperor remains in the country or not 2c. And E. C. F. G. would have to be the cause of such a war, without necessity, which would be an unmistakable burden in the conscience, if the rebuke would come and bite afterwards, namely: "Why did I not leave my right and accept peace, so that such great misfortune and misery would not come? And if it should come to pass, that the kingdom should be rent asunder, and given to the Turks, and both the gospel and all things should perish.

008 Thus we also see how there is no loyalty among foreign kings, and how the cities are mighty of their citizens when it comes to a meeting, as has often been experienced, and now the people of Zurich are a strong example. For I know that God does not allow such alliances.

And he also causeth them not to hold: as all the prophets are full of them. For they are only the thoughts and actions of men, made without the word and command of God, out of their own folly. Therefore it is not possible that they should keep and not fail in the time of trouble. The Scripture says, "All men are liars," that is, they do not help but fail. And in the land of Egypt Isaiah calls it a broken reed, which passeth through the hand of him that trusteth in it. We have a divine cause, which God alone will and must preserve, as he has done up to now; the thoughts of men truly do not.

(9) Such my humble concern E. C. F. G. would graciously credit me with; for I also mean well, God knows that, and hope that I am not speaking out of human shards. The merciful Father enlighten and strengthen E. C. F. G. to do his good will, amen, amen.

E. C. F. G.
blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

b. Second letter, concerning the peace negotiations at Nuremberg.

June 29, 1532.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 473; in the Jena edition (1566), vol. V, p. 496; in the Altenburg edition, vol. V, p. 971; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XX, p. 364; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 312, and in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 382. This letter refers, as both De Wette and Burkhardt testify, to Nuremberg, not as Plan! Ill, 1. 223, to the convent at Schweinfurt.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! Here I send the trades to E. C. F. G. again, with our humble concern.

002 And because I find in all things, that some of our people desire to be too wise and certain, and, as their words are, to have an undisputable peace, I cannot indeed think otherwise than that they have no desire for peace, or else (which is as much) are striving after an impossible peace.

003 For where is any contract, right, bargain, seal, or letter ever made, drawn up, or given?
or erected, since one could not argue against it, or make a hole through it? If we are so exact and sure of our own jokes, and do not trust everything to God, and let him have his way, nothing good will come of it, and we will be according to the saying of Solomon: "He who blows his nose too hard draws blood, and he who spurns what is small does not get what is greater.

(4) Indeed, where Imperial Majesty grants such articles as we have now changed in the one amendment. Majesty grants such articles as we have now changed in the one addition (to take protection from other persons fleeing to us), His Imperial Majesty has done enough, and for this both blame and disgrace will be ours. Majesty has done enough, and both blame and displeasure will be ours. For God greets us graciously; if we do not thank him, we will sin greatly and have no happiness.

(5) Accordingly, I most humbly ask E. C. F. G. to write a good, hard letter to ours, and faithfully admonish them to see how much and graciously the Imperial Majesty yields to us, which we may well accept with a clear conscience. Maj. yields to us, which we may well accept with a good conscience; in addition, His Imperial Majesty himself does not accept the King's matters. Majesty himself does not want the King's things mixed up, and will not refuse such gracious peace for the sake of a few pointed, precisely sought points, God will (when the main parts proceed with peace) heal and provide for such minor requested deficiencies. They will not divide the purpose, nor is it necessary, but it is enough that one shoots close to it. All our life and deeds, both against God and man (as full of infirmities), must be borne by toleration and forgiveness of sins.

006 And if we were to be so godly and so pious toward God and toward our neighbors, and so pure and entire, we would never be blessed, nor would we ever be at peace with our neighbors. If they have an earnest desire for peace, they may well accept such pieces (as I have said). But if they have a desire for discord, then they must have neither our counsel nor our consideration. They can easily be wise enough to cause misfortune, but still that we do not approve of it; they may eat it up, but they cause too much. I for mine own

l) "Purpose" --- Centrum of the disc.

Person wants to sincerely thank Majesty cordially thank, where His Imperial Majesty grants such articles. Majesty grants such articles.

(7) In something fraudulent among them, which the moth does not give after all, and it is not my place to create suspicion against His Imperial Majesty, much less His Imperial Majesty. Majesty, much less to interpret and misinterpret his Imperial Majesty's opinion. If I am to interpret and judge his imperial majesty's opinion unknowingly, then I command him who knows, judges and directs all hearts, who will protect me in such a journey and keep me harmless. For this I know for certain, whoever deceives the trusting heart toward God, the love toward his neighbor, deceives himself, and faith and love remain without harm.

008 And if such a peace make no more, yet this would be a great and mighty fruit, that therewith the papists, our enemies, would be put down their oppression, defiance, throbbing, and prancing. Which would be a great heartache and torment enough for them.

(9) By God, most gracious Lord, I know nothing more to do nor to say in this matter. If strife and war result from this, above such gracious command of Imperial Majesty, then we are truly innocent of all the evil that may come from it. Majesty, then we are truly innocent of all the evil that may come from it.

God has mercifully heard our poor prayer and gives us peace. May the same dear Father continue to grant us a thankful heart that may recognize, accept and well use such grace, to His praise and honor, Amen. To the same faithful benevolent God I command E. C. F. G. with my little prayer faithfully and diligently. At Wittenberg, on St. Peter's and Paul's day s29. June] Anno 1532.

E. C. F. G.

blackmailer

Martinus Luther.

1200: The final peace proposals made to the princely papal negotiators by the Protestants. June 10, 1532.

This writing is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 309; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 1023; and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 375.

1st Initially that the Elector of Saxony, his son Duke Friederich, and their co-relatives, namely Margrave George of Brandenburg, Phi
lipp, Ernst and Franz, brothers and cousins, Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Ernst Wolfgang of Anhalt, Gebhard and Albrecht, brothers, Counts of Mansfeld, and the cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Bibrach, Jsni, 1) Reutlingen, Esslingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Heilbronn, Hall in Swabia, Kempten, Weißenburg, Winsheim, Lübeck, Braunschweig, Magdeburg, Bremen, Goslar, Eimbeck, Göttingen, Nordhausen and Hamburg, who have committed themselves to the Confession, Assension and Apology, concerning our holy Christian faith, have handed over in writings at Augsburg, shall not make any further or other innovation, nor any ceremonies contrary or inappropriate to the same Confession, Assension and Apology, nor what is in accordance with the same according to right Christian, reasonable understanding, until a future, common, Christian Concilio, as decided and promised at the first Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg; for which Concilium the Imperial Majesty should be requested Majesty should be requested to take care that it is acted upon in German lands. That also the above-mentioned Elector of Saxony, together with his son Duke Frederick, and their kinsmen, should use faithful and good diligence to procurate and hold such a Concilium.

(2) Secondly, that the Elector of Saxony, his son, Duke John Frederick, and the above-mentioned relatives of theirs do not wish to follow or support the Zwinglians and Anabaptists on account of their doctrine and faith, nor, if they persist in their error, to show them any favor or encouragement, but to renounce them. In the event, however, that they abandon their error, and join forces with Imperial Majesty and other commoners, they are to be punished. In the event, however, that they abandon their error, and want to join in faith with the Imperial Majesty and other common estates of the Empire, or want to accept the confession and assension of the princes and their followers, as handed over at Augsburg, then they are to be included and included in this confession, which is now to be established.

(3) That Saxony and its kinsmen, and the other estates of the realm, shall not take possession of any party of the other subjects in matters of faith, nor shall they be subject to maintain, accept, protect, or shield them against the will of the other. Where, however, special and private or other persons who would otherwise not be subject to arrest on account of their person or goods, or where there would be a free move, and who hold the faith, they shall not be subject to arrest.

1) "Isni" set by us (after No. 1187 and 1202) instead of: "Resim".

Those who did not want to or could not stay behind one dominion for a longer period of time (unless they had other causes and faults on them), should not be refused to move away behind another dominion upon their request to the same authority and with their prior knowledge, even usual payment, additional tax and other things that they would owe according to local usage, in which no danger would be used. However, Saxony and her kinsmen do not want to have their part taken away from them or deprived of their faith and confession by this agreement.

(4) The said Elector of Saxony and his son, and their kinsmen, shall also refrain from preaching, publicizing, or sending forth, whether by word, printing, writing, or other means, in matters of faith, further or more than their above-mentioned confession, assension, and apology are capable of, and in accordance with their right, reasonable, Christian understanding. And that neither one nor the other party shall not preach or provide for preaching outside their and their fellow sovereignties and territories, unless one or more princes travel outside their sovereignties, sovereignties and territories, and are granted to preach by the authorities of each place. But if it were granted, they would then be able to preach for themselves and their own in their inns.

005 But if it be in campaigns and camps, that, to prevent further mischief and offence, which might arise out of doubtful doctrine, no more than the holy gospel should be written by all parts of the time, badly according to the text, and without any further addition, in a special place, and only for those who are of its appendage. But the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, at all times when their conscience and necessity require it, in and out of their principalities and territories, they and their own to receive it in both forms, and also, as aforesaid, in their inns, until the future Council, shall be unimpaired.

(6) It is also deemed proper, and conducive to peace and unity, that neither party should reproach the other with speeches, preaching, writing, or other such ways. The preachers, however, each as is appropriate and due, may correct, punish, and attract the vices, sins, and unrighteous teachings in general through Christian, moderate instruction, without abuse and scolding.

007 And when the duke of Saxony, together with his attendants, in their harmless opposition
and proposals, if at times people had to be elected to the Imperial Court of Appeal, or otherwise to other Imperial Majesty's and the Empire's business and offices from the circles. The court has been asked to decide whether it is necessary to elect people to the Imperial Court of Appeal or to other Imperial and Imperial business and offices from the circles, so that those of their confession would be sabotaged and therefore the less likely to be accepted as being in the highest degree of grievance; it is therefore considered expedient for a peaceful standstill that the persons who have their loved ones and their dependents ordered and appointed to the Imperial Court of Appeal on their account, or who will subsequently be ordered and appointed to the Imperial Court of Appeal, be allowed to continue in their duties. It is considered for a peaceful standstill that the persons who have their loved ones and their relatives ordered and appointed by them to the Imperial Court of Appeal, or subsequently appointed and appointed, and are finally used in their business as advocates, procuratores, and the like, are not to be shunned, nor suspended from their offices and services, or dismissed, or even elected or accepted in circles for this reason.

(8) The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of each place shall remain in the state in which it is at present in the said Electorate and Princes of Saxony and their kindred lands and territories.

(9) Likewise, whether some vindication concerning the discord of faith has been made at the Imperial Chamber Court, the Court of Rothweil, the Westphalian Court, the Swabian Union, or elsewhere. Chamber Court, the Court of Rothweil, the Westphalian Court, the Swabian Confederation, or elsewhere, and whether judgments have been rendered therein, which have not yet come to execution, they shall also be postponed and prorogued until the future Council.

010 Concerning the goods and incomes of the clergy, let every man keep his own, which he hath and useth now, and let him alone; and let no man be taken away by force or affliction from another.

11. But the dedicated uses, goods, rents, interest, tithes and dues, which each party, foundation, prelature and monastery in the other's principality, country, dominions, authorities and territories, would have fallen, shall be transferred unrestricted, unbidden and without any remedy, as it would have been in the mentioned foundations, prelatures and monasteries in each part for the sake of religion, to the places where the same foundations, prelatures and monasteries were located, The same shall henceforth also be given and follow in the places where the said monasteries, prelatures, and convents are located, and where they have been given and followed from time immemorial, until further providence in a much-determined concilio.

(12) However, each prince, sovereign, estate and superior of their principality, territory and dominion shall be entitled without interruption to the property, land and ground belonging thereto, also to the tax, consequence, rendition, 1) rescue, assistance and other authorities and righteousnesses of the princes, sovereigns and sovereigns of their principality, territory and dominion.

1) Travel?

The provisions of this law shall be completely unbreakable and harmless in respect of the special contracts, settlements or understandings which have been made and established between certain princes, princes and estates for the sake of such or such interest, tithes and estates.

(13) And that good common peace and unity, which is the greatest principal of these things, and which is sought by this negotiation, may be the more nobly maintained between the Roman Imperial and Royal Majesty and all the estates of the Roman Empire of the German Nation, every estate, regardless of the discord of faith, otherwise in other external and secular matters, shall first of all obey the Imperial and Royal Majesty in all possible matters of equity and deceit, and every estate of the Empire, so far as it is concerned, shall otherwise hold itself against each other with true friendship and Christian devotion. Majesty in all possible, just and deceptive matters, and each imperial estate, as much as is in it, shall otherwise treat each other with true friendship and Christian devotion, and shall endeavor and promote everything that can and may serve the German nation for its welfare, security, peace and comfort. In particular, the Elector of Saxony and his kinsmen, together with the other estates of the empire, shall show themselves helpful and salvageable in resisting and opposing the Turk; in these and other matters of necessity incumbent upon the empire, which do not concern the faith, they shall compare in imperial assemblies and councils in a friendly and equitable manner, and what is thus unanimously considered, decided, and adopted as good, as has been the custom since time immemorial, shall be complied with by all parts.

(14) By this above-mentioned, a common good peace shall be worked and established between the Roman Imperial and Royal Majesty and our most gracious Lord and all the estates of the realm, to be kept by both parts altogether and against each in particular; one part hereof, contrary to the peace of the land, the order of the realm, as well as law and equity, for the sake of certain things, no one shall be violated, nor shall he be burdened with the deed.

(15) And for a good decision, if the matters come to execution as above stated, the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, should be requested and induced that her Imperial Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor, should be granted the power to issue the decree. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, should be requested and moved that Her Imperial Majesty from the Imperial Palace of the Holy Roman Empire should be granted the right. Majesty out of imperial clemency Majesty, out of Imperial clemency, be the more inclined to hear and graciously show himself against all the estates as their rightful lord in their matters and grievances, this peaceful decency, which for the sake of faith (if it is accepted and preserved, as above affirmed), by Imperial kindness, and out of his own motion, is to be respected. kindness, and of his own motion, nor at anyone's instigation, nor of his own free will.

serl. Power and Perfection, create nothing against it, and graciously establish such a peaceful decency, indicated measure, in the Empire of the German Nation, execute it, and insure it in the best form 2c.

Delivered at Nuremberg, 1) Monday after, Bonif. [10. June] Anno 1532.

1201 D. Martin Luther's counsel together with Bugenhagen on the means proposed by the two Electors in the peace treaty at Schweinfurt. May 1532.

The original of this thought in Luther's manuscript is in the Weimar Archives, LeZ. H, p. 64. 14; from it in De Wette, vol. IV, 372, and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 54, p. 304, with the time determination: "April or May," but Burkhardt assigns it, according to its location in the archives, with certainty to May. Also still in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 307, and in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 372. We give the text according to De Wette.

From these words in the first article, "and other 2c. who would engage."

001 We have again, with all diligence, moved this article with the words, "and others 2c. who would enter into it. And since it is well to be observed that it cannot be preserved by the opposite, we cannot advise that one should dispute, and thereby overthrow the whole act of peace, since one may yet drop the same addition without burdening his conscience.

002 To overthrow that which is necessary, and to let it fall, because of that which is unnecessary, is contrary to God and conscience. Now this is to be considered necessary, if a tolerable peace is offered us, that we give no cause for war.

(3) But that it may be said against it, that this addition cannot be dropped with God and conscience, because thereby the gospel is increased to others. Item, Christians should seek the salvation and welfare of others 2c.

4. well is not without, you can use this high

1) Walch, Jnhaltsverzeichniß des 16. Vol., p. 64, remarks on this that the Leipzig edition had made a mistake by putting "Norimberg" instead of "Schweinfurt". But the Leipzig edition is right, for the convention at Schweinfurt broke up already in the middle of May. See De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 382.

But yet the truth is in the ground that we may drop such addition with God and conscience, for we do not hereby consent that the gospel should be forbidden or increased to others, but seek a temporal peace for ourselves, neither ought we nor can we justly compel other authorities that they should secure theirs to our liking; wherefore we may with good conscience accept a peace, though the future be not already secured. As Paul saith [Rom. 12:18.], Quantum in nolus 68t, PN66M eain omnibus bominibus babsntss, "as much as is in you, keep peace with all men."

005 Secondly, Christians ought to seek the salvation and welfare of others, as far as they are able and just. If, then, we cannot, by kindly seeking and exhorting, obtain that the emperor should secure his own, we can do no more, and are excused; for we cannot and ought not to compel the emperor or other tributary princes to secure theirs. If a prince were to ask for two Christians whom another prince wanted to punish, and one of them were released for the sake of that prince, the prince would have to be satisfied and let the other one be punished, and yet that prince would have done a good deed by saving one of them.

006 As Abdias received many prophets, [1 Kings 18:13] and yet saw that many were slain beside them. It is enough that every prince in his land is an Abdias. This figure is in all the ways of the present case.

007 Thirdly, we have also sought the salvation of others, that we may be permitted to send preachers to other places. Item, that also the people under other authority may sell 2c. This is a great benefit, for their life and limb is saved.

008 Fourthly, every Christian is bound to believe and confess the gospel in his own way, as Christ saith [Matt. 16:24], "If any man will come after me, let him take up his cross," that is, let him not lay his cross upon another.

009 Fifthly, cfuoä tibi non vis üsri, nlteri ne kseoris, what thou wouldest not that it should be done to thee, thou shalt not do to others. Now

no authority of this part wanted that other tributary princes should force them to do what they wanted with their subjects.

010 And I hold it to be clearly decided in every Christian mind, that this addition is not to be disputed.

011 And I am just concerned that it may be a challenge to some who may seek something else in it; as we men may easily be challenged and deceived by ourselves, for the old Adam is not entirely dead in us. I cannot put my confidence in the danger of bloodshed and other great harm to Christendom, which must follow if a noise were made of it. For be it what it may, true doctrine is lost in such a wild and abominable nature. Therefore, be careful not to drop the main and the necessary because of the unnecessary.

(12) It is possible to cavil a little from the Concilio; so without doubt it is sufficiently caved in by these words: "A free, Christian Concilium. "If the words do not help, the addition, "according to the pure word of God," 2c. will also help little. For if the Xationss conclude against us, they will nevertheless want to have the glory that they speak according to the pure Word of God 2c.

Thirteen: See and do him not too much. Hui Minium smunAil, slieU sunAuinsin; he who wants too much gets too little.

Martinus Luther, v.

Johannes Bugenhagius, Pomeranus.

1202 Nuremberg First Religious Peace, given July 23 Anno 1532.

This writing came out still in the year 1532 separately and is printed afterwards in Latin in Dumonts oorp. äiplona., ioM. IV, pari. II, p.87 and in Goldast's oonst. imp., part. II, p. 172. German in Hortleder, "von den Ursachen" 2c., tom. I, lib. I, onp. 20, p. 67; in Lehmann's not. pn6. roliA., lib. I, oap. I, and in Lünig's ReichsArchiv, pnrt. M". oont. I, p. 389. This writing is reprinted in Walch's old edition in No. 1252 of the 17th volume, col. 38-46. We have omitted it there.

By the Grace of God we Albrecht, of the Holy Roman Church of the title 8an6ti ?6tri ack vineula Priest-Cardinal, and born Legate, at

Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Archchancellor and Primate in Germania, Administrator of Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., and Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, Archduke of the Holy Roman Empire, both Electors, publicly confess and declare with this present farewell.

(1) When between the Most Sublime Prince and Lord, Lord Carln, Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire, 2c., our most gracious lord, on the one hand, and the highborn princes, our dear cousins and uncle, Mr. Johannsen, duke of Saxony, elector, and duke Johann Friedrichen, his dear son; Mr. Georgen, margrave of Brandenburg; Mr. Philipp, Ernsten and Franzen, brothers and cousins, dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg; prince Wolfgangen zu Anhalt; Gebharden and Albrechten, counts of Mansfeld; and the cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Constance, Ulm, Bibrach, Isni, Reutlingen, Esslingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Heilbronn, Hall in Swabia, Kempten, Weißenburg, Winsheim, Lübeck, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Bremen, Goslar, Eimbeck, Göttingen, Nordhausen, and Hamburg, For this reason, at the imperial congresses held here before, various actions were taken and sought as to how one might come to an equitable settlement of such errors and misunderstandings, which, however, have not yet occurred.

(2) And so, for the preservation of unity and peace in the Holy Empire, and especially so that the common enemy of Christendom, the Turk, may be met the more nobly, and his cruel tyrannical actions against the Christian blood, and especially the German nation, may be averted, we will strike at the matter in a completely submissive, faithful, good opinion, and, upon Imperial Majesty's gracious permission, also upon her Imperial Highness. Maj.'s gracious permission, also to Her Imperial Majesty. Majesty's authority, instruction and order sent to us for this purpose, and of our grandparents and cousins, and their relatives, the aforementioned consent, initially at Schweinfurt, and subsequently all here at Nuremberg, manifold kind actions are cultivated.

(3) Since the matter of faith could not be brought to a settlement by various actions, we have taken it into our minds that the tyrannical, cruel authorities of the Turk should not be resisted in any way, for if a lasting, common peace were to be established in the Holy Roman Empire, we therefore most humbly request and entreat Her Majesty to do so.

004 That therefore upon such our practised subjection
humbly requesting and requesting that the Roman Emperor, Maj. Maj, our most gracious lord, the supreme head in the holy realm, out of special affection and desire, so to her Maj. and all the estates of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, ecclesiastical and secular, until a common, free, Christian concilio, as such was decided at Nuremberg at the Imperial Diet, or so that it would not have its continuation until the common estates of the Empire were called and described again in a convenient place; as is then understood in a special article, thus:

5. That in the meantime of the same concilio, or that the estates, as now reported, come to each other again and are otherwise consulted, no one insult the other of the faith or otherwise for any other reason, wage war, 1) do not threaten, nor descend some castles, cities, markets, fortifications, villages, farms or hamlets, or without the other's will with mighty deeds take them by force, or dangerously damage them with fire or other ways in such a way, nor give them any advice, help or other assistance, nor knowingly and dangerously harbor them, house them, etch them, water them, contain them or tolerate them, but each shall mean the other with true friendship and Christian love.

(6) Which now mentioned common peace the Emperor's Majesty has signed. Maj. to proclaim and announce it to all estates in the Holy Empire, and to order it to be kept at the same heavy, considerable penalty, and also to use gracious diligence that the above-mentioned council be advertised and publicized within half a year, and then held within a year; and in case this should not be obtained, that then the common estates of the realm be summoned and described to each other again at a convenient place to deliberate what is to be done and acted upon for the sake of the said council and other necessary matters.

(7) For this purpose, the Roman Imperial Majesty has graciously granted and promised that Her Majesty will grant all justifications in matters of faith. Majesty has graciously granted and promised, for the greater and more lasting preservation of the aforementioned common peace, that Her Majesty will cease all justifications in matters of faith, which have been or may yet be begun by Her Majesty's Fiscal and others against the Elector of Saxony and her relatives, until such time as they have been restored. Fiscal and others against the Elector of Saxony and her dependents, or may yet be commenced, will cease until

1) "bekriegen" put by us instead of: "betriegen". The former is found in the parallel passage of the Imperial Mandate, No. 1208, s 3, and in the duplicate of this writing in No. 1252 of the 17th volume.

The Emperor's Majesty has graciously sent us an assurance of this by means of her gracious letter. Majesty will graciously send us an assurance of this, by virtue of her gracious letter, to our hands.

(8) On the other hand, our above-mentioned cousins and neighbors, Saxony, Lüneburg, and those close to them, shall and will steadfastly and firmly maintain such common peace on their part, neither do nor act contrary to it in any way, and also show obedience to Imperial Majesty. Maj. to show submissive and due obedience, also to render and send their due assistance in resisting the Turk, as has been granted and agreed by the common estates, in the same way as they have offered and allowed themselves to be heard of in their answer, which they have handed over to us in writing.

(9) And after our grandparents and cousins reported in the same their answer of some words in the last imperial letters. Majest. Order and Articles, and kindly and humbly requested us to bring such complaint to the Imperial Majesty by a skillful message, and to use our best endeavors to prevent it. Majesty by a skillful message, and to use good diligence to obtain a gracious change therein. To urge and request the same, so that the insurance we send to Her Majesty's copy may also be executed in the most beneficial way and come to our hands; and what is thus obtained from Imperial Majesty, or what is sent to us, may also be sent to us. Majesty, or will arise for answer, that we shall and want to open and make known to our cousin and uncle, the Elector of Saxony, in writings in the most beneficial way. Whatever her Majesty would grant and forbear, that shall be and remain in force, as if this were understood in this farewell from word to word. In the event, however, that the Imperial Majesty If, however, Her Imperial Majesty does not wish to make any further concessions or changes, this agreement shall nevertheless be and remain in force, and its contents shall be carried out and complied with, without any extracts and remedies, but without any danger.

(10) And because the Highborn Prince, Mr. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, our dear cousin and uncle, also had his envoys, namely Johann Feigen von der Liechtenau, Chancellor, Siegmund von Beineburg, Bailiff of the Werra, and Johann Walther, Doctor, at this action, the same envoys have indicated that it is not their time to accept this parting; as they have therefore handed over to us their causes and complaints in writings, and have requested that these be opened to the Imperial Majesty most humbly. Majesty most humbly, that we also therefore with
Diligence to do. And the reported embassies have offered against it to reach this act and farewell to the said our uncle with best diligence, the undoubted confidence that his love would let herself be heard on it of her mind, too.

In witness whereof we two Electors, above mentioned, have affixed our seals to this letter.

And by the grace of God, we Johann Friederich, instead of and on account of our lord and father, the Elector of Saxony, and ourselves, also on account of our uncle Duke Philipp of Brunswick, Franciscus, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg.

And we have messages named after, namely on account of Mr. Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg, Wolf Christoph von Weißenthau?) Amtmann at Schwabach, and Sebastian Heller, Doctor.

By reason of Mr. Ernsten, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Johann von der Wick, Doctor.

On account of Prince Wolfen of Anhalt, Count Gebhardt and Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, Johann Rüel, Doctor.

On behalf of the city of Strasbourg, Jakob Sturm, old city master, and Johann 2) Meyer.

By order of the city of Nuremberg, Bernhard Baumgärtner and Leonhard Schultheiß, and by order of the cities of Hall in Swabia, Heilbronn, Winsheim, and Weißenburg am Nordgau. 3)

By order of Lübeck, Andreas Stolp, Secretarius, by order of those of Hamburg.

Constance, Conrad Zwick and Sebastian Geißberg.

By order of the city of Ulm, Georg Besserer, old mayor, and Hieronymus Schleicher, and the same with order of the city of Ißni.

Of the old city of Magdeburg, Leonhard Merz, Doctor and Syndicus.

By reason of the city of Bremen, Johann von der Wick, Doctor, above-named.

By order of the city of Brunswick, Dietrich Preuß, secretary, with order of the von Goßlar, Göttingen and Eimbeck.

By reason of the city of Nordhausen, Benedictus Pauli, Doctor.

The city of Esslingen, Bernhard Matzbeck.

The city of Reutlingen, Jost Weiß, mayor, my ass.

The city of Memmingen, Hans Keller, mayor.

1) In No. 1252: "Wissenthau".
2) In No. 1252: "Jacob".
3) In the old edition: "and Storkau".

The city of Lindau, Antoni Hünde, my ass.

The town of Bibrach, Christoph Greter, mayor.

By reason of the city of Kempten, Heinrich Seltenhan:

Confess that the foregoing agreement has been established and entered into with our good will and knowledge, and that we have thus knowingly accepted and approved it for ourselves and our lords and superiors. We therefore agree and undertake for ourselves, our sovereigns and superiors, to comply with it and to live by it, and not to do anything contrary to it, in any way.

And in witness whereof we, Duke John Frederick, of our fathers and of ourselves, and of the cities and embassies aforesaid, have affixed our seal unto this letter, which is given at Nuremberg, Tuesday after St. Mary Magdalene [23 July], after. Birth of Christ 1532 year.

1203 D. Martin Luther's advice and concerns to Elector John of Saxony concerning the peace treaty at Nuremberg. Beginning of May 1532.

The original of this thought is found in the Weimar Archives, UsZ. H, toi. 64. 14. It was delivered Thursday after Exaudi (May 16) (Burkhardt, p. 205). Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 308; in the Altenburger, vol. V, p. 1021; in the Leipziger, vol. XX, p. 373; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 369, according to the original, but dated: "In April," and likewise in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 301.

(1) In the proposals of the Electors, I find little to dispute, for almost all the articles have been put in an amicable and mild way. But since our part has improved several articles, I see nothing to be highly disputed where such a change could not be obtained from the opposite part.

(2) And at first, concerning the appendix in the first article, namely, "and others who would join the confession," it is to be observed that this appendix is not to be preserved with the opposite, for if in this peace all who might still want to accept our doctrine were also drawn in, there is no doubt that all their people would soon be turned back.

003 Wherefore it is my counsel that this appendix be not thus disputed, that thereby the whole

If you do not want to go this way, let the peace deal be overturned. For though others may be provoked and moved to accept this doctrine, yet every man is bound to accept and confess the gospel in his own way.

004 And ours have done enough, that they neither forbid nor hinder, nor even offer the gospel to any man, and are not bound to set themselves in such a way as this, by which others are not helped: for what would it profit other cities, that ours should be overrun and afflicted? neither would others be helped thereby.

(5) The princes and cities of this part have hitherto accepted this doctrine with their own accord, and have not been induced to do so by the entreaty of anyone else for protection or help, nor have they sought to make a pact against the emperor or anyone else. So may other cities and countries do from now on, which nevertheless have less trouble through this peace, because if the things remained so unsettled.

006 Neither is it sufficient that we should not withhold the gospel from others, as is plain from these propositions; neither is it proper for us to compel the emperor, or any other potentate, that they should secure theirs to our liking. For that the emperor secures us is by grace, and is personal xrivilezium.

007 That now the emperor may show this grace to others also, we cannot and shall not compel him to do so; but others may dare to do it by the grace of God, and hope that they may also obtain peace and safety, as we also must still hope.

8 Item: In this peace, however, other cities and private persons are granted that the gospel may be communicated to them. Where the authorities permit, we may send preachers there; but where the authorities do not permit, private individuals nevertheless have this advantage, that they are safe in life and limb, but may sell and go away. Item, if utra^uo 8P66I68 were generally admitted, the Potestat will have little cause against the laity, and by this admission of the ceremonies our doctrine will also be accepted and spread further, and their masses will come more into apostasy. So have

the others by this peace great advantage, and not hindrance to the gospel.

009 Nevertheless, it is fair to consider what it would be considered for if we were to dispute this appendix very much; for it may be considered as if we were working to make other potentates fall away from theirs, and were clinging to us, 2c. thereby to bring the whole empire from the emperor to us.

010 And in sum, we cannot justly compel the emperor to secure our pleasure to his own, who are no kinsmen of ours.

(11) Therefore, I ask that we do not quarrel with this appendix, so that the peaceful action may not be completely overturned.

(12) Although in the following articles some changes in the proposals submitted by our part are well and Christianly considered, I find nothing that is particularly hard to dispute. And especially I ask, what concerns temporal things, as the monastery estates and the like, that one does not let the peace be shattered because of that. For E. F. G. knows that no temporal thing on earth should be held in higher or better esteem than peace.

(13) I find from the transactions that both Electors, Mainz and Palatinate, have indeed done enough, and more than I would have hoped, that it is now due to us to thank our Lord God, who greets us so graciously, faithfully, and to take care that we do not stand in the light for ourselves, and deny such peace. For the elective business, in my opinion, should not be so important that such a gracious peace should be rejected.

014 And if it shall come to pass (God being in favor), I will be excused for my person, as I have before and hitherto faithfully presented my poor opinion, if it shall come to war for the sake of these things; for I cannot understand how all Germany should be thrown together for the sake of such things, if it can be avoided by the remission of a small article of the golden bull.

015 For though King Ferdinand, contrary to the contents of the bull of gold, 2c. is mentioned, yet such sin is not a sin against the Holy Ghost, and we ourselves are more so
and greater sin upon us, and may our Lord God (where we would pride ourselves) in time reveal to us the beam in our eyes too plainly and indeed, and hide that mote altogether.

(16) Moreover, if it should come to strife and war (since God is for it), it is certain that ten times, even innumerable times more injustice and misfortune would follow from it for all countries than can now follow if King Ferdinand remains king. And who wants to burden himself with so much blood for the sake of such a thing, because it can be avoided without a great risk?

(17) Therefore, my heartfelt advice would be to look upon this time as an opportunity, and no longer respect a small sin or wrong, rather than all of Germany's great and dreadful fate, which might follow from such hardness. For it is the true experience and truth, Lunimuni fiis, summn inMrin, Sharp right is the highest wrong; but forgiveness of sins is the best right, as we ourselves would have forgiven us.

(18) So my gracious lord himself can well imagine what danger might arise for their own persons from this, especially because one can well see in the dealings with what faithfulness and seriousness S. F. G. means the people who drive so hard on it; for I well notice in the lords of Bavaria that they would like to make a soup that someone else should eat out, and they would like to stand by and push the driving away from them. D. Martin Luther.

1204. D. Martin Luther's Concerns of Spiritual Goods. Perhaps in April 1532.

The original of this letter is in the Weimar Archives, X, 462, 220.1. Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 313; in the Aktenburger, vol. V, p. 1027; in the Leipziger, vol. XX, p. 379; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 365; and in the Erlanger, vol. 54, p. 297.

001 This matter is in two parts: the first is of the worship of the clergy, and the other of the goods of the clergy.

2nd From the first, if one asks: whether the Elector of Saxony 2c. has been or still is obliged to rebuild the monasteries or convents.

That the monks and priests kept their former manner in worship, whereupon they have endowed and temporal goods therefore?

Answer 3: Because the Elector of Saxony has reported this in his conscience and is certain that such priesthood and monasticism is an annoying sham against the faith, even a public blasphemy against God and his word, he can by no means reestablish such blasphemy, nor help, advise, or protect it, but is rather obligated to help and advise as much as is possible so that it may be stopped and cease. For St. Paul also condemns to death those in Romans 2 who do not resist the loose nature, but let it go as if they had a desire to do so. So also the ecclesiastical law stands in many places, and commands that abuses should be stopped without delay. And if the Elector were to help in this, or to use counsel or protection, so that the abuses were restored, he would not only be partially responsible, but would be the guilty party and the source of all the abominations and blasphemies that arose from this. And, in sum, this piece has no doubt but to be founded in Scripture, all rights, reason, and conscience.

004 Of the other, if it be asked, whether the Elector shall take possession of the estates where abuses have fallen, and are not to be restored? 2c.

(5) Answer: Because there is no one in the principality and lands who can or might take possession of such property, it is not only reasonable, but also a great necessity, that the sovereign should take it for himself, so that it may be prevented from being stolen, robbed, taken away, or otherwise perishing. Just as he is obligated to take all other uninherited or abandoned estates (where there are no heirs) in the principality, as the laws teach.

006 But if one should pretend to leave such goods to other monks of the same order, and lead them out of the country, or let other monks put them there, it is said above that one should not let other monks put them there, for that would be as much as helping to establish the abuses again. Even if such monks came in, who did not have to practice their abuses, they would spoil, sell and kill the goods.
And they shall go away at last, and so leave the goods desolate behind them; which all would be vain thievery and robbery, and the sovereign is due to forestall it. As all other princes and authorities do now, that they let all goods be inventoried 2c., and is right.

007 Yea, say they, the goods are nevertheless the order's own, therefore let them follow the order? This is not true; For the goods are endowed, and not so freely appropriated to the order, that they may carry them away, and bring them to another place, but are endowed to a named place, and to remain there, of the opinion that in the same place, and not elsewhere, such goods may be used for divine service, And whoever carries or brings them elsewhere is a thief and robber, as he who takes the goods of the founders from this place, and carries them there, where the founders did not intend, and he also has no right to take again from there, nor to carry there.

What is the use of such goods? Here one cannot answer better, than that one has to pay attention to the will and opinion of the founders, which has never been different, than that they want to give such goods for God's service and honor. Whether or not they were not right, it is to be judged according to their will and opinion that they are still needed for the service and honor of God, as there are pastors, preachers, schools, and what more belongs to "God's word and sacrament and pastoral care. And although divine service takes place in all good offices and ministries, which should also be promoted, the above-mentioned offices, namely pastoral care and preaching, schools, are the highest, most necessary, and most distinguished, which the old princes especially meant with their monasteries and convents, and which were initially also kept that way.

(9) But whether the sovereign may keep some of such goods for himself, or give them to others? To speak without hypocrisy, also without deterrence, if the sovereign had spent the greatest part on pastoral care and schools, and then needed the rest for secular government (which is also divine service, although the lesser of the two), I consider it to be without risk. The same

For such monasteries and convents were founded for the needs of such people in old age, and have been used and enjoyed in convents and monasteries (although under spiritual names) until now, that basically not much has been different with convents and monasteries than with rich hospitals for poor children of great people 2c. But that here the measures should be kept, that the stingy and rich should not have their bellies satisfied with it, and that most of all attention should be paid to the offence, so that the gospel should not be slandered and blasphemed, as from a just cause.

10. If this is prevented, I do not want to be conscience-stricken, because all the trouble and expense that the clergy have been obliged to do up to now, and that is why they have also received the goods, falls on the Elector, namely, that he carries out the visitation, He must carry all the journeys and costs of the married priests and monks, and of the whole gospel, which costs a great deal to carry, protect, and handle, and has great care and trouble, and the bishops and princes of none do 2c. Is it then no offense that popes, bishops, and monks have had such goods, and still have them, as thieves and robbers, because they do nothing for them in the cause of the gospel and the service of God, and now kings and princes rob and take such goods? And if kings and princes steal and take such goods, and in addition great gifts, and pursue the service of God, we should much less reckon it a grievance to the prince, if he keeps some spiritual goods for himself, because he must bear so many costs and labors for the sake of the gospel and the poor priests and monks. He is not obliged to do this in vain and out of his own, as Christ says [Matt. 10:10], "A laborer is worth his wages." St. Ambrose sold chalices and church utensils to ransom the prisoners. I also respect such work on the part of the prince that he helps, protects, and gives space to the gospel and its followers in a fine principality with his own driving; for which help, protection, driving, and other efforts and costs Christ will gladly give him a monastery, if he must nevertheless let all the world's monasteries, foundations, and kingdoms take away his persecutors.

(11) This is what I want to say, so that one does not tighten the conscience of the Elector too much with the use of the ecclesiastical goods, and with silence of the trouble, costs, travel and misfortune which he must bear for it or besides, but also does not make it too free and wide to give cause and space to unnecessary annoyance and the blasphemers, with all too mild and safe distribution of the said goods.

1205. D. Martin Luther's concerns about sequestration. Perhaps in October 1) 1532.

The original of this thought can be found in the Weimar Archives, RvZ. X, PNA. 452.220.1. Printed in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 313; in the Altenburg, vol. V, p. 1027; in the Leipzig, vol. XX, p. 379; by De Wette, vol. IV, p. 409 (after the original), and in the Erlangen double, viz. vol. 54, 334 and vol. 65, p. 54.

1. of the sequestration to M. G. Herr seliger 2c. O. Martinus has raised his objections, letting it remain for himself; what others improve he lets go well, and were almost and approximately these pieces: 2)

(2) First of all, that it should be seen above all that parishes, ecclesiastics, schools, hospitals, common castes, and poor students are fairly provided for out of the spiritual goods.

(3) I would not object to his C.F.G. using what is left over for himself to reimburse the inordinate expenses that C.F.G. has incurred for the gospel and the church. For S. C. F. G. is not obligated, because church goods are there, to do such from his own and his own, and one is obligated to reimburse him for it by law.

(4) That also S. C. F. G. gives something to some poor of the nobility, or also otherwise highly deserving, or to the common building, bridges, ways, footbridges, land fortresses, but with a measure, seems to me not to be so wrong as the nasty canonists are faking; considered.

1) De Wette bases this time determination on the fact that Luther writes to Hausmann on Nov. 6th: the sequestration proceeds strictly.

2) Like the postscript, this entry must also be attributed to Jonah. The reservation itself is said to be in Luther's handwriting.

as pope, bishop and parish priest in the papacy have done much and great "help of church goods" to their friendship, and, as I consider, have often done it (where it was necessary) without sin.

(5) Hereby you may show and do how our most gracious Lord has hitherto maintained D. Martin and Philip 2c. and let them serve the whole Christian church with writing, reading, preaching, printing, 1) and have never received a farthing from any church, but have lain on the neck of the prince, who with his own has thus had to serve all the world; that, if one wants to reckon sharply, one should make the register so large for the splinter judges that they should hardly pay the prince with their sequestration. Therefore, you should diligently show the splinter judges their beams, as they themselves do not give a farthing to the Gospel, nor lend a good word to it, and only want to condemn or sanctify princes and all the world with their spiritless Bachantian rights.

(6) If they would bring all church goods into order, why do they not raise them up, become beam judges, and reform the devil in the papacy? since all the goods are not only stolen from the church, but are also persecuted with them and God is blasphemed. Fie on you hostile splinter judges!

7th Item, to be remembered by D. Christians, chancellor, that inan wanted to stop in the sequestration, so that all monks in all monasteries, both dead and alive, both expired and remained, would be kept so that they would give back to spiritual goods what they have eaten away and consumed so far as the rotten bellies and blasphemers of the church of their goods.

Item 8: That Duke George, Ferdinand, Bavaria, and 2c. also restore what they enjoyed and used, and still enjoy, of such goods.

Postscript by Doctor Jonas.

That D. Martinus Luther, our dear father, has written this down to me in haste, and especially ordered it to be reported to you, has given cause for his having heard and been told by D. Christian's chancellor himself 2c.

1) In the original: "Diener gewest", but crossed out again; "dienen lassen" in the Eisleben edition.
He has heard how he insists on keeping the Canons very strictly in this case, so that at last the conscience should be weighed down and grieved, although in the sight of God or according to the laws of the world this is not everywhere so sinful and highly grievous, but there are also other defects and sins which are not so highly exaggerated nor weighed down by canonists; although D. Martin's and all of us are quite pleased with the sequestration.

1206. farewell of the Diet of Regensburg erected Anno 1532.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, purt. Aon. eont. I, p. 591, but not completely, but only as far as it concerns religion.

We Carl the Fifth, by the Grace of GOD, elected Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire, King in Germania, in Castile, in Arragon, in Legion, in both Sicilies, in Jerusalem, in Hungary, in Dalmatia, in Croatia, Navarre, in Granatia, to Tolleten, to Valence, to Gallicia, Nujoi-iearura, Hispalw, Karckirüas, Oorckudus, Oorsieus, Nureius, OisQuis, ^IZurdisn, ^IZ6öiras, to Gibraltaris, and the Jnsulen Canariä, also the Jnsulen Iveiarura, and Psrras ürmas of the Sea Oceani 2c.; Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Lotterich, of Brabant, of Steyer, of Carinthia and Carniola, Limburg, Guelders, Würtemberg, Calabria, Neo-
putriae; Count of Habsburg, of Flanders, of Tyrol, of Gorizia, of Parsiloni, of Ärthoys, of Burgundy; Count Palatine of Hanigau, of Holland, of Zealand, of Psiert, of Kyburg, of Namur, of Rosilion, of Ceritan, and of Zütphen; Landgrave in Alsace, Margrave of Burggau, of Oristani, of Gotiani; and of the Holy Roman Empire Prince of Swabia, of Catalonia, Asturia 2c.Lord of Friesland, of the Wendish Mark, of Portenau, of Biscay, of Molen, of Salins, of Tripoli, and of Mechelen, declare and proclaim manfully: Since our mind, opinion, and desire have always been above all others, and still are, that we gladly do all that is due to us, our Imperial Highness and Office. We are still inclined to do everything that is due to us, our imperial highness and office, and to do everything of our best and highest fortune that may serve and be fruitful for the welfare, good order, leadership and providence of the Holy Roman Empire, the praiseworthy German nation. For this reason, in these difficult times and times, we, out of unavoidable necessity, public and movable causes, which we, the Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation, highly and noticeably desire, and also our Imperial and Gracious Holy Roman Emperor, have the right to do.

We have undertaken to hold a common Diet in Speier, the city of ours and of the Holy Empire, on the fourteenth day of the next month of September, in order to put an end to the confusion and discord of our holy Christian faith, to resist the cruel intentions of the Turks, and to preserve the peace, justice, good police and welfare of the same German nation, and to attend it in person in every way.

1. Since, however, between our announcement and the proclamation of the same Diet, so many great burdensome things have come to light, not only for us and our hereditary kingdoms and lands, but also for the whole of Christendom, the Holy Empire of the German Nation, for the common peace, welfare, and so on, and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, for the sake of public peace and welfare, and that especially manifold reports and newspapers are coming in, how the hereditary enemy of our faith and name, the Turk, is in noticeably great armament and readiness, and should finally be of the opinion that Christendom, and especially the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, will this summer once again be attacked. For these and other excellent and important reasons, we have been moved to change the above-mentioned Diet of Speier, and to move it to this city of ours and of the Empire, Regensburg, and to schedule it for the nearest possible day of the Three Kings. In order to keep such a Diet beneficial, we have promoted our affairs in the Netherlands so much more, and have set aside great concerns for our hereditary kingdoms and lands, and, at no small expense and inconvenience, have also disposed of ourselves here in person, as soon as possible; In our Christian imperial mind, will and opinion, to put an end to the discord in our holy Christian faith, which has become more and more burdensome, with timely advice, and otherwise to make, establish, resolve and maintain all good unity and peace in the holy realm, in this and other matters, all of which is far from the content of our invitation to this Imperial Diet.

(2) At which Diet we, as well as princes, princes, and other estates of the Holy Roman Empire, appeared before us in good number, in our own persons, and some by their embassy, with full power.

003 Though now in Christian union the discord in our holy Christian faith

and the same article, as not being of the least difficulty, should have been taken in hand, discussed and brought to a unanimous Christian understanding and good end, and yet we respect and fear that the Turk, out of such discord, will undoubtedly, by the doom of the Almighty, to punish our sins, take all the more heart to conquer the Christian kingdom of Hungary, which is the closest border to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, by the doom of the Almighty, for the punishment of our sins, the more he will take heart to conquer the Christian kingdom of Hungary, which borders most closely on the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, so that he can continue to cruelly inflict Christian blood on the German nation with murder, fire and tyranny, as happened in the year 1529. He would like to rage cruelly and bring it under his tyrannical power.

4th And if we, also our brother, the Roman king Ferdinand 2c., have had more and more news and certain information from various places, how the reported hereditary enemy of our holy Christian name and faith, the Turk, with more and greater force and power than never before, is in constant, diligent armament and the final intention is to invade the above-mentioned Christendom, and has already sent a number of soldiers and ships with all kinds of ammunition up the Danube in large numbers.

5. The envoys of our Archduchy of Austria, as well as of other of our principalities and lands, namely Austria below and above the river Ens, also Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, have informed us, also princes, princes and the common estates of the realm, at this Imperial Diet here, the high and burdensome, careful and dangerous hardship, compulsion and pressure of the Turk, in which our lands and subjects stand, and that the Turk is approaching them with all his might, are humbly appropriate and acknowledged; Which we then in pity of our imperial mind graciously heard. Thereupon the same envoys have humbly appealed to us, as well as to the princes, princes, and estates, and have asked that we, in consideration of their highest, greatest, and most dangerous distress, come to their aid, rescue, and protection, and graciously deign to relieve them of such distress.

(6) Therefore, at our gracious request and as a courtesy to us, for the above-mentioned reasons, and because the Holy Roman Empire and common Christendom have no more hateful or bloodthirsty enemy than the Turks, the unavoidable necessity of the article of urgent help against the Turks has been taken in hand for the first time.

with the utmost diligence, weighed up and discussed

7. And in order that such a burdensome, pernicious, unforeseen invasion and invasion of the Turk may be averted and prevented from Christendom, the Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation, Princes, Princes and Estates have, not only for their own good, but also and first of all in honor of God Almighty, and for the handling of our Christian name and faith, and also to avert such tyrannical behaviour of the Turk, have now met here, united and promised us to bring the urgent help, granted at the recently held Imperial Diet in Augsburg, to the time and place reported in our outgoing exhortations and mandates, for the protection of our holy Christian faith, to the work conducive and without delay, to use it against the Turk, as reported; all the contents of the Augsburg Deed, which the common estates at this Imperial Diet have taken in hand, renewed, and again resolved upon, as follows: namely, that such urgent aid to the Turks shall be rendered by all estates together and especially in men, and not in money; with this addition: whoever does not intend to render his aid in men, but in other ways, such as these, by which the number of the imperial warriors may be reduced, that he or they shall not live up to this agreement, and that for the sake of the street, as stipulated in the Augsburg agreement, they shall be proceeded against by the treasurer, against whom no liberty or order shall be presented to him or them. However, no estate shall be forbidden to appoint its people to the other, in such a way that the appointed people are nevertheless mustered and reported at the common muster ground, and [by] each district's captain 1) so that it may be known that there is no decrease in the number.

8. And since the great and unavoidable need requires that, for the entertainment of the above-mentioned people of war, good provision be made by half, so that there is no lack thereof, it is considered good that the provisions be ordered, ordered and supplied by the Provisions Masters in a beneficial manner, but that the excessive and disorderly pre-purchase in such occur and be avoided, but that a free market be kept, as is the custom of war and custom, that also such provisions be left duty and toll free in all cities, customs and places, all the contents of the article in the Augsburg Treaty be enacted.

1) "Kreises Hauptmann" put by us instead of: "Creishauptmann".

... And that such a thing be used by those who have customs and tolls, in other ways harmless, also no other danger, under the appearance of this good work, with due punishment. For this purpose, every authority in its territories shall have the understanding that the provisions shall be contributed to this Christian work by the request of the provisionmaster for a considerable penny.

Concilium.

Furthermore, we, also princes, princes and estates, have taken the article concerning the discord of our holy Christian faith as the highest and most noble, in which the salvation of common Christendom and the German nation is best served, before our hands, and have discussed it most faithfully. And if we, also princes, rulers and estates, consider and judge what has happened in the faith and otherwise much evil, from the beginning of the discord until now, we find at first that in the faith many a discord, sect and error, the like of which has never been heard in many hundred years, has arisen, which from day to day have so increased and prevailed, where they do not occur in time, that still more and further apostasy of the faith and of the Christian religion is to be feared; besides which it follows that all discipline, honor and obedience, and other good virtue, in the spiritual and in the secular, will entirely fall away, as hitherto manly knowing and unconcealed.

2. And although in our absence at previous imperial congresses, namely Nuremberg, Speier, and also most recently in our personal presence at Augsburg, we have been advised of this in all necessity, and nothing has been more fruitfully considered or regarded as a means of calming this serious conflict, than that a common Christian council be held and announced by papal sanctity, so that this division of our holy Christian faith may again be brought to good unity and uniform understanding, The Princes, Princes and Estates of Augsburg have most humbly requested and asked us to promote and decree so much with Papal Holiness that a common Christian council be announced by their Holiness within six months after the end of the same Augsburg Imperial Diet at the appropriate venue, and that it be started and held in the most beneficial way and at the earliest within a year after such announcement; which we also, at your most humble request and entreaty, thus accepted and granted. And for this reason, the effort, work, and diligence that we have undertaken with the Estates at the above-mentioned Imperial Diet at

Augsburg for the sake of religion, so that the aforementioned Estates' request may be satisfied, a public person has been sent to Papal Holiness and the College of Cardinals with letters and orders to ask, request and request that the reported General Council be announced and held. At our request Papal Holiness and the College of Cardinals have sent the Bishop of Tortona, Gubernator of Bolonia, to us, together with the Papal Legate Compejo and Bishop of Vason, at the same time Uuruüo ^postolioo, to dispose of us. They have also come to us in the city of Liège, and have indicated to us that papal holiness and the cardinals are willing to indicate and hold the concilium. But beforehand they reported and indicated to us the points and complaints, on what form and manner, for what causes, at what time and place such a council should be called, so that it should really be held, as is proper. On which points we have deemed it necessary to speak and act with the King of France. And have therefore sent a considerable embassy to the same king of France, which has had all kinds of speeches with him. And the same king has understood the inevitable need of the Concilii. But in the end the matter remained unresolved, as far as the form and manner of convening the reported council was concerned, especially with regard to the place. And as we now see and note that the appointment of the Council is based on these doubts and difficulties, we then considered it good to report this to the Estates at the appointed Imperial Diet at Speier. And when the situation arose that we would come to papal sanctity after the completion of the same Diet, we then wanted to pursue such a council with the advice of the common estates. However, due to the hindrances that have occurred, as only men know, this has not yet taken place, and has therefore caused us to call and hold this Imperial Diet, at which we Princes, Princes and Estates have further announced all this.

3rd Thereupon we, also princes, princes and estates, further investigated the matters, and because we found that this burden of the discord of faith, from one imperial diet to the next, the longer the more prevalent, and has now grown to where the Christian religion and faith in the realm of the German nation, likewise peace and unity are preserved, and destruction of the whole German nation will occur.

that this may be done by no nearer, more constant, more certain, and middle way, than by a common general council.

(4) Accordingly, Princes, Princes, and Estates, and the message of the absentee, have once again most humbly and diligently requested and asked us, in consideration of the great need and danger in which the German nation stands, to once again promote such a council in the most beneficial manner with Papal Holiness.

(5) And if we should not obtain from papal sanctity that the said council should be described and held in the German lands, that we should then ex officio make provision for it, which is due to us by our imperial power and which we are obliged to do, and especially in the matter of the said council, which is of such great necessity. And if such a thing should ever not be obtained, from what hindrance it may happen now or in the future, that we may then convene an assembly in the Holy Empire, thereby helping the great concerns that exist and increase daily in the German nation, and counteracting the unavoidable harm that might otherwise irreparably result from it:

(6) We have considered the above-mentioned estates' diligent petition, made to us for this reason, the above-mentioned estates' timely good consideration and counsel, also the great necessity of these matters and what is involved, and the nature and diligence in which the German nation stands because of the discord and repugnance which arises on account of our holy faith. Therefore we, as Roman Christian Emperors, out of special love and desire, so that we bear peace and good unity to the common German nation and the same estates, and especially in consideration of the hindrance in which we now stand, together with the estates of the German nation, for the protection of the same and our holy faith and the common benefit of Christendom, against our common and all Christian enemy, have compared ourselves with the same estates, and they in turn with us, with one another: That we, in accordance with the eager diligence which we had for the sake of the aforementioned Council, as it was decided at Augsburg, and also, as the estates sufficiently understood, have applied, wish to promote papal holiness, and to do everything eagerly and with good diligence which is in our power, so that the same Council may be held in a convenient place. And that Papal Holiness, the See of Rome, indicate and proclaim the same, and in six months' time, the next day of the month, to hold the same concilium.

It is to be announced and then held within a year, and that papal holiness will do so. And if it should be the case that, beyond our possible diligence, we should not be able to call and hold the aforementioned General Council in the way and measure described above, for whatever reason, way or hindrance this should occur, be it by whom it will (although we hope that Papal Holiness will do what is due to it, and that for this reason there will be no lack of it), we will in that case call and hold a General Imperial Council, and give the common estates to understand and indicate the reasons why such a general council is thus prevented, so that then, according to the opportunity of the time and the circumstances, and how the circumstances of Christendom then turn out, it may be considered and discussed how such things may be provided for the benefit of our holy faith, whether by calling a general council, or otherwise by other means and acceptable ways, as are most convenient and considered necessary. And especially for the common necessity of the German nation, so that it may come into good uniform unity, rule, and understanding of our holy faith, for some consolation to God and the Mother, our Christian Church, and so that good peace and tranquility may be kept everywhere in the Empire. And in this we want to do what is due and due to a benevolent Emperor, who is inclined to do good to the German nation, and not let anything happen to us, confident that the estates will also do the same 2c.

1207 Roman Imperial Majesty's Approval and Assurance of the First Religious Peace established at Nuremberg in 1532. Given at Regensburg, August 2, 1532.

This writing is found in Hortleder, "von den Ursachen des deutschen Kriegs," tom. I, lib. I, oup. 11, p. 70 and in Lünig's Reichs-Archiv, pari. Mn. oont. I., p. 604. In Walch's old edition it is printed again in No. 1252 of the 17th volume.

We Carl, by the Grace of God Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire 2c., publicly confess and announce with this letter: As we have declared to the most reverend in God Father and Highborn Albrechten, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg; and Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria 2c., our dear friends, grandparents and Electors, between ourselves and the Elector of Saxony, and his L. L. son, Georgen, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., and their related counts and cities, to act amicably in the disputed religious matter, graciously consented, by virtue of our authority, instruction and order, to their lords and ladies. and thus manifold amicable negotiations were held initially at Schweinfurt and subsequently at Nuremberg, and the matter finally came to this, that we, as the supreme head in the Holy Roman Empire, graciously consented to our friends, sovereigns and princes, Mainz and Palatinate, to establish a common and lasting peace between us and all the estates of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, ecclesiastical and secular, until a common, free, Christian concilium, as such was decided at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, or if this would not have its continuation until the common estates of the empire would be called and described again in an appropriate forum, as will be understood in a special article hereafter.

That in the meantime, or until the estates, as now reported, come to each other again, and are otherwise consulted, no one shall feud, war, 1) rob, see, overrun, besiege, or even serve the other by himself or someone else on his behalf, nor descend some castles, cities, markets, fortifications, villages, farms, or hamlets, or, without the will of the other, take them by force, or dangerously damage them with fire or in other ways, nor give them advice, help, or any other kind of assistance or support, nor knowingly and dangerously harbor, house, etch, water, contain, or tolerate them, but each one should treat the other with true friendship and Christian love. Which now reported common peace we, the Imperial Majesty, have signed. Maj, declare and proclaim to all the estates of the Holy Empire, and command them to keep the same, heavy, considerable penalty, and also to use gracious diligence, that the above-mentioned council be declared and published in half a year, and thereafter be held in one year, and in case this should not be achieved, that then the common estates of the realm be summoned to each other again at a convenient place and described to deliberate what is to be done and acted upon for the sake of the aforementioned council and other necessary matters.

1) "bekriegen" put by us instead of: "betriegen" after No. 1208, s 3.

That we therefore graciously grant and promise, for the sake of the continued and permanent preservation of the aforementioned common peace, to institute all justification in matters concerning the faith, which have been or may yet be initiated by our Fiscal and others against the Elector of Saxony and his allies, until the next Concilium, or, if the Concilium is not held, if the estates of the aforementioned are seen to have other ways of doing so. And if Saxony and its neighbors, in general and in particular, should be justly attacked and complained of by anyone, then he or they, having thus justly made, shall abolish and establish such justification made by us, if we were in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, or in our absence by our governor or commanders, who shall have the expressed command thereof from us, in and by virtue of this letter; And if any judge or court shall proceed, act, and adjudge thereon, all and every such thing shall be void, of no effect, and of no dignity, and shall not bind nor obligate the person or persons so proceeded against and adjudged, in any way but peril. In witness 2c.

1208 Roman Imperial Majesty's Mandate, concerning the Nuremberg Religious Peace, or peaceful decency of faith and religion, of the Holy Empire of the German Nation. Issued at Regensburg, August 3, 1532.

See No. 1207.

1. we Carl the Fifth 2c. hereby convey to all and any electors, princes, ecclesiastical and secular, prelates, counts, barons, knights, servants, captains, bailiffs, governors, stewards, administrators, bailiffs, mayors, judges, councillors, citizens, and otherwise all other subjects and faithful of ours and of the realm, in whatever dignity, station or being they may be, and otherwise to all other subjects and faithful of ours and of the realm, in whatever dignity, station or being they may be, to whom this imperial letter or a copy thereof may be seen and read, or shown, our friendship, grace and all good things. High and venerable, highborn, dear friends, nephews, grandfathers, electors and princes, also well-born, honorable, noble, dear, devout and faithful. Since in the Holy Empire of the German Nation there are noticeably great confusions, discord and

The Turkish, the hereditary enemy of our holy Christian faith and name, the Turk, has come to Hungary in his own person, with great power, and is willing to attack Austria and other countries of the Holy Roman Empire, especially at this time, when the hereditary enemy of our holy Christian faith and name, the Turk, in his own person, with a great power, has come to Hungary, and is willing to move further on Austria and other German lands, and to bring them under his cruel obedience and power, as for the extermination of our holy Christian faith.

(2) Therefore, for the above-mentioned and other excellent reasons, as the great necessity requires, we are inclined to keep the common German nation in good peace and unity, so that it may be prevented from corruption, damage, and harm.

(3) Accordingly, we, as the supreme head, have decreed between all the estates of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, ecclesiastical and secular, in the whole of Christendom, until a common, free, Christian conciliation, as decided at the Diet of Nuremberg, or, if this does not proceed, until the common estates of the Empire, as follows, are called together again in a convenient place and described, to establish a common peace, and to have it publicized everywhere in the Empire. As we then know from Roman imperial power and right knowledge. As we hereby, out of Roman imperial authority and right knowledge, establish and publicize such a common peace, in such a way that between the aforementioned council, or that the estates, as mentioned above, come back to each other, and through an imperial council, in the matter of religion, other agreements are made, so that no one can confront the other on the grounds of faith and religion, nor for any other reason, Neither may any person, by himself or by any other person for his own sake, war against, rob, see, invade, besiege, nor take any castle, city, market, fortification, village, farm, or hamlet, or without the will of the other, take it by force, or dangerously damage it by fire or in any other way. Nor shall anyone give such offenders advice, help, or in any other way assist or abet them, nor knowingly or dangerously harbor, house, cauterize or water, contain or tolerate them,

1) "Market" put by us instead of: "Mark", according to No. 1202, 8 5 and No. 1207.

...but each to the other with true friendship...
...and love. 'cher love is supposed to mean.

(4) We also request that every effort be made and encouraged so that the above-mentioned council may be advertised and publicized within six months and then held within a year, but in the event that this is not achieved, that the common estates of the realm may then be called together again at an appropriate venue and described to deliberate on what should be done and acted upon for the sake of the above-mentioned council and other necessary matters.

005 And thereupon we earnestly enjoin all of you, and each of you in particular, by the duties and oaths, so that you may be bound to us and to the holy realm, also the penalties, punishments, and fines in our land peace, established at Worms, with this letter.

6. And we will and command on behalf of the Holy Roman Empire that you firmly keep this common peace in all its points and articles, as it is expressed from word to word, and that no one should neither deceive nor harm the other, whether of spiritual or temporal rank, but let each keep the other completely, neither offending nor harming him in any way, so that each may avoid our and the kingdom's severe disgrace and punishment, as well as the penalty of the aforementioned peace of the land, into which each one, as often as he commits an unlawful act against it, shall fall by the deed. This we sincerely mean by the deed of this letter. Given in our and the Empire's city of Regensburg, the 3rd day of the month of August, Anno Domini 1532.

1209 The so-called Cadauische Maaden Treaty, or the settlement reached at Kaaden 1) in Bohemia, by which King Ferdinand is recognized as king, Würtemberg is left to the reinstated Duke Ulrich, and the keeping of the Nuremberg Religious Peace is assured, as well as the cessation of the chamber court proceedings. June 29, 1534.

Made of hoard leather, roru. I, ük. Ill, oux. 13, p. 687.

1) Thus Ungewitter writes the name of the city in his great geographical work. Walch: "Caden"; Guericke, K. G., Ill, 200: "Kadan"; Köstlin, Il, 296: "Cadan"; De Wette, IV, XII: "Kaden"; Seckendorf calls it in the index: Oucknnuni sivs Ouduvlu.

1. we, by the grace of God, Albrecht, of the holy Roman church of the title 8. uck vivoulu priest Cardinal, IvSMtus rmtus, Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz, Primate, Archchancellor and Elector 2c., and by the same Grace, we George, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave in Meissen, confess and declare in this open letter: After, and as between the Most Sublime, Most Great, Highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Ferdinand, Roman King 2c., on one, and the Highborn Prince and Lord, Lord John Frederick, Duke of Saxony 2c., Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, our friendly dear lord, uncle, brother and cousin, together with their kinsmen, on the other hand, have for some time been in some discord and affliction on account of their Roman Royal Majesty's election to the Roman throne. Maj.'s election as Roman King, about which the said Elector of Saxony, together with his kinsmen, has protested for some of the aforementioned reasons; also about some disputation and confusion, which, for the sake of peace, has recently taken place at Nuremberg in the matter of religion, and which has been set up by the Roman Royal Maj. Maj., for the sake of several trials held at the Imperial Court of Appeal, that this is to the benefit and honor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Reich of the German Nation to the benefit and honour and welfare, and also to the peace, tranquillity and unity of all the estates of the same, by the gracious permission of the most reverend Royal Majesty. Majesty, also with the permission of our uncle, brothers and cousins, the Elector of Saxony, to act amicably in such afflictions, on account of his and his kinsmen's loyal goodwill.

(2) So then, at the very time when we were engaged in such actions, it happened that the highborn princes, Mr. Ulrich, Duke of Würtemberg, 2c., and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, our beloved grandparents and sons, were subject to invade, capture, and conquer the Duchy of Würtemberg, as they had also completely captured and conquered the same with its fortresses, and were also in further undertakings, from which, if such had not occurred, noticeable disquiet might have resulted in the Holy Roman Empire. Reich could have taken place, that we then have to give the royal Maj. Maj. (who, in turn, also stood in valiant warfare to counteract such evil with action, and to regain the same principality that had been wrested from their Majesty) of their owed duty, and requested that their Royal Maj. Maj., in view of the present proceedings and grievances, would graciously permit us, in addition to the aforementioned errors, in the same Württemberg matters to also

The King would like to seek ways and means, by which such intentions would be satisfied, the armament of both parts would be done, and further troubles, which might occur to the Empire and the German Nation, would be prevented. That then her Royal Maj. Maj., as a gracious, kind Roman King, who considers the honor and welfare of the common Realm to be her Maj.'s own benefit, and our cousin, the Elector of Saxony, in place of and by authority of the two Princes now reported, Würtemberg and Hesse, grants and concedes such amicable negotiation, and we undertake the same in the name of God.

(3) And so, for this reason, for several days, first at St. Annenberg, and then at Cadau, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, to which we, for the benefit of the cause, had disposed of ourselves to the Roman Royal Majesty in our own person, we were also able to persuade the Elector of Saxony that his love should finally come there in his own person. Maj. in his own person, and also succeeded in persuading the Elector of Saxony that his love should finally come there in his own person, we have finally, by the grant of the Almighty, and with the consent and approval of all parties, resolved all such disputes, confusion, and infirmities in the following opinion, and finally settled and agreed upon them, as follows, and is reported.

(4) First, that the peace and truce recently established at Nuremberg and, as reported above, commanded by the Roman Royal Majesty to be kept by all estates, be observed in all ways. Majesty to all estates, is to be observed in all ways, and the same is to be lived up to.

(5) And after a misunderstanding occurred therein, the Royal Majesty has graciously granted that her Royal Highness shall be the judge of this matter. Maj. has graciously granted that Her Royal Majesty shall be released from the Maj. on behalf of the Imperial Maj. Maj. shall procure that the proceedings at the Imperial Court of Appeal shall be continued. Chamber Court, for the preservation of this state of peace, against those named therein, and that all proceedings hitherto taken be actually abolished; all according to the terms of the state of peace established therein.

(6) However, the Sacramentarians, Anabaptists, as well as all other new unchristian sects that might be further instigated, are to be excluded from this, and are to be unanimously resisted by the Royal Majesty, Princes, Princes and Estates, and are not to be tolerated or suffered in their lands.

(7) And neither part shall overreach the other in the matter of religion, nor violate, nor deprive the other of his own, with a considerable penalty; namely, if a prince acts contrary thereto, with the loss of his chieftainship, and another princely estate or city, with the loss of its regalia, privileges, and fiefs. And such a breaker of the peace shall in fact be put to the sword.

008 And in all things every part shall be given unto him.

Let them be content with equality and justice against each other, and let no one deprive, deprive, or rape the other without a prior, proper, legal knowledge of what is his; Neither shall those who may presume to be in this peace or not, and shall (in whatever semblance such may be conceived) undertake it by deed, be strengthened with any aid or encouragement, either with men, money, or practice, or how else such deed may be present to this peace; all with the penalty above mentioned.

(9) But that the suspect of the suspicion be overcome beforehand, by virtue of the established truce; all of which the Royal Majesty has graciously granted on behalf of the Imperial Majesty and for himself. Majesty and for himself, and has hereby confirmed that he will neither do nor impose anything contrary to this.

(10) It is also agreed and understood that the Elector of Saxony, together with his kinsmen, shall recognize the Roman king, as other electors and estates do, for a Roman king, as other electors give the title to his majesty, and shall renounce the dispute about the election, and shall and will drop it, as also his love for himself and his kinsmen has at present renounced it, and thereupon has recognized the Roman king.

(11) On the other hand, the Royal Majesty has granted to obtain from the Imperial Majesty, and in part from the Electors, that these following articles be granted. Majesty, and to request from the Princes, who are due to arrive here between Easter and Easter, that these following articles be granted, and thereupon confirmed by the Imperial Majesty in the Golden Bull, and that the same be thereby declared and authenticated.

(12) Namely, that in future, when a Roman emperor or king is to be elected during the life of a Roman emperor or king, all the princes shall first be summoned together to discuss whether there is sufficient cause, and whether it is beneficial to the realm, to elect a Roman king during the life of a Roman emperor or king. And if they agree that then, and not before, the electors shall be required by virtue of the bull of gold to make a royal election, and to proceed to the election, and the same bull of gold shall be followed in all things. And in the event that it is done otherwise, it shall be null and void, and shall be passed by the Emperor's final decree.

(13) And herewith all ill-will and vexation, which all parts have conceived against each other, and which the imperial and royal majesty in disgrace, or otherwise by other estates of the two countries, shall be lifted up. Majesty in disgrace, or otherwise by other estates of both-

on the other hand in bad things not be punished, nor be emulated 1). In the event, however, that such aforementioned articles are not approved or resolved upon by the majority of the Electors between now and then, and are permitted, confirmed and confirmed by the Imperial Majesty, then the Elector of Saxony together with his co-assignees shall be entitled to the same. Majesty, then the Elector of Saxony, together with his co-relatives, shall again be free by royal choice or title, and his right shall be reserved to him, and the Royal Majesty shall not be obliged in any way, within or without rights, to remedy this, and nevertheless one part shall be content with equality and right against the other.

014 But because the person to be chosen king of Rome is not of the German language or tongue, whether two or three or more kings of Rome of one house be chosen one after another, therefore the princes shall inwardly compare and unite before a certain time, and this shall be decreed in their union.

(15) In the same way, the Elector of Saxony and his dear minor brothers shall be granted their fiefs and regalia in the time before.

(16) The Royal Majesty also wishes to make the highest and most faithful request to the Imperial Majesty that the treaty of the Elector of Saxony in Jülich and Eleven be signed by her Imperial Majesty. Majesty that the treaty of the Elector of Saxony in Jülich and Eleve be confirmed by their Imperial Majesty. Majesty be confirmed.

(17) But as far as the war and capture of the Principality of Würtemberg is concerned, it is agreed and agreed: after the Royal Majesty has been graciously and kindly enfeoffed with the Principality of Würtemberg by the Imperial Majesty. Maj. with the Principality of Würtemberg, that the Roman Emperor has granted the title of Duke of Würtemberg. 2) that the Roman Royal Majesty retains the title of Duke of Würtemberg, and that for this purpose the Principality of Würtemberg is an after-feud of the House of Austria, and that the Roman Royal Majesty or his heirs, Archdukes of Austria, are bound, after the departure of Duke Ulrich, to confer the principality on his male heirs as a fief, and that the Dukes of Würtemberg, as often as the case may be, are obliged to receive it from the House of Austria as an after-feud. However, the Holy Roman Empire reserves its sovereignty and justice, as well as the status and voice of Würtemberg in the Empire, as it had before, to the declared Duchy in all ways. In the form that the Royal Maj. Maj. for himself and his male descendants, Archdukes of Austria, against the execution of this treaty.

1) Instead of "geeifert" it will probably read "geäfert" as in s 29.
2) Instead of "imperial" should probably read "royal".

as often as the Principality of Würtemberg is granted as an after-feud by Her Royal Majesty or her heirs. Majesty or the same heirs of the feudal estate, the Principality of Würtemberg is granted as a subordinate feud, or the case arises that the Principality of Würtemberg in question falls to the House of Austria and is received in fief from the Reich by the Royal Majesty as Archduke of Austria or the same heirs of the feudal estate. Majesty as Archduke of Austria, or by the same heirs of the feudal estate, would be received and possessed by the realm as a feudal tenure, that by the same feudal tenure the realm is not deprived of anything, but all servitude, obedience, taxation, and other things, as has been customary for ages, are and shall be due to the realm from the feudal tenure indicated.

(18) That Duke Ulrich also recognize, honor, and hold the Royal Majesty as Roman King, and that he, like other estates of the realm, show himself obediently in such, and that he neither shall nor will associate with anyone against the Royal Majesty.

(19) His beloved, together with the landgrave, shall and will also cede again that which in the present conquest of the land has been taken from towns, villages, houses, and other things that do not belong to the land, but are in the charge of other princes, prelates, counts, those of nobility, and others, and let each of them cede again his own, of which he is thus deprived, and let him possess such goods peacefully.

(20) Also to every one within and without the principality, together with the abbots who have sat in the land, and who have their special regalia, and do not belong to the principality, to remain with their people and subjects in their faith and religion, to follow them also in their pensions and interest, and to leave them unhindered in this, according to the letter and content of the imperial and imperial decree.

(21) There shall also be high and low, whether ecclesiastical or secular, none excepted, who are obedient to their royal majesty, who have left the country or have been driven out of it. 21. The high and low classes, whether ecclesiastical or secular, no one except those who are obedient to their royal majesty, who have left the country or have been driven out of it, and whose property has been taken from them, shall be admitted again by Duke Ulrich, with peace and convoy, and their stolen goods shall be delivered to them again, and they shall be left in peace; and those who do not wish to live in the country, or who do not wish to suffer Duke Ulrich in it, shall be granted and permitted to sell their goods and to settle in other places of their liking.

22 Similarly, the clergy and seculars who have not been seated in the principality of Würtemberg, but nevertheless have rent, interest, and validity therein, are to be followed and given these without hindrance, and they are to be duly helped over the disobedient and those who do not keep them; but insofar as from the same places the Württemberg

their pension, interest and validity shall also not be inhibited, but shall follow in like manner.

23 Furthermore, Duke Ulrich, above mentioned, and his heirs, shall and will release the Roman Royal Majesty from their pension and claim against the estates of Swabia by this treaty. Majesty of the outstanding balance against the estates of the Confederation of Swabia, likewise against Duke Christoph and Count Georgen of Würtemberg, by this treaty relieve them of their pension and demand, free them and hold them harmless. Also her Majesty's own and borrowed ordnance with its appurtenances, which in the recent surrender of the castle of Asperg, remain on the same castle, and as it has existed, deliver the same again and let it follow.

(24) Whatever other debts there may be in the land of Wuertemberg shall be paid and satisfied, or at peace, by Duke Ulrich and his heirs, without any request that may be made to His Royal Majesty. Maj. shall be paid by Duke Ulrich and his heirs, and they shall be satisfied or put at peace.

(25) But as to such debts, outside of royal debt, by the royal power. Maj. debt, by the royal maj. Maj. for their own benefit, and not for the need of the country, which exceeds 20,000 gulden principal sum, the said Duke Ulrich shall not be obliged to pay.

26 S. L. shall also and will not relieve anyone of his existing pledge or bond without prior legal recognition; however, the article, as stated [8 21], considering: "It shall also be of high and low rank" 2c., is not applicable.

27) If, however, any pension or service money is prescribed by grace of the King's Majesty, which Duke Ulrich does not pay for servants, he may terminate such pension.

(28) And since there are also in the land of Würtemberg several counties, pieces and estates which are in fief from the Crown of Bohemia, Duke Ulrich shall and will receive the same from the present Royal Majesty as reigning King of Bohemia. Maj. as reigning king of Bohemia. And this shall also be done by his heirs in due form and manner.

Item 29: Count Palatine Philip shall also be released from his promise, and other royal councillors and servants. Maj. councillors and servants, of the duty and vow made to Duke Ulrich and the Landgrave in the surrender of Hohen-Asperg, shall be released without payment, nor shall they be punished for what they have lost.

30th And so then the Elector of Saxony, above-mentioned, in place of and by authority of Würtemberg and Hesse 2c., has presently approved and granted all these copied articles, and has also promised that Duke Ulrich shall execute and keep all the same of their contents for himself and his heirs.

hold, with letter and seal conducive provided

and prescribe.

(31) That both of the princes reported, Wuertemberg and Hesse, shall also have their men-at-arms cut up without seizure and rape of Imperial and Royal Majesty. Maj. as well as the other estates of the empire, be cut up and withdrawn.

32) On the other hand, we, as negotiators, have humbly requested the Roman Royal Majesty that Her Majesty grant him, Duke Ulrich, his son and their male heirs in marriage against our intercession. Maj. humbly requested that Her Majesty grant, for the sake of our intercession, that the land of Würtemberg be and remain quietly granted to him, Duke Ulrich, his son and their legitimate male heirs, against the conditions as mentioned above, unhindered by Her Maj. or the same heirs.

(33) That also Her Roman Royal Majesty shall grant him and the Landgrave a considerable day. That their Roman Royal Majesty, upon their request, which they are to make to their Majesty between now and Invocavit, the more timely in the future, will set a considerable day at a convenient place, and then, upon their humble petition and self-request, graciously pardon them in their own person, or by their handsome embassy, with willing and humble footfalls, for past actions, and thereby reaffirm this peace that has been made.

34 On the other hand, both of their Lords are obedient to this, nor do theirs allow themselves to be used or attacked against Imperial and Royal Majesty and the Estates of the Realm. Maj. and the Estates of the Realm, nor allow themselves to be used for any offensive action or attack.

(35) Then Duke Ulrich shall also, on the same day, grant the fief of the land of Würtemberg, as above mentioned, in his own person, as is customary, and receive and enfranchise it from the Royal Majesty. Maj. and be enfeoffed therewith.

(36) Thus also His Royal Majesty will diligently request Maj. diligently requests, 1) that Kais. Maj. will also graciously pardon the past action of the two Princes, Würtemberg and Hesse, and confirm this treaty.

37 And when Her Imperial Maj. Maj. comes to the Empire of the German Nation, then Duke Ulrich and the Landgrave shall and will do a submissive footfall of their own person to Her Maj. and also abjure past acts of Her Maj.

38) All those who have served, aided and abetted both parties in this feud are hereby released from their worries; those who are still caught in this plot are also to be given free and released on a customary vow and promise not to leave the prison, and those who are still in prison are to be released from their worries.

1) "solicit" is either: work or: request.

Neither of them shall be harmed nor punished, neither in body nor in goods. And by this treaty all war expenses, expired by both parts, shall herewith be completely cancelled, and neither part shall make any demand against the other for this reason.

(39) All of the above-mentioned articles, as reported word for word with their appendices, have been graciously granted by the King's Majesty upon such our action and submissive request. Maj. has graciously granted, accepted, and promised to comply with all and any of them for themselves, their relatives, and their principals, and to live up to all of them in a friendly and thoughtful manner, also on account of and by authority of the two Princes of Würtemberg and Hesse.

40 And we Ferdinand, by the grace of God Roman King, do confess for ourselves and our descendants and heirs that this treaty has been established and executed with our gracious forbearance, knowledge, will and full word by the above-mentioned merchants, which consent we also hereby give thereto.

(41) We also speak and promise by our royal true words to comply and live up to the same unwaveringly; we also hereby confirm and ratify all that is required of us to confirm.

42) By the same token, by the grace of God, we Johann Friederich, Duke of Saxony, 2c., Elector, and hereby declare on behalf of ourselves, all our kinsmen in religion and electoral matters, and also by special authority of Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg and Landgrave Philip of Hesse, that we have approved and accepted all these above-written articles with their appendices for ourselves, the same our kinsmen, and our plenipotentiaries. We have immediately recognized and honored the Roman King on our behalf, and on behalf of those who are related to us; to the extent that we hereby recognize and honor him as Roman King (with the modesty that the reported Article 13], beginning: "In the event, however," contains and is capable of).

(43) We also agree and pledge, by our princely allegiance and true words, to observe all of the same articles as those contained herein, and to be faithful to the same, and to be faithful to the same in all things pertaining thereto, and to live by the same.

44 And after these rewritten articles have been proposed and acted upon by us, the merchants, in this matter, namely, so that the warring parties which Würtemberg and Hesse now have with each other may be separated as much as possible.

that both their beloved ones 1) shall do the royal majesty a considerable military service; in such a way that they send in her majesty's name 1500 armed horses and 3000 good servants, with necessary artillery, before Münster now. Majesty's name, send 1500 armed horses and 3000 good servants, with the necessary artillery, before Münster, and help the bishop to conquer this city in the name and by order of the Imperial Majesty. Majesty, help the bishop to conquer it, and that the same cavalrymen and servants shall be related to the royal Majesty and shall obey the same command.

45 And if the necessity of Münster requires that the city not be conquered before that time, it shall be maintained for three months at the expense and expense of both princes. Item, after the royal majesty has previously had a share in the castle Hohentwiel, situated in Hegau, that against the manifold of her majesty's gracious indulgence, which she did to the duke of Würtemberg in this action, the remaining duke Ulrich's share in it, with all belonging, will be hereditarily pursued and delivered. Item, that Duke Ulrich's husband is to remain calm about her expulsion, which she has had in the country up to now.

46) That also the common countryside of Würtemberg should insure the above-mentioned contracted articles, which Duke Ulrich has prescribed for himself and his heirs, for themselves, as much as they are concerned to keep and to live by, in addition to Duke Ulrich's assurance.

47) Item, after the Elector of Saxony also recalled an article concerning Count Georgen of Würtemberg, in such a way that the same should be left with the Würtemberg fiefs, that the Royal Majesty has not yet been able to decide here on the grounds that Her Majesty has not kept the letters concerning the elevation of the land to a principality, as well as the enfeoffment of Duke Ulrich. Majesty has not yet been able to decide here, on the grounds that Her Majesty did not have the letters concerning the elevation of the state of Würtemberg to a principality, as well as the enfeoffment of Duke Ulrich, in her hands.

48) Likewise, that the said Elector of Saxony also indicates that Würtemberg and Hesse have withdrawn Mr. Dietrich Späten and Mr. Georgen von Straußen in this treaty, which the Royal Majesty, since the whole feud is to be reconciled, and otherwise reconciled between all the relatives, and her Majesty has not attracted anyone therein, would not have thought fair.

49 And this time, however, from such articles as have been narrated, further action has been taken in such a way that the Elector of Saxony, for the very best of his F. Gn. Councillors to the two Princes mentioned.

1) In the old edition: "Liebd, Liebd. ", by wrong resolution of "L. L." - Liebden.

and dispatch, with both their loved ones 1) to the most diligent and faithful, not differently than if the cause of his loved ones itself concerns, shall and will let act, so that the article, listed here above [§ 44], beginning: "Namely, so that the war people, so Würtemberg and Hessen" 2c., because the same cause can suffer no delay, may be pursued with both their loved ones 1).

50) And that in the other articles mentioned, because they are not so urgent, the said Elector can, as advantageously as he can send to his lovers for the sake of their other business, dispose of his own person to the said two Princes, or humble them to himself, and act and treat with their lovers in the most faithful and diligent manner, so that they, as they are placed, may also be preserved with their lovers 1) for the same time as the Elector of Saxony, the Royal Prince of Saxony, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire.

1) Here again "Liebden" is double in the old edition.

Majesty your counsels, to his love, that they be granted, shallicitiren.

51. that in testimony and confession, also of constant and firm bearing, we the above-named Ferdinand, Roman, Hungarian, and Bohemian King 2c., for ourselves and our heirs, have one; and we Albrecht, Cardinal, Legate 2c., Elector, and George, Duke of Saxony, as the merchants, and we John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector, for ourselves and our co-relatives, also in authority of the above-named two Princes of Würtemberg and Hesse, the other part, have signed this treaty with our own hands, and knowingly affixed our seals thereto.

Which is given at Cadau, on Monday after the Baptism of John [29 June], after the birth of Christ our dear Lord, in the year 1534.

Ferdinand 88t. Ouräinul. No-

George, Duke of Aurit. , murrn xroxr.

Saxony, 88t. Johannes Friedrich, Her

Drawn to Saxony 2c., manu xroxr. 88t.

The fifteenth chapter.

Of the actions taken between the imperial and papal envoys on the one hand, and the protesting estates on the other, because of a concilii to be called.

First paragraph.

Of the imperial and papal call for a concilii half, and of both sides' audience with the Elector of Saxony.

1210 Emperor Carl V's letter to the Electors, as well as to the Saxon, Rhenish, Dutch, Swabian, Bavarian, and Frankish districts, concerning a common concilii on the discord of religion. Given at Bologna, 8 January 1533.

This document is found in Hortleder, tom. I, lil." I, aap. 13, p. 72 and in Lünig's Reichs-Archiv, pari. ^6n. aont. I, p. 606. variants of the copy letter which the Churfürst sent to the Landgrave are found in Neudecker's "Aktenstücke," p. 85 f. We have inserted the additions of the same in square brackets.

1. Carolus, by the Grace of God, Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire. Reverend in God Fathers, venerable and high-born dear friends, nephews, grandfathers, electors, princes; also well-born, honorable, noble, devout and dear faithful, who out of such inclination and desire of our imperial mind, for the promotion and increase of the Holy Empire, and especially of the laudable German nation for good welfare, have graciously undertaken and done nothing higher and more vehement, than the matter of the discord of our Christian religion, from which, as an origin, much

Cause of much evil, not only in faith, but also in worldly and temporal being, hitherto arisen, seeks to unite and lay down.

(2) And after we have often had our commissioners and orators from many imperial congresses act on the grounds of such disputes, and we ourselves have endeavored with particular diligence at recent imperial congresses at Augsburg and Regensburg, and have omitted nothing that might have been helpful in putting an end to such disputes.

3. Since, however, after all practiced action, no other way has been discussed and found by your friendship, loved ones, devotion, and you, as well as other estates of the realm, by which such discord 1) and great danger and confusion of all things might be conveniently put away, or quieted 2) except that a common concilium should be announced; and such [some] way, since the things otherwise become the longer the worse, is considered necessary, and is desired by us entirely in subservience: So we have, for the benefit of the common Christianity, and because of your friendship, love, devotion, and your, and also other of the kingdom's estates, diligent, diligent request, immediately after the march against the Turk, which we, in view of that tyrant's quick and unforeseen departure, and also of the winter matter before us, could not well accomplish, for the satisfaction of the German nation and so that a common concilium would be proclaimed in Christendom, and directed our minds to appeal to papal holiness for such, to promote and obtain it, and for this reason took our way to Italy. And when the papal holiness, regardless of the difficult winter time and ways, also regardless of her health and age, willingly came before us to this city of Bononia, and showed herself for such Christian action with all fatherly mind and desire in such a way that nothing was lacking with her holiness for her part and office. And as far as the call for the General Council is concerned, after we have informed his Holiness of the danger and gravity of the present events and matters, and of your friendship, love and devotion, and of your, and also other imperial estates', advice, consideration and request with special diligence, as we have promised and granted such to your friendship, love, devotion and to you, and also to other imperial estates.

1) Copy writing: Discord.
2) In the old edition: "put".
3) Copy writing: heavy printing.

His Holiness, on account of her papal office, out of fatherly love for common Christianity, has immediately granted such a request for a common council quite willingly and with an eager mind, and has not allowed it with less diligence and eagerness than we have requested, as your friendship, love, devotion, and you will actually hear from his Holiness' letter. And move your Holiness very carefully how highly necessary it is for other Christian kings, princes, and potentates to grant such a thing, and ask your Holiness especially to prevent that this work, so undertaken for the benefit of common Christendom, be not prevented by some disadvantages, lest also a division [and] schism [and thereby] such a salutary thing be despoiled.

4. For this reason, and for the greater progress of the aforementioned General Council, and so that nothing might be omitted that would be helpful to this cause, Her Holiness has immediately sought the minds and opinions of other kings and Christian princes to proclaim and bring about the aforementioned Council, and has paternally exhorted and reminded them of this Christian work; Which then their holiness by writings and their ambassadors has so diligently and so diligently subjected, that one hopes for the same kings, princes, and potentates to grant and answer in the most beneficial way and before our departure from Italy, and such a grant and answer as is well befitting and due to the same office [and] title against the inclination of common Christianity.

(5) We have given all this to your friendship, love, devotion, and [to you, so that] (6) you may find that we have seen your friendship, love, devotion, and you, and that we have been faithful to our promise, in a kind and gracious way.

006 And thereupon we desire, and beseech your friendship, and love, and devotion, and you, kindly and graciously, and in virtue of your kindred, that your friendship, and love, and devotion, and you, may be toward us and toward common peace and unity; that your friendship, and love, and devotion, and you, may be toward us, and toward common peace and unity; that your friendship, and love, and devotion, and you, may be toward us, and toward common peace and unity.

4) So the copy writing, Hortleder and after him Walch: "duly".
5) Hortleder and Walch: "that not sth. by" 2c.
6) Inserted by us to make some sense. - In the following we have put instead of: "would like": "would like".

We are convinced that you and yourselves, in the meantime and while the matters in question are being dealt with and the General Council announced and held, want to live, exist and remain in good friendship, peace and unity; By this means, the matters in question and the proceedings of the Council will be especially promoted, and your friendship, love, devotion and you will do what is suitable for common unity, and your friendship, love, devotion and you will be especially due and respected, and our final will and opinion will be done, and your friendship, love, devotion and you will be kindly and graciously blamed, and recognized, and never again forgotten for good. Given at Bononia, the 8th day of the month of Januarii, in the 1533rd year of our Empire in the thirteenth, and of our Realm in the seventeenth.

V. 8elä. Oarol

niuiiäutuni 0u68. outlr. Mus. propriuM.

Kirchmuller. 8pt?)

1211 The Pope's letter, approval, and request to the Swabian district concerning the future common council. Given at Bononia, January 10, 1533.

Hort leather, toni. I, lik. I, vap. 14, p. 73. - The same letter of invitation, but addressed to Saxon County, is printed in D. C. G. Neudecker's "Merkwürdige Aktenstücke aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation", p. 82, in another translation, which the Elector had made "in haste" (Neudecker I. e. p. 80).

Pope Clement the Seventh, to the venerable brothers, bishops and dear sons, nobles, princes, prelates, counts, lords, knights, cities and estates of the Swabian district in general and in particular.

Venerable Brethren and Beloved Sons, Hail and Papal Blessing! When we heard that your noble nation had recently desired, and most earnestly desired, that a common council should be appointed by us for the settlement of your controversy in the holy religion, we never failed in the same, not only with our consent, but also (as is customary) with the request of other princes.

1) We have inserted these signatures from Neudecker's "Actenstücke", but changed "2c." to spt. at the end. Such gross errors are not rare in Neudecker, e. g. p. 5: ruagnus instead of moZuut (LloZuntiuns).

As this can be announced to the most noble of our dear sons in Christ, Carolo, Roman Emperor, and Ferdinando, Roman King, to whom we wrote two years ago, as to other princes, and exhorted them all to consent to it with good will and unanimity. But this action of ours has been cut off by the armament and the invasion of the Turks in Hungary and Germany, and therefore the minds of all the princes have been put in doubt.

2. But as soon as this enemy, by the grace of God and of the aforementioned emperor and king's power, and also our help, has been driven away, and we have recently heard that a concilium is once again desired: we have thereupon, as the truly owed service first to God Almighty, then to all believers in Christ in general, and subsequently to your nation, which we especially love and hold in high esteem, never want to deny or refuse, as soon as we learn of the Emperor's arrival in Italy, and that he is about to cross into Hispania, and that he would sail in Hispania at the earliest, and had received sufficient report of his good conduct, Christian and beneficial suggestions, ourselves in our own person, although we with all complaints, and by recent illness weak, even as the winter was most severe, before Imperial Majesty the Emperor. Majesty. We did not shy away from any danger, neither of the way nor of life, so that we could talk to the Emperor himself (who, as we had been told, would request and ask of us) about common benefits and especially about these things before he left; who, when he came after us to Bononiam, and, in the manner of his noble Christian mind towards God, showed us diligence towards the realm, and inclined will towards your nation (in all of which he does not yield to any emperor) not only yours, but first of all his and his brother's named desire and request (concerning the appointment of the Concilii). Although this desire of his Majesty's has never before been brought to our attention Although this desire of his Majesty's has never been repugnant to us before, we have now been moved even further to it by the request and plea of such a powerful prince, who is excellent in all praise (if anything else might have been added to our previous inclined will), and have been confirmed in this.

003 And there shall have been no delay with us at all, where we of other kings, princes, and potentates also, as of her majesty, would have had unanimous consent. For it is to our own

It is not hidden from us that all members and nations of Christendom should be exhorted to the assembly of a common council, and at least, as much as possible for us and on our side, be brought to it, and this not only because of old custom, but also because of unanimous agreement. Therefore we have resolved to carry out our action again (to again exhort the other princes to this and to obtain their consent, as was also begun by us two years ago, but was omitted by frightening the cruel enemy), to continue in it, and, which God Almighty will graciously grant us, in which we will not cease to exert all diligence, effort and labor against God and man, neither with letters, messages, exhortations nor petitions, so that the common concilium that has been called for may be scheduled and held as soon as possible.

(4) And what the other kings, princes, and potentates think and will, and what they decide to do in this holy matter, and give us for answer, we will bring to your knowledge in the most beneficial way. All of which we wish to inform you of, and request that you take it for granted that, in view of our office and the most noble Emperor and his brother's authority, we are also moved by your nation's welfare, peace, and tranquility to do nothing that would not be for the benefit, peace, and security of all common Christendom, and for the honor of our holy religion, also to our holy religion's honor, prosperity, and acceptance, and especially what might be profitable in some way for the unification of your contentious nation, which is the foundation of the holy empire, the strength and adornment of all Christendom, and has always been dear to us through special affection. Given in our city of Bononia, under the fisherman's ring, on the tenth day of Januarii in the year 1533, the tenth year of our papacy.

1212 Advertisement which Pope Clement VII had done by Hugo Rangs, Bishop of Reggio, besides the Emperor's assigned Orator, to the Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, on account of a Concilii, June 3, 1533, at Weimar.

This writing was first published in quarto at Wittenberg in 533 under the title: "Römischer Kayserlicher Majestät, unsers allergnädigsten Herrn und des Pabsts Geschickten Werbung an Hertzogen Joh. Friedrichen, zu Sachsen Churfürsten, von wegen des künftigen Concilii. The articles, at that time of his Elector. by the Papal Council

sent to the same two. Article of the Elector's answer thereto, delivered to the same two sent ones. Answer of the same Elector of Saxony, together with his Electors. Gn. to His Imperial Roman Majesty and to the Pope. Majesty and the pope's skill, done in writings. With a preface, all to necessary report." In the collections: in the Eisleben one, vol. II, p. 318; in the Altenburg one, vol. VI, p. 123; and in the Leipzig one, vol. XXI, p. 112. The preface is wrongly attributed to Luther (Knaake, Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie, 1886, p. 360). Köstlin, M. Luther (3rd) vol. II, p. 663 uä p. 293.

Preface.

Now for many years there has been a common desire and wish among almost all pious Christians for a common Christian council, in which one would like to rectify the grievances and abuses that have occurred in all the churches up to this time, and to settle the controversial matters of doctrine that have arisen from them, and to bring them into a Christian union. Now there are some who have thought that such a desire or concilium has been prevented by the pope and his own until now, who do not like to hear about the reformation of the church, for the reason that they fear the example of the concilium at Costnitz, in which a concilium was set up over the pope and acted almost harshly with popes, as subjects, because they fear that it might happen to them again. For this reason, they also wrote and argued vehemently at the time of the concilium at Costnitz that the pope was over the concilium; just as the pope Eugenius subsequently suspended the next concilium at Basel, and began another one at "Pis" to confirm and maintain the pope's supposed supremacy over a concilium.

And in such papal councils nothing else is decided except what serves to strengthen such papal supremacy and its abuses. In the aforementioned Pisa Council it was decided that the pope should be the supreme person in all the world and a true governor of God on earth, to whom all men should be subject for the salvation of their souls; item, that one should believe in purgatory; item, that one should eat unleavened bread, and many other such things. Nothing, however, has ever been said of the true principalities of the Christian faith, nor of the abuses and offences which are committed and practised against them, all of which every pious Christian is commanded to judge and consider.

But we should all praise and honor our dear pious emperor that he has always held fast to such desire, and has not refrained from it with right Christian earnestness and mind,

until he has raised elements septimo with the pope, that the said pope has granted to hold a concilium, though with articles attached, as may be read from the following.

Now it behooves all of us who are called and want to be Christians to support our pious emperor and his faithful diligence, and to help him to a blessed end with prayers and cries to heaven to the Father of all mercy, and whatever else we are able to do. For although a Christian council is being formed, it must nevertheless be based on diligent prayer and faithful work against the enemy of the truth, who does not like to leave the fundamentals of the faith and the abuses that strive against them.

This request of the Pope from the Concilio to the Elector of Saxony and his relatives, together with their answer, is omitted from the print, as a good example that other Christian lords and people also gain a serious mind and inclined heart for the Concilio, as they see and hear here that these Christian, praiseworthy princes and lords do and show in deed, and we therefore all strive to attain with united prayer, so that we may become worthy to see a truly Christian Concilium one day. May our dear Lord Jesus Christ help us, with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, some God, praised forever and ever, amen.

The Imperial and Papal Envoys. Envoy Werbung an Churfürst Johann Friedrich zu Sachsen wegen des künftigen Concilii.

001 When, some months ago, the pope and the Roman emperor met in Bononia, and discussed many great and serious matters, and especially religion, and united in some of these matters, the pope would have done well. Maj. met in Bononia, and discussed many great and serious matters, and especially religion, and united on some of these matters: so the pope would have considered it convenient and good that some should be sent to the princes of the German nation for this purpose.

002 And though the greatness of this bargain might have required that such men as were of greater reputation and understanding should have been sent; yet, notwithstanding all pretended excuses, the pope would have commanded him to go: therefore also he would have come to my most gracious lord, the elector of the realm, to present to his electoral graces his command, which he had from the pope. 1)

1) From this paragraph and the following one one sees that we have to do here with a recapitulation of what the papal legate Hugo Rango presented to the Elector.

003 Which the pope's command, but the emperor's will, had thus determined and decreed.

004 But in order that the more faith might be given him in the advertisement which he was about to make, he desired to have his letters of credence delivered before he told the things.

5th After the same letter of credence was handed over, he spoke the following opinion:

(6) How good of time that Pope Clement the Seventh, by divine providence, should have come to the papal see, had he considered nothing higher nor more diligent than how some divisions which had arisen in the German nation on account of religion might be quieted and put away, so that he and the church might govern and live so much more peacefully.

7th For this reason he has often sent excellent, learned and skilful men to the German nation, who were to make the greatest effort to quench the reported dispute; but this has not yet been achieved in any way.

(8) After this, however, it came to pass, no doubt by special divine providence, that Imperial Majesty had come from Hispania and had turned to Italy. Maj. had come from Hispania and had turned to Italy, thinking to move further into the German nation, he would have been more consoling and full of hope, since they had compared themselves with each other for the sake of other remarkable things and had decided to raise these matters of religion also to his liking.

9th But when the imperial majesty came to the German nation afterwards, her majesty would have been in no want of diligence to bring Germany back to the former way of religion.

(10) Her Majesty has also appointed and held more than one general Imperial Diet for this purpose, which would have done little to help the cause, without a doubt because of the cruel suit of the hereditary enemy of the Christian name, the Turk, which the Imperial Majesty would have made in the disruption of their plan. Majesty would have done to their intention in the disruption.

(11) But when the emperor's majesty came to Italy and to Bononia, the pope spoke and acted much about these matters with the emperor. Maj. came elsewhere in Italy and against Bonavia, the pope talked and acted much about these matters with the emperor, so that his imperial majesty let himself be heard that there was no convenient means or way to remedy such matters other than a common council. Maj. let it be heard that there was no more convenient means or way to remedy such matters than a common council, which the German princes also desired.

(12) Therefore, so that no lack would be found in the pope, and so that the emperor's desire and concern would be sufficient. Maj.'s desire and concern, he would have been satisfied that a concilium be held.

013 Therefore he, the Nuncius, would be dispatched by the pope to the Elector of Saxony to announce to his electoral grace that the pope would be requested to hold a concilium.

014 But since it would be necessary, if a council were to be held, to consider some things beforehand, as namely, in what manner and in what form the same should be held, item, in what place it should be most conveniently placed, and thirdly, for what time?

(15) For this reason, the pope had several articles drawn up according to which the council was to be conducted and held.

016 Some of them questioned the manner of the council, that it should be a free and common council, and such a council as the fathers of the church of old held, of which it might well and truly be said, that if two or three of them were gathered together in his name, he would be in the midst of them, without doubt that the Holy Ghost was with the fathers in such councils.

017 Secondly, that they who would be in such a council should consent to hold the same conclusions and determinations. For otherwise it would be a vain endeavor to determine and decide something in a concilio, where it should not be accepted and kept; as otherwise it would be a vain thing to establish law, where the same would not be lived up to and administered.

(18) Thirdly, whoever could not come to the Concilio in person, that he might send his embassy and lawyers.

019 Fourthly, that no innovation should be made until the final completion of the Concilii.

(20) Fifthly, as to the place of painting, the pope would have had all sorts of considerations and concerns. For the places of the churches must be convenient for this purpose because of many circumstances, and among other things, that there is no famine there, but food and drink in convenient purchase, and a healthy air, which is comfortable for those who come there from all over the world.

021 Therefore, and in consideration of such circumstances, the pope would have thought of three places, as Mantua, for the same city was an imperial city, and near to the German nation, there was also a good wholesome air, and all things at a fair purchase, or Placentia, or Bononia.

022 Therefore it shall be at the pleasure of the princes to choose and to accept any of the places of painting which they will.

23) Sixthly, if some princes would refuse to come to such a council, or to send theirs with authority, or would leave it, that nevertheless the pope should proceed with the council.

(24) The seventh, if any person shall complain of the act and determination of the Council, is that then Imperial Majesty and other Christian kings and princes shall assist the pope and the church. Majesty and other Christian kings and princes shall stand by the pope and the church, protect him, and help to handle him, so that no further damage is done to him and the church, nor to their goods.

025 And if any man should be questioned in this matter, why the council should not be appointed and named at once, his answer and report would be, that therefore it could not have been done in haste, because necessity requires that all the circumstances of the council should be well considered beforehand.

26 And because Imperial Majesty has often promised the German nation that a concilium should be celebrated. Majesty has often promised the German nation at so many imperial congresses that a concilium should be celebrated, therefore also Imperial Majesty would have allowed it to be sent to the princes and princes of the German nation to announce the Pope's approval. Majesty would have pleased that it be sent to the princes and princes of the German nation to indicate the Pope's approval.

(27) (To the eighth) 1) Therefore the pope would be completely willing, if the Christian kings and potentates had acted beforehand on the articles in question, that he should then immediately, within six months, write out the concilium, so that it should then be begun within a year.

28. thereupon has sent my most gracious lord the often touched articles in writing, and asked that he would let himself be heard from them with a kind and favorable answer.

29 Thereupon the imperial orator immediately arose, and spoke the following opinion in Latin.

(30) Since, out of the urgency of the matter, Imperial Majesty Oratores and the Princes and Estates of the Empire of the German Nation have hitherto met much and often, and have discussed how the division of religion in the Empire might be remedied, nothing fruitful has been achieved. Since, due to the urgent nature of the matter, the Imperial Majesty's Orators, and the princes and estates of the Empire of the German Nation have been in contact with one another many times and have discussed how the division of religion in the Empire might be remedied, and since nothing fruitful has been accomplished to date, it was considered most convenient to hold a council, which the Imperial Majesty recently received at Bononia from the pope. Majesty had recently received at Bononia from the Pope. And namely, that it should be held and carried out in time and place, also in form.

1) Added by us.

as the venerable lord, the papal envoy, spoke of it by length. And he would therefore be sent by the Emperor's Majesty Majesty, that he should testify by Imperial Maj. Maj. that the pope had granted the concilium. And because the papal delegate 1) spoke intelligently about it, he considered it unnecessary that he should endure my most gracious lord with longer speeches.

31 His request is that H. C. F. G. give the Pope's envoy a statement of the whole faith, and let himself be heard with a good answer.

32) Thereupon my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., has let it be known to them that he will accept their advertisement, on account of the Pope and Imperial Majesty. Majesty, in addition to surrendering their credentials and the articles presented, for the sake of Imperial Majesty. Majesty's half humbly noted. Because these matters are great and important, their great necessity requires them to take the matters into consideration, which, with God's help, S. C. F. G. would most beneficially like to do, and as soon as they have received the answer, to notify them of the same for the advancement of the matters, with the attached request that they not bear the burden of the delay.

(33) The papal nuncio said that the C.F.G. would be wise not to give an answer so soon and so carelessly, for the matters and affairs would need good consideration. For in great matters it would be careless to give an answer soon, and it would be difficult to give an answer. For this reason, they would willingly give his Electoral Grace as much time and space as possible to write a reply.

34) As his electoral graces of the following Wednesday [June 11] 2) have given an answer to these Roman Imperial Majesties and the Pope. Majesty and the Pope's sent ones, by virtue of the following articles, 3) which have been delivered to them at their request in Latin, signed by his electoral grace.

1) Addition: "certainly" (Walch).

2) See "Lehre und Wehre," Vol. 36, pp. 250 and 252. Similarly Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. VIII, 1086, note.

3) The "articles" mentioned here are not the eight articles of the pope that follow immediately, about which the Elector first obtained Luther's objections, but the sixteen articles named in Luther's second objection, No. 1214. See the citations given in the preceding note. It is not to be assumed that the Elector delivered the eight articles handed over to him "signed by him" to the envoys on the next day, June 4 (thus one interprets the words: "the following Wednesday").

The articles, at that time [June 3] of his electoral grace by the papal ...to the skilled.

First, that the Universal and General Councils, which are to be written out and held, shall be free, and according to the usual custom of the church, held from many hundred years ago, from the beginning and beginning of the common and universal councils until the present time, shall also proceed in this manner.

Secondly, that those who are to be in the council should promise and commit themselves to keep and obey the council's decrees and what is decided therein.

Thirdly, that those who are prevented from coming to such a council by bona fide causes shall nevertheless send and discharge their lawful procurators and attorneys, with their sufficient authority.

Fourthly, that also in the meantime in the disputed articles of the holy faith in German lands no innovation is made nor undertaken by them, but that the matters remain peaceful until the concilium is concluded and dismissed.

Fifthly, that all men now consent and resolve, and unite, which shall be the place of the Concilium, to hold the Concilium there: for otherwise, and without that, all armament, food, labour, and toil, would be in vain. And because necessity requires that such a place be chosen, which, as much as possible, will be convenient to all those who are to come and appear at the council.

Therefore the pope considers it, and not without reason, that of the three cities mentioned below, the best and most convenient should be one for the council, namely, Mantua, Bononia, Placentia. For the reason that they are all solid, safe, spacious and large, also in good, fertile land and in good air, and also that they are much closer to the German nation and more convenient than all the other countries of the Transylvanian, 4) and outside the German nation.

Sixthly, although some princes, potentates, and members of Christendom may not wish to allow themselves to be involved in such a godly and Christian matter without just and reasonable cause, and may disobediently refuse and refuse to write out and keep the council, the pope nevertheless intends to write out the above council, and to continue with the best part (as reported).

4) "Überbürgische" arguably - over-mountain.

Seventhly, it is also just and reasonable that, if some should hinder the holy work of the council by some means, or oppose its agreement, conclusion, and statutes, and disobey them, or without cause apostatize from the pope, then and in such a case, all and every one of the others who are of a better opinion, and who are in harmony with the pope, should act against him, or to do something unfriendly against him, that then and in such a case, against them all and every one, the others, who are of better opinion and of one mind, should assist the pope and the papal see, and help with all their means.

Eighth, if the pope receives an answer from the Roman king and the princes of the German nation, as well as from other Christian kings, on the basis of the above-mentioned articles, and, as he hopes, obtains and receives his will and favor, the pope hereby undertakes and declares that he will then, within half a year, prepare the council, and to call for the same council within a year, so that in the meantime all that is needed for the council may be prepared in the city ordered for it, and those who must be in such council may prepare and send themselves for such a journey, and there present themselves from the lands near the sea.

Hugo Rango, count, bishop of Reggio 1) and prince, also papal nuncio.

Lambertus of Briaerde, sstz.

1213: The Elector John Frederick of Saxony the other day [June 4] thereupon dilatory answer given to both envoys.

See the previous number.

(1) That the Pope and Imperial Majesty have decided to proclaim and assemble a council. Majesty have decided to proclaim and assemble a council, Duke Hans Frederick of Saxony, Elector 2c., is especially pleased about this, and has also heard nothing better.

002 For his electoral graces knew that it was a great and unavoidable need of the common Christians.

(3) Since the almighty God (whom his princely grace would ask for, and also command to be asked for in S. C. F. G. churches) will also give grace that a divine, common, free Christian concilium, as Imperial Majesty has graciously promised the German nation many times, will be held and especially in such a way that in it Christian and lawful Christianity will be established. Majesty has graciously promised the German nation, and especially in such a way that in it Christian and lawful

1) In the old edition: "Ugo Rangen Grase, Bishop zu Neß" 2c.

and in it God's word will judge, as our dear Lord Christ Himself says John, 12, v. 48: "The word which I have spoken, that shall judge him at the last day," without doubt, the Almighty God will bestow His grace, so that all division and complaining will result in true, right, Christian unity, also in peace and all good.

(4) Whatever his C. F. G. would like to do for themselves, and advise, promote, and help other C. F. G. relatives, that C. F. G. would like to do with a special, cheerful, and inclined will.

(5) And S. C. F. G. would be entirely inclined to let themselves be heard in response to the advertisement made by the Pope and Imperial Majesty. Maj. with a final answer to them this time; yet they themselves know and have heard that there are more princes, counts, cities and estates in the Empire of the German Nation who hold to the doctrine and God's word, which abides forever, than His Electoral Grace His Father, Duke John, Elector (of high and blessed memory), and the said estates and cities publicly confessed at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg before Imperial Majesty, with which His Electoral Grace, Duke John, Elector of Augsburg, and the said estates and cities publicly confessed at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg before Imperial Majesty, with which His Electoral Grace, Duke John, Elector of Augsburg, and the said estates and cities publicly confessed at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg. Majesty, with whom his electoral graces stand in this for one part, behind which his electoral graces are to give such a final answer. His Elector's Grace would not be able to give such a final answer; so, as they should be respected, it would not serve the cause if they could not be heard to give an equal and unanimous answer.

(6) But his electoral graces would not save them, because the pope and imperial majesty wrote from Bononia last winter to the estates of the German nation, and put off a council and the sending of their message. Majesty wrote last winter from Bononia to the Estates of the German Nation, putting off a council and the sending of their message: so his Electoral Grace, for these and other reasons, had adjourned with his Electoral Grace's kinsmen for the coming of John. His Electoral Grace, for these and other reasons, has adjourned with his electoral relatives for the time to come, in the opinion of dealing with them, because they wanted to have their part heard in this on account of the pre-touched papal and imperial writings.

(7) Therefore, it is his electoral grace's request and intention that there be no difficulty or displeasure in this. For his Electoral Grace would then report to their fellow kinsmen on their petition and application, and from this decide with them on a unanimous and Christian answer, and have all of them heard by means of a letter or writing to them. And ask them to let his Electoral Grace know where they are to be found at that time, or else that they can make it known to them.

on Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday after St. John's Day?) of his Electoral Grace and Landgrave Philip of Hesse to Schmalkalden, since they will then be with each other.

(8) For His Electoral Grace's mind and opinion, with God's help and grace, shall certainly be directed in such a way that it intends to act and walk by God's grace and help, so that both those who now live on earth, and those who would like to be on earth after our mortal departure, shall experience with reason and truth that His Electoral Grace has so far considered nothing dearer, nothing higher, nothing more valuable, and for this, with God's help, they want to consider the remaining time of their lives as pure, salvific, and blessed. Grace has hitherto respected nothing dearer, nothing higher, nothing more valuable, and for this, with God's help, they want to respect the rest of their lives, except the pure, salvific and beatific Word of God, and the true, righteous worship of God, and consequently the common peace of the land, not only in the German nation, but also of the entire Holy Roman Empire and Christendom. The aim is to promote and render faithful obedience and submissiveness to the Roman Imperial Majesty, as his authority ordered by God and his most gracious Lord.

1214 Luther's and his colleagues' four concerns regarding the above advertisement.

These four concerns are found in the Eisleben edition, Vol. II, p. 324; in the Altenburg edition, Vol. VI, p. 130; in the Leipzig edition, Vol. XXI, p. 120; in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 55, p. 14 and in De Wette, Vol. I V, p. 454, with the date: "middle of June", based on Luther's letter to Hausmann of June 16 (No. 1215). From June 15 until around St. John's Day, the Elector personally consulted with the theologians in Wittenberg. The first two concerns will have to be set earlier, and were sent from Wittenberg to Weimar; the last two later, the same will have been sent to Schmalkalden.

a. Luther's first concern.

Between June 4 and 10, 1533.

(1) If the first article were clear and certain what the pope meant by it, I would have no lack of the other articles (for myself). For where he clearly showed that he wanted to hold a council according to God's word, and not according to his own custom, and committed himself to it, there should be no question whether we would appear, be obedient, and help to exegete. For not only should we do so, but we would also be obligated to do so, as to obey God Himself.

1) That is, the 25th, 26th, or 27th of June.

002 But now this same article is evil and treacherous, and shuneth the light, and creepeth in the darkness, as half an angel and half a devil; saying, it shall be a free concilium, siout ab iuitio, that is, as from the beginning. If by this he means the first Concilium, and especially the apostles at Jerusalem, as is written in the Acts of the Apostles on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth, then it must be judged according to God's word. For the apostles concluded from God's words and works 2c. Who would not follow them? 2c. Again he speaks: According to the custom of the Church from of old, until this time; hiemit he also comprehends the last Concilia, as that at Costnitz, at Basle, at Pisa, and the most shameful to the Lateran at Rome, the last held under Pope Leo the Tenth, which was a mockery and reproach to all the world. Therefore his opinion must be that he wants to make such a council, in which the acts and deeds of such councils are read to us as if we did not know them before. And because this is the opinion, no concilium may be made, for it has long since been held, and not only decided, but has now been executed against us for more than twelve years with banishment, fire, water, sword, and all power and cunning, so that it may not be read to us again at a concilium; we knew it and have experienced it all too well.

(3) In sum, a consilium sisut ab iuitio, as the first were, we understand it no other way, nor can we understand it any other way, than a concilium according to God's word and works. But a concilium according to custom, as was the case at Costnitz and its like, is called a concilium against God's word, according to human conceit and will.

4th Because the two, namely, according to the word of God and against the word of God, in the same mouth of the pope, prove themselves to be lies, it must be understood that in the first article the pope mocks and deceives the emperor together with our request. For such a council is not desired by us, nor is it promised or decided in the imperial diets; yet he, the liar, calls it a free council; he understands "free" for himself alone, that he wants to do in it as has been customary and done up to now, freely and without hindrance.

005 Above this also is that of his lying, a sign that he boasts of the conciliar custom (though it is not to be suffered), and yet does not himself keep it in these articles; for this is a new thing, and not used before, nor ever heard of, that before the concilium is written, he obliges us and every one to keep what he will say to us, and we do not know what he will say. Here he is able to speak clearly and distinctly, and does not murmur in the dark, but gives to understand what kind of concilium he wants to hold, *liberum* so, that is, what pleases him.

(6) The matter, however, for which a concilium is desired and necessary, concerns the pope and his conciliar custom themselves, and they must be part, and not judge, but the word of God shall judge between the pope and his conciliar and us: therefore it is called a Christian, and not a papal concilium. It is not controversies in Germania (as he calls it), it is controversies of all Christendom, for the sake of the word of God, against the pope and his teaching, and Christendom desires a concilium and judgment or testimony from the word of God and the papacy; there it is.

b. Luther's other concern.

Between June 4 and 10, 1533.

(1) My counsel and good opinion is, not to oppose the sixteen articles, but to accept them confidently, so that the pope's mouth may be shut: "For they are not presented out of necessity of things, but for mischievousness, that they may have cause to blame us all for mischief, and to cry-?) Behold, the Lutherans will do nothing, yield nothing, suffer nothing, they will not grant in obedience to the Concilii, they will not have the place of pain, they will not have the place of death.

1) These sixteen articles, which Luther here and also ^5 in this objection advises to accept, must be a different set of articles from the eight articles of the Pope (Col. 1869), because the latter are decisively rejected and rejected from beginning to end, especially on the basis of the first article, so also in ? 4 of this objection, in No. 1316, H32, and elsewhere.

2) Instead of "streuen" in the editions, the original reads "schreien" (Burkhardt, p. 214).

do not want to help exegeting, they want to have everything according to their liking, they want to be the concilium themselves. Now what is the fault that there is no concilium? The pope would like it 2c. To prevent such a clamor, it would be good for us to keep the good cheer, and let such articles please us, and strive to bring the bad cheer on the pope himself, namely, thus:

(2) At all imperial congresses it has been requested that a free Christian council be established, and it has finally been promised that the imperial majesty shall work for it with the pope. Majesty should work for this with the Pope. Now the pope adds in the first article, and rejects such a request, and does not want to do it, and speaks out insipidly that he wants to make a council according to the previous way and custom, although he and we and everyone are well aware that no one has asked for such a council. And do as it is written in the Gospel, If a child asked for bread, and his father gave him a stone, or a serpent for a fish, or a scorpion for an egg. So here also, when one asks for a free Christian concilium, the pope has the ears of a magistrate, and gives us a concilium according to the former manner, that is, not a free Christian concilium. Because he refuses and rejects such a request for a free Christian concilium, and rebukes us for it, we must let it happen, and suffer, and command the things to Christ.

(3) For we are not permitted to have a conciliar meeting after the former manner, neither do we wish to have it; much less may the pope have it. For we know well beforehand what must and should be concluded in a concilium held in the former manner, namely, that the former concilia should first be confirmed anew; then it is already done, and an end is decided to the new concilium. Thus the Costnitz Concilium is such a delicious, excellent Concilium, held according to the former manner, that if the pope made a hundred Conciliums according to the former manner, none would be so delicious. What do we want to have such great expense and trouble for nothing, if we neither want nor need a council in the former way, and the pope does not need it either, much less? For in the Costnitz Conciliar nothing is forgotten, but more than abundantly set and ordered, which is and ought to be the former manner and custom.

to teach, to live, to avoid, to do, to leave in the papacy 2c. And has come into such strong execution that countless blood has been shed over it between Germans and Bohemians, and many thousands of Christians have been martyred, burned, and persecuted over it, and there is still no end to such execution and persecution. What more do you want after the former way of Concilia? Perhaps the pope himself seeks such an execution of his new Concilii between the Germans themselves, as he did before between Germans and Bohemia, the tiresome bloodhound and murderer.

004 If therefore we consent to this first article, we have already revoked and denied our confession and apology, and have profaned and destroyed all our doctrine and actions hitherto practised, and have confirmed and accepted the pope in all his abominations; and our thing must be called and remain vain error, and the pope's vain truth. But God be for it.

Now this is certain and beyond all doubt, that the pope cannot suffer a Christian, free concilium (for he well sees how it must fall down), nor can he give any other than according to the foregoing. Therefore we keep the glimpses where we accept the sixteen articles cheerfully and without refusal, and cry out about his neck in his first article, that in it he so wantonly rejects the request of the emperor, the empire, and all of us, and directs us with our request into the dog's corner. And wants to hear no one, neither God, emperor, empire, nor us, but wants to be and remain God himself, in defiance of all Christians and the whole world, and make, create, do and leave what pleases him, as he did at Costnitz; he wants to call this a concilium. But the devil asks for such a council, and I do not.

c. Luther's and his colleagues' third concern.

Between the 25th and 30th of June 1533.

1) To name Concilia in the scripture 1) to the embassy is very dangerous, and quite unnecessary in this place. For here

1) No. 1216.

Nothing else is reported, except that the old and new conciliarities are unequal. (2) There is no need to tell us about the churches, and it is not said that we want to have a trial of the old churches, or that we should judge by them. But it is put in for our benefit, that the old churches are not against us in doctrine. For the doctrine is said to be arinitats, and so that its oration is not understood by the ceremonies, even though the same are not contrary to us.

Of counter-articles.

002 We mean that in every way we are to be prevented from being interpreted; we are going about to prevent the council. For since other nations would like to have a council, and hope that something fruitful will be done in it, the pope will want to blame all the displeasure of the prevention on us, so as to embitter them even more severely against us. But if we rest on this article, which all nations also cry out for, that things should be judged according to God's word 3) and not according to papal laws 2c., then we remain unfortunate, and no one can punish it with good grace and equity. Thus other nations are as tired of papal authority and monastic doctrine as the German nation.

(3) There is also only 4) one article that is primarily concerned, namely the first, that a free Christian concilium be held, that is, how the trial is to be conducted. This article has already been reported and opposed in the answer given?) and is requested clearly enough by Imperial Majesty. Majesty is asked and reminded clearly enough in it to have the understanding that our matters be heard properly and sufficiently, and judged from the clear Word of God.

(4) But that one should ask further and in particular how the trial should be held, where impartial judges are to be sought and taken?) Of this it is dangerous to put articles.

005 And it is safer to thrust it home to the emperor in gensrs, that he may have the understanding,

2) This refers to No. 1216, § 22.
3) This refers to No. 1216, 8 7.
4) "only" in the original, "now" in the editions.
5) This refers to No. 1216, s 34-h 38.
6) This refers to No. 1216, § 38.

that it may be done rightly and Christianly. For if it be not so, we have always this excuse to make before God and the world.

From the counterconcilio.

6th This is still at present an unnecessary thing, and would be considered a great defiance, and with other kings and potentates would give rise to all sorts of misgivings, as if one sought thereby cause to excite the people 2c.

007 For such a proclamation is thought to be void, because it is seen that we ourselves are not one; but we must first consider how we may be united among ourselves.

(8) In sum, if a counterconcilium should be good and useful, it is still to be spoken of at the present time as unnecessary).

d. Luthers und seiner Collegen viertes Bedenken?)

Between the 25th and 30th of June 1533.

I also think it best that no further action be taken now than is necessary and prudent, and that no cause be given to the pope or emperor to blame us for misfortune. Do they then, or do they not make a concilium, then day will come and council will also come.

Martinus Luther.

Justus Jonas, D.

J. Bugenhagen, Pomer.

1215 Luther's letter to Nie. Hausmann. June 16, 1533.

This letter is found handwritten in Coä. vNurt. 451. k. Libl. 6-otü.; in the Öock, duck. 214 of the Wolfenbüttel library, and in Aurifaber, vol. Ill, bl. 158. From a Jena manuscript in Seckendorf, nist. NutN., Hb. Ill, s 17, x>. 44; at Strobel-Ranner, p. 221; from the von Ludwig collection at Halle at Schütze, vol. II, p. 287; at De Wette, vol. IV, p. 453 and twice at Walch, namely here (incomplete) and vol. XXI, 1406.

Newly translated from the Latin.

1) The four signatures that appear in the editions, namely: "D. Martinus Luther. D. Justus Jonas, ?rn6positus. D. Pomeranus. M. Philippus Melanchthon," find not in the original (Burkhardt, p. 214). This concern is from Melanchthon's hand.

2) This concern is in Luther's handwriting and has the signatures below in the original (Burkhardt, p. 214).

To the exceedingly dear and godly man, Nicolaus Hausmann, the faithful and diligent servant of Christ, his dearest brother in the Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have not had time now, my dear Lord Nicolaus, to write more fully, because of the presence of our most illustrious Prince, before whom I must preach daily, 3) and at the same time negotiate with him about the answer to be given to the envoys of the pope and the emperor, by whom the pope has had some articles sent to us concerning the holding of a concilium, namely, that in this matter action will be taken according to his pleasure and according to the custom of the former conciliums, that is, in which we are to be condemned and burned; but [this the pope says] with slippery words, and words worthy of such a pope. But let us restore to him [such] words as are worthy of him and of us. "Surely there are jacks in the skin, and remain so." They [the envoys] have been treated here 4) very honorably, not for the sake of the pope, but for the sake of the emperor, whose name has been showered with all reverence; but no honor has been shown to the name of the pope. They have not spoken to me, nor to Philip, nor to any among us. For what should a servant of our robber and murderer hear [us] and speak [to us]? More at another time. Now prosper, and pray the Lord for me. On the day after Vitus [16 June] Anno 1533.

Your Martin Luther.

1216 The joint final answer of the protesting estates to the imperial and papal authorities on the same advertisement, sent to them in writing June 30, 1533.

See No. 1212.

1. our kind and willing services, also gracious greetings beforehand, respectable and venerable one

3) Luther preached on 1 Cor. 15. See St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1085 in Cruciger's attribution.

4) namely in Wittenberg, where they were welcomed by a deputation of the university.

in GOtt, Wohlgeborner, 1) dear friends, gracious and favorable gentlemen!

2nd After and when you had been with us, the Elector of Saxony, at Weimar, and by command of the most noble, most powerful Prince and Lord, Mr. Carol the Fifth, Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire, our most gracious Lord, and of the Pope Clementis, had solicited us for the sake of a common and general council, namely, because Imperial Majesty and the Pope were talking to each other about it. Majesty and the pope have talked with each other about it, with the handing over of some articles, which you, the papal nuncio, have sent to us there in writings.

(3) To which we gave you this answer at that time: we wanted to talk with the other princes, counts, and imperial cities that are related to us on account of religion, from such advertisements and articles sent to us, in order to give you a unanimous answer. For we would be together at Schmalkalden on Wednesday after St. John the Baptist's Day [June 25], with notice to make our answer known to you by message sent or by means of letters from all of us, and, at your request, to have it put in writing.

4th When we now showed your articles and advertisements to our kinsmen, we all united in this answer.

(5) And first of all we thank the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, in all submissiveness, that Her Majesty (and as we know and have never been able to understand otherwise, except that Her Majesty means it with true Christian faithfulness and heart) has not hesitated to make a gracious provision and promotion to God the Almighty and to the Lord Christ for the praise and honor, and for the pacification and welfare of common Christianity. For we are in no doubt that Imperial Maj. Maj., as the most gracious Lord, is heartily desirous of carrying out such a Council.

(6) We also pray to God that He will further bestow His grace on Her Majesty to promote and direct this most important and most useful cause for all people, so that in it the glory of God may be praised, and all false doctrine, customs, and burdens may be averted, also that consciences may be advised and helped out of doubt, and righteous worship and other Christian virtues may again be established.

1) "Respectable" goes to the imperial orator, "Venerable, well-born" to the Pope's legate, who was bishop and count.

(7) For as we, the Elector of Saxony, have already announced to you at Weimar: We desire for the highest of a council, in which the matters in dispute would be dealt with, judged, and adjudicated in a righteous, orderly, Christian manner and according to the Word of God.

(8) There is no doubt that other nations and peoples, all classes and all Christian minds in all countries, are also eager for such a council. For this is ever unconcealed in the day, that many men's consciences are everywhere burdened with great grievances, which can be healed by no other remedy than in and with such a free concilio.

009 Wherefore, as much as there is in us, we will neither bar nor set ourselves in any way against the intentions, wishes, and heartfelt desires of the other nations, which are continually striving for a free concilio without ceasing, but will gladly promote their Christian mind in all ways possible to us.

010 And are of good hope, where the matters in dispute are righteously and Christianly considered, acted upon, and discerned, that God will grant grace to such Christian conduct, that the truth may be brought to light, and a Christian lasting peace established.

(11) For Her Imperial Majesty has long since put us off such a Council. Her Imperial Majesty has long since promised us such a council, and is more than willing to hold a free, general and Christian council in the German nation at a Diet held by Her Imperial Majesty. 11. For her imperial majesty has long since promised us such a council, and more than at an imperial diet held by her imperial majesty, a free, common, general, and Christian council has been considered, considered, and deliberated upon in a noble and high manner in the German nation, all of which it is highly necessary to report here. For after this division and disunity in religion and faith arose from the preaching of indulgences too brazenly, and several errors and abuses, the correction and rejection of which are highly necessary to all of Christendom, have been contested; although Pope Leo, of the name of the Tenth, has condemned and condemned this doctrine, by which the errors and abuses touched upon have been punished: Nevertheless, because we have always contested such judgments, condemnations, and condemnations, on the basis of the holy, true prophets and apostles' writings and sayings, it was deemed highly necessary to assemble such a council as has been touched upon, in which the matters should be acted upon and heard again; and the words of a farewell are thus: to separate out and retain what is good.

012 And this hath not been our mind and opinion alone, but also of all other chur-

and princes and estates, as then some held imperial congresses bring clear farewells. Because they themselves say and confess that there are a number of errors and abuses in Christendom, which need to be abolished, and realize that the whole world desires a council in which consciences can be helped.

(13) And after the pope condemned this doctrine, this article was actually and expressly weighed in the previous councils of the Reichstags, that a free and Christian, either general or national council should be held in the German nation.

(14) And for this very reason it has been decreed in clear and explicit terms to hold a free and Christian council, so that the papal condemnation and neither the pope's nor any other authority may be detrimental to us. Also, that matters be considered, discerned, and adjudicated not according to papal decrees or school ordinances, which are contested by ours, but according to the holy divine Scriptures, as the most ancient canons and ecclesiastical laws command and decree.

(15) For if the authority of any man should be more valid than the holy divine Scriptures and Christian conscience and knowledge, it is certain that nothing fruitful will be done or accomplished against the pope, not only in these matters of ours, but also in other grievances. For it is known how it has been done in many previous Councils, where reformation has also taken place and been prevented by the pope. And all in all, it has been decided, for clear and excellent reasons, to hold a Christian and free council in the German nation. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has granted.

(16) But Pope Clement's articles, sent to us, the Elector of Saxony, concerning a future council, are not in accordance with the above-mentioned imperial general grants and decrees, which have been described and sealed.

(17) For although in the first article (1) the pope calls it a free concilium, yet in truth he is dealing with something else, since he first of all presumes to take and bind the potentates and princes in such a way that he may have them in his entanglement. For if the pope wanted to have a free council, he would not demand such an obligation, which could not benefit him if something were concluded against him in a free council from God's word and holy Scripture. Because he now

1) Here we have deleted the words: "an article".

If the pope wishes to bind everyone beforehand, he must certainly intend, in the appearance and name of the Council, to exercise and increase his own authority. And the obligation serves him well, so that no one may challenge papal abuses and human ordinances; or if someone wanted to challenge them, that the pope nevertheless incites the others, whom he has under obligation, to oppress him.

018 Now we do not know what the others will do; but this article is, in our opinion, more directed and set to deter all nations from the Concilio, than to induce and bring them to it.

019 For who can in good conscience undertake, while it is still hidden, with what order, manner, and measure the matter is to be handled, and whether the pope, together with his kinsmen and followers, will insist that his authority in the council should be more valid than that of those who have a Christian concern, as has been done before in previous councils?

020 Likewise, whether it be the opinion and mind of the pope to judge and adjudicate the matters in controversy according to the holy scriptures, or according to his authority, or according to the traditions and statutes which have been established and invaded, without any foundation in the divine scriptures?

21 The pope then entangles and binds the liberty of the council in such a way that he allows himself to be heard to proclaim and hold such a council as has been held from time immemorial.

(22) Now we do not reject any of the laws and ordinances that were decreed and established in the old Christian churches according to the Word of God and the Holy Scriptures. But it is undeniable that some of the new churches are not at all like the old ones, because they love papal power and the ordinances of men too highly and make them too great.

023 Therefore it is easy to understand that these words, "according to the custom of the councils," are dangerous, that this council has the liberty which in this matter both princes and estates consider most necessary, and that the matter itself requires it. For the pope wants everything to be done and judged according to his laws and human statutes and his authority, as it is held in the new councils.

(24) In this form there will be neither a free council nor such a council as will serve and promote to give help, consolation, and counsel to the doubtful and afflicted Christian consciences, nor to bring peace to the holy Christian church.

25 Because Pope Clement, Imperial Majesty, has not yet granted the Princes and Estates' petition to the Imperial Majesty to hold a free Christian council, nor has he granted their request. Majesty to hold a Christian free council, nor has she granted their request, and the pope gives so much to note that he does not intend to hold a free council, but as soon as the articles are received, he subordinates himself to strengthen and fortify his power, and to seize and bind the princes:

26 Accordingly, we humbly beseech Your Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, we most humbly request that, in view of the fact that this matter is of the utmost importance, and that in it there is peace for the whole of Christendom and the Church, and all welfare and ruin for the whole nation, you, as the most gracious Emperor, will see to it that such a council is held, so that in it these matters may be righteously and properly discerned, and judged and adjudicated according to God's Word. As then Imperial Majesty Majesty should do, even according to the law, that His Imperial Majesty should be satisfied with this. Majesty to judge and decide matters according to God's word, as often and as strongly as the Pope is opposed to the truth, so that the Pope is not both part and judge.

(27) For all nations are in anticipation of this Council, and they all desire and wish that the doubtful and troubled consciences may at last be advised and helped, and that the most important matters necessary to salvation may be decided. For in many hundreds of years there have not been more important matters discussed than those that have arisen from the abuses and atrocities that have long been committed against the gospel, the grace of God, and the glory of Christ.

028 If then a council should not be held, as has been promised and promised here before, what secret vexations would arise in all pious and Christian hearts, and what troubles of conscience would result therefrom, may easily be considered.

29 Moreover, it is to be feared that if the pope were to flee from righteous and lawful knowledge, which is in accordance with God's word, then Christendom and the church would come to much greater unrest, disunity, and indignation than has hitherto occurred.

030 But we are of comforting hope, our lords and friends, also most gracious and gracious lords, the Christian kings and potentates, and first of all the sovereigns and princes and estates of the German nation, because they have relied on so many things.

They have expressly requested that the sixteenth and seventeenth imperial congresses hold a Christian and free concilium in the German lands, and have made a unanimous agreement that they will not consent to any other concilium, or that they will not allow themselves to be led into such an entanglement of the pope (as he intends and seeks in his articles concerning the future concilium, which he has sent to us, the Elector of Saxony). For this obligation is an unheard-of innovation and full of danger; thus one cannot ever judge and adjudicate these matters righteously if it is not to be done freely and without entanglement or connection.

031 If the pope also would not help the things, then all who commit themselves to the pope would be guilty of it, that henceforth error, abuse, and idolatry would be strengthened and stand for ever.

(32) Therefore, we hereby declare, testify, and condition that we cannot and will not consent to the content of the articles sent by Pope Clement to us, the Elector of Saxony. For we can by no means renounce the true and righteous doctrine of the Gospel by blaspheming the teachings of Christ, even if they are condemned by the pope and his followers and those entangled with them.

033 But if Clement the pope shall hold a council of his will and good pleasure, in which he will judge and make judgments according to his power, let us command the Almighty the things of all Christendom and of the church, and let them be done according to his divine will and good pleasure; which shall keep his righteous and true gospel, according to his promise and promise.

(34) We hereby reserve the right for ourselves and ours, even if the council is to be held in such a convoluted manner as the pope purports to hold it, and if we want it to be imposed on him (as we do not want to provide ourselves with the assurance and assurance that His Imperial Majesty has graciously given us for this purpose). Majesty has graciously given us for this purpose), nevertheless, upon the constant and harmless, unalterable, sufficient assurance and assurance, which we therefore require and will find, that it may be to the praise and glory of God's word to attend such Concilium, or to provide it through ours with a just order, to report and present all our Christian needs, as much as may be deemed convenient by us, everywhere; But with repeated condition, that we in Pope Clement's article, or in such a council, which there is not

According to the imperial treaties 1) made, by no ways want to have consented.

035 If, however, the Council, entrapped and bound by the Pope, should conclude something against God and His holy Word by an unheard innovation, we shall be excused before God and all nations.

(36) For we are not willing to prevent and hinder the council, but ask most diligently and most humbly that ways may be taken that such a free and Christian council may be held, in which consciences may be advised and helped, the glory and honor of our dear Lord and Savior Christ may be praised, and a Christian and lasting peace and unity of Christendom may be established.

(37) For if the pope alone shall deal with it, that he shall strengthen his intemperate power and ungodly opinion and unscriptural worship, by the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious and kind Lord's power, even by the acclamation of kings, princes, and other nations. For if the pope alone should strengthen and fortify his intemperate power and ungodly opinion and unscriptural services by the authority of the Roman Emperor, our most gracious, pious, and kind Lord, and by the applause of kings, princes, and other nations, if he should conclude and judge without a previous righteous, just, and lawful judgment, we do not believe that it will serve the lasting peace and unity of Christendom and the church. Nor will it certainly be good for the pope, if he wants to be a right shepherd, who is obliged to counsel and help the consciences of men, and to entice and encourage the people to righteous godliness and all Christian works.

38) Therefore it is to your respectability and reverence that we kindly, graciously, and obligingly ask you to accept our answer to your advertisement and articles, and to present them to the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, and to the Pope, with the most humble request that their Imperial Majesty, for our Christian, unavoidable need, would not want to receive them from us otherwise than in mercy (as we are then to their Imperial Majesty, the Pope). Maj,

1) "of the Reichsabschiede" put by us instead of: "of the Reichsabschieden".
2) "Conscience" put by us instead of: "certainty".

as our God-ordained authority, our most gracious Lord) understand and note that His Imperial Majesty will act amicably and graciously. Which we again most humbly request to procure such a concilium as the importance and danger of the matter requires, and which we have put off to His Imperial Majesty at so many imperial congresses. Majesty at so many imperial congresses. Namely, that a free and Christian concilium be held in the German nation, in which the matters in dispute are recognized and judged according to God's word by Christian, unsuspicious negotiators.

(39) In this his Majesty God Almighty will do a pleasing work, and will not show to all nations and peoples anything better or more useful, nor more befitting his great power and happiness, than that his Imperial Majesty should use his power and authority for the propagation of our dear Lord Christ's honor, glory and honor, and for the establishment of a lasting peace in all Christendom. Majesty use their power, authority and ability for the spreading of our dear Lord Christ's honor, glory and fame, and to establish a lasting peace of the whole Christendom,

040 And not to strengthen the fury of some, who now many years ago, without any cessation, rage and rage against pious and innocent people, only because of the comforting, only salvific doctrine and preaching of our dear Lord Christ.

(41) So we and our superiors are ready and willing to earn their imperial majesty with our bodies and all our wealth.

42. we also wish to hereby pledge ourselves in all submissiveness to Her Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Maj., as our most gracious Lord, in all submissiveness. Date at Schmalkalden, the last day of June, Anno Domini 1533.

Röm. kaiserl. Majesty
subservient and obedient princes
Johann Friederich, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c.
Ernst, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg.
Philip, Landgrave of Hesse 2c. Together with other Princes, Counts and Cities, so related to us in this answer.

The second section of the fifteenth chapter.

Of the advertisement of Vergerius at the Schmalkaldic allies, and of the Pope's announced, but again postponed Concilium at Mantua; also of the convent of the Protestants at Schmalkalden, which was set up for that reason.

1217: Luther's objections to the letter of Elector John Frederick of Saxony as to whether he should allow himself to be questioned further about the answer given to the Papal Legate two years ago. August 20, 1535.

This misgiving is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 350; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 491; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 129; in the Erlangen, vol. 55, p. 104, and in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 622.

Grace and peace and my poor Pater uoster. Most Serene, Most Reverend Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I have received E. C. F. G.'s writing together with the copies from the Concilio and have read it diligently, and because E. C. F. G. graciously requests my reservation as to whether E. C. F. G. should allow himself to be further questioned about the previous answer given two years ago to Imperial Majesty and Pope Clement's legates, it is my humble opinion that everything is sufficiently and Christianly well offered in the same answer. Although, for my own part, I have no interest in the place where it would be in the whole world, because I cannot yet consider it serious, and if they were serious, I would long since have deserved to be smitten and burned by the angry saints. So E. C. F. G., where they would penetrate further, will let themselves be heard. I ask and wish that God would let them become so righteous 1) that they would have to undertake a concilium in earnest, which would have to be called free and Christian. But here I am like the unbelieving Thomas, I must put my hands and fingers into the sides and scars, otherwise I do not believe it; but God can do more than that, in the hands of all men.

1) "zorecht" --- angry. It occurs "zorecht" also Lei De Wette, vol. IV, p. 178: "the black zorecht journeyman" (the devil). De Wette reads there: "Schmerze"; here: "rightly".

I have in my heart. I hereby command E. C. F. G. in the dear Father our God's grace and peace, Amen. Friday in the evening after ^LLumlionis Narias s20. AugustP Anno 1535.

E. C. F. G.
blackmailer

Martinus Luther, O.

1218: Letter of the papal orator Peter Paul Vergerius to the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, in which he asks him for a safe conduct through his country.

Nov. 4, 1535.

The following five numbers are found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 351; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 491; and in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 130. This letter is also found in the 6orp. Hot. vol. II, 962, according to Spalatin's manuscript in the Weimar archives.

Most Serene Prince and Lord! The pope has dispatched me to the princes and estates of the empire on account of the council, and among others to your electoral grace. For he actually believes that your electoral grace is of the mind and will that it would like the dangerous discord in matters of faith to cease and things to come to good agreement and prosper; for which reason I want to depart from Halle tomorrow and come to Wittenberg.

Since I would not meet Your Most Serene Highness there (for the cry goes out that she is not a native), I would first travel to the Elector of Brandenburg, and from there I would deal with Your Highness about the matters on my way back, if perhaps she would come home again at the time I have been ordered to. Therefore I now ask your electoral grace to command yours, as soon as I touch and reach your principality, to give me safe conduct through it, as long as I do my journey in the same. Which your highness does not deny me in my respect.

in view of the fact that, with the approval and protection of both imperial and royal majesty, I am bringing such advertisements and things that are pleasing to God and all pious people, and am coming, as I reported above, the next from there to Hall in Wittenberg. Therefore your most noble lordship may easily judge at which ends this escort shall be procured for me. Given at Hall, on the fourth day of November anno Domini 1535?)

1219. news, how Vergerius arrived Nov. 6th 1535 at Wittenberg and was kept well there by the prince's order, as also of the conversation he had with Luther the next day.

See No. 1218.

(1) On the Sunday after All Saints' Day [Nov. 7], when the papal embassy arrived at Wittenberg the evening before with twenty-one horses and one donkey, and was honestly received by the bailiff, and led into the castle to the inn, Doctor Martinus Luther was summoned to him for a consultation. As soon as Sunday morning Doctor Luther sent for a barber, that he should barber and adorn him. When the barber came, he said, "Mr. D., how is it that you want to be barbered so early? Then D. Luther answered, I am to come to the holy father's, the pope's, message, then I must let myself be adorned, that I seem young, then the legate will think, Oh the devil! is Luther still so young, and has caused so much misfortune, what will he still do? And when Master Heinrich had barbered him, he put on his best clothes, and hung his golden jewel on his neck. Then said the barber, Doctor, this shall offend them. Luther said, "That's why I'm doing it. They have annoyed us more than enough, so one must deal with the snakes and foxes. Then answered the barber, Now, Doctor, go in the peace of God, and the Lord be with you, that ye may convert them. And Luther said, I will not do it: but it may come to pass, that I will read them a good chapter, and let them go.

002 And when Luther had spoken these things, he got into the chariot, and went to the legate to the castle;

1) Spalatin notes that this letter has no signature.

And when he sat in the chariot, he laughed, and said, Behold, the German pope and Cardinal Pomeranus, which are the witnesses and works of God, go by. And he entered into the castle, and was told that he was there. And from that time he was admitted and received, and he received them again; but not so with glorious titles, as papal legates were received in time past.

003 And among other things, when they began to speak of a council, Martin Luther said unto them, It is not your earnestness that ye should hold a council, it is only your mockery; and though ye should hold a council, yet would ye do nothing, but of caps, plates, eating, drinking, and such other foolish things, and for other useless and unnecessary things, since we know beforehand, and are sure that it is nothing. But of faith and justification, and of other things useful and important, how that believers may be of one mind and faith, think ye not once to deal with them; for it is not for you. We are assured of all things by the Holy Ghost, and are not to be conciliated at all, but other poor men oppressed by your tyranny: for ye know not what ye believe. Now therefore, if ye have a mind to do so, make one; I will come, if God will, and if I knew that ye should burn me.

004 Then said the legate, Where, in what city, will ye have the concilium? Luther answered, Where you please, whether it be in Mantua, Padua, or Florence, or whithersoever you please. Then asked the legate, Will ye also have it against Bononia? Lutherus answered, What is Bononia? Then said the legate, The pope's. Luther answered: Almighty God, has the pope also taken this city to himself? yes, I want to come there. Then said the legate: The pope would not refuse to come here to you in Wittenberg. Saith Luther, Well then, let him come hither; we will gladly see him. Then said the legate, How would ye see him? with an army, or without an army? Luther said, As he loved him, we would wait for him both ways. Then the legate asks him, Do you also ordain priests? Lutherus answers: Of course we do, for the pope will not ordain or ordain us. And behold, there sits a bishop whom we have ordained, pointing to Doctor Pomeranum.

005 These and many other things did they speak one to another, which have not all been made known unto me. But in sum, D. Mart. Luther told him everything that was in his heart, and that the need required, without all shyness, fearlessly, with great earnestness.

And when the legate sat upon the horse, and was now about to ride away, he said to Doctor Luther, Viäo, ut 8181n8tru6tu8 nä Oonoilium. Ue8ponäU Dut,Ueru8: Veninm, äomine, eum isto 00II0 in so.

1220 Letter of Vergerius from Wittenberg to the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, Nov. 6, 1535, in which he thanks for the kind exception at Wittenberg.

See No. 1218. This letter is also found in Oorp. Ret., vol. II, 964.

Most Serene Prince and Lord! The pope, who sent me to the most noble princes of the German nation in matters concerning the future Concilium, certainly respects that your highness can and may promote this holy trade in many ways. Accordingly, the pope has commanded me to do much with your highness as may be necessary in this matter. But since your Highness is not in her country at present, I have resolved to come to her on the way, when she returns from Austria, and to inform her of many things that I think she will be glad to hear.

For this reason I am writing from Wittenberg, where I have been accepted by your Highness's servants with the highest honors, for which reason I express great thanks to your Highness, asking with all diligence, as soon as this my writing reaches your Highness, that she indicate and inform me which way and through which cities it will take its way back to Saxony, so that I may dispose of it to your Highness and, as mentioned, meet her on the way; And this letter of your electoral grace shall be made and ordered to the most illustrious Duke Georgen of Saxony, for there I will await your Highness' letter. In any case, I cordially entrust myself to your most illustrious sovereignty. Given at Wittenberg, on the sixth day of November, Armo Domini 1535.

?6tru8 Uuulu8 VorA6riu8, papal. Orator.

1221 Report on what happened and was done between the Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, and the papal orator Vergerius on November 30, 1535, at Prague because of the Concilii.

See No. 1218. Latin also in Oorp. This translation will have been made by Spalatin for the Elector.

A. Des Paplichen Orators Vergerius Antragen an den Churfürsten Johann Friedrich, am 30. Nov. 1533.

1st [First the papal orator spoke on this opinion:^) because it happened that he did not meet S. C. F. G. in Saxony, but in Bohemia, he wanted to make his advertisement the shorter, because [he heard that the prince was too busy to be delayed long and with many things]. 1) It would now be the dear time, which had long been desired and desired, to hold a Concilium and such a Concilium, which would be Christian, free, common, and pure, before our eyes and hands. For we now have such a pope, such a Roman emperor, and such a king, all of whom have a good mind, will, and heart for concilium. Thus the princes all, with the pope, held nothing higher and more than the promotion of the common good, desired salvation for the whole Christian church, 2) and the honor and glory of Christ our dear Lord. For this reason the pope now sends his messages and sentiments to the rulers, not for a pretense and mirror fencing, as if he were only setting himself up as if he wanted to hold a council, and yet he does not mean it, nor does he have it in mind, but does it only for the purpose of keeping the people in silence, peace, and good obedience; this pope does not think this, as it happened before, that after such a request nothing followed.

(2) This pope, however, would have taken the matter seriously, and would not have dealt with any matter more than with this one; therefore he wanted to take up the matter in the shortest and closest way, as his electors themselves should recognize.

(3) This pope wanted to hold a Christian, free, common, and pure council. And if it were asked of the Malstatt where the council should be held, his answer would be that the pope had decided, for many important reasons, to hold the council at Mantua and nowhere else. Accordingly, the pope exhorted, desired, and asked that his electoral grace, in honor of Christ, would faithfully help to promote the Concilium in question and in the future. If anyone wished to know from him why the pope wanted to hold the council in Mantua and not elsewhere, he would indicate the reason.

(4) Since the place of the future Council has been announced, it would not be necessary to discuss it at length now. For as one can see in the Con-

1) Inserted by us after the Latin.

2) Inserted by us.

cilio, gathered together by the Holy Spirit, it would be well to discuss, speak, and act about how, in what form, measure, and manner the concilium should be held.

(5) Hitherto, one has always asked for a common, free, Christian, and pure council, as the printed articles of the Elector of Saxony 2c. and his kinsmen report, which he, the papal orator, also liked. For they would not have wanted to consent to a binding concilium. Well, such a council is now being offered by the pope.

Moreover, neither the pope, nor the emperor, nor the kings, nor the princes would allow anything to be done to them, but would show themselves most friendly to the promotion and execution of the same. Since the Elector of Saxony alone would not consent to such a concilium, it would be considered as if he did not want to suffer either a free or a binding concilium. The previous pope handed down eight articles to hold a council;

(7) This pope, however, does not submit any article at all. About this, this pope would also not have had any articles put forward, neither for himself nor against him; therefore, one has all the less reason to refuse this council. So his Elector sees the future Concilium. He would have asked all princes, and he would also know the minds and opinions of all princes against the Concilium.

(8) The pope would be so highly inclined to hold a concilium that he would certainly give up his own life if he were not to prescribe and hold the concilium; he also believed that the pope's appointment and description of the concilium would come to his attention in the course of time. Therefore his Electoral Grace should now Therefore his electors should now prove their Christian heart and mind, so that they 1) would carry and have to the Lord Christ. For if his Electoral Grace Gn. consent to the Concilium, it would have all the more blissful progress. Since even His Royal Highnesses would oppose it, the Council would nevertheless be upheld; nor would His Royal Highnesses ever be able to atone for it and bring it back. And although his electorate. His Grace would do nothing at the Concilium, nevertheless our dear Lord Jesus Christ would be there and keep it. With the request finally, if his C. F. Gn. wanted to have a report from him, to do the same.

1) "she" put by us instead of "he".

B. Elector Johann Friedrich's answer to this.

His Electoral Grace would have heard and listened to the contents of the orator's request, made by order of the Pope. Now his C. F. Grace's His F. Grace's opinion and mind are once again, as they have always been, that they sincerely desire a common Christian, free and such a council, in which one acts, resolves and judges according to God's Word.

As it has been considered, moved, and decided with great diligence at several imperial congresses, that such a concilium, as touched, should be held in German lands, as then the same imperial congresses have brought resolutions, and the Roman Emperor has graciously granted it. Majesty graciously consented. His Elector. His Grace also did not want (as it is to be considered) to consent otherwise behind the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Holy Empire. What, however, his Electoral. (if it is sufficient) are willing to do for their person, that his Electors have now decided in Vienna against Rome. have now decided in Vienna against the Roman Imperial Majesty, our Allies. Majesty, our most gracious Lord. Since it would also come to a concilio, the high necessity would require that his C. F. Grace would provide their kinsmen and scholars with sufficient assurance and escort. For his C. F. Gn. will, mind, and opinion, as before, that they desired and wish with all their hearts for such a council that would be free, common, and Christian, and in which one would act, conclude, recognize, and judge according to God's Word.

C. The papal orator Vergerius' counter-answer.

To this the papal orator gave this answer: although the princes and estates of the empire had considered at several imperial congresses, and had also resolved to make an effort with imperial majesty that the council should be held in Germany, it would still not have been decided. For otherwise this or some such decree would have been made: "We set, resolve, and decree that the future Council shall be held in Germany. Moreover, the other day he would have had a document from the pope in which he was informed that the Roman imperial majesty had already consented. Majesty had already agreed that the Council should be held nowhere but at Mantua; for the Pope could not have obtained it from the other kings, princes, and potentates that the Council be held anywhere in German lands.

As far as the escort and insurance were concerned, he thought that they did not need any escort at all.

For Mantua would be the Emperor's, and would also be an imperial fief; so Milan would be imperial, as well as the county of Tyrol and other territorial dominions. Therefore they would have nothing at all to fear nor to fear to travel; about which it would be quite inconvenient for the pope to travel to a concilio in Germany. But if he were to travel to Germania, he would have to go with a large army, which would not be convenient for the German nation. However, he takes it for granted that they would easily ask the pope to seek such a thing from the Roman Imperial Majesty. Therefore his request would be to indicate to him in what form, measure, and manner the escort and the assurance should be provided and made.

D. The Elector John Frederick's Answer to the foregoing Replica.

1. Gn. graciously request, since such things and business have happened to them that they could not hear him further in person, that he would like to have his Electoral Grace excused. His Elector's Grace to be pardoned.

(2) Furthermore, it would not be within the power of his C. F.G. to have the place of the Concilii set elsewhere, against and contrary to the preceding several imperial congresses, without the knowledge of the other princes, princes, and estates of the realm, (1) likewise without the knowledge of their kinsmen in the matter of religion; for what his electorate has done in the matter of religion, it would not be within the power of his C. F.G. to have the place of the Concilii set elsewhere without the knowledge of the other princes, princes, and estates of the realm. Gn. Person, they had already reported to the King's Majesty themselves.

(3) In addition, as previously reported, great necessity would require that their relatives and scholars be provided with sufficient assurance for a future council, for one would well know what had been done to the people in several councils before. Therefore, one would not only have to have a written escort and assurance, but also guarantees and scourges.

(4) The papal orator then let himself be heard to say that he alone should be told what form and measure he wanted to be assured of for the Council, and he would order and arrange it for the best; with an attached diligent request that he therefore address my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, only three more words, and give his hand to S. C. F. G., who alone should be Magister Franciscus Vinariensis, for he had something secret to report to S. C. F. G., which he wanted to do as quickly as possible.C. F. G.'s hand, whereby only Magister Franciscus *Vinariensis* should be, for he would have something secret to report to S. C. F. G., which he wants to do as quickly as possible, and His Lordship cannot endure.

1) So put by us instead of: "to lay up".

5th When now my most gracious lord come again to the papal orator, the orator has said harmless thus, beside and in hearing NnZiskri ^rurioisei *Vinariensis*:

(6) What he now wants to report to S. C. F. G., he would like to do secretly, not only for the sake of S. C. F. G.'s counsel, but also for the sake of those whom he now has with and beside him.

(7) He had received a document from the pope in which it was indicated that the king of France, who had previously urged that the council be held, 2) had also consented to do so in Mantua. Since such a mighty king would have liked the pope's concern about the place of the future council, it is to be hoped that things would proceed more correctly and more Christianly everywhere, before the king of France brings so many prelates 2c. with him to his kingdom.

(8) Thus the Roman Imperial Majesty wrote to the Pope that they were at one with him for the sake of the Council. Majesty had also written to the pope that they were at one with him in the matter of the Council, where he could also request this from the princes and other princes of the German nation. As he had already received such from all of them; he also knew their minds and opinions, with the exception of S. C. F. Gn. The Roman Imperial and Royal Majesties had also declared themselves against the Pope. Majesty had shown all paternal confidence in the pope to hold a concilium, and had placed this entire order in the pope's good pleasure.

(9) Thirdly, the orator S. C. F. G. did not want to conceal that he had been to Wittenberg, and there had been honestly, well, and kindly accepted and kept by the bailiff, for which he thanked His Lordship most diligently. Now he would have asked Doctor Martin Luther there to come to him for supper, and would have talked with him in all sorts of ways, who would have answered him thus: I take it for granted that a common, free, and Christian council, such as the pope proposes, would be highly necessary; I also desire, and wish for this most, not for the sake of ours, who by the grace of God have no need of a council at all. For we already have the pure and unadulterated Word of God, and the wholesome, healthy doctrine, even such churches in which the ceremonies are directed, provided, and appointed according to the Word of God; but on account of the foreign and alien nations, so that this our doctrine may also come to them in this form. Since Luther had said this, he, the orator, could not have refrained, as he had not been told.

2) Turin (?) in Savoy.

If he had wanted to remain silent on the way, he would have said to Luther: "Martin Luther, dear man, what are you saying now? see to it that you do not think too much of yourself, for you are a human being and can err. Do you then want to be wiser, wiser, more learned, and more holy than so many councils and holy fathers, so many also highly learned people, distributed throughout the whole world, who also faithfully confess Christ's name and faith?

(10) And truly, said the papal orator, most noble prince, your electoral grace will consider this matter well, and will not rely and trust so much in one man, however highly learned he may be, which it is not fitting for me to judge, for he may err and be deceived. Do not doubt, your electoral grace will consider and regard this as the Christian, highly understanding Elector, and who means it best with the holy Christian faith and the whole Christian church peace and unity; which I can by no means hold against your electoral grace, as he means it faithfully with her, that I have held such a conversation and discussion with Luther. In the end, I command myself to your churf. gn. And after having been for some time in the presence of the Roman Imperial Maj. Maj. as the Pabst's skillful man, and will henceforth perhaps be with you longer: so I offer my willing services, not so much for the sake of your churf. Maj. than for her servant, whom I am always willing and able to serve and please.

(11) To this our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, had this answer given: First, that his Electoral Grace would gladly have heard his report. Grace would have been pleased to hear his report to both Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to the King of France's opinion and mind of the Council. His Electoral Grace also did not want to leave any doubt that the Roman Emperor and the Royal Majesty would show themselves graciously towards the whole Roman Empire and before the German nation, and that they would not easily deviate from the opinion that had been thought of and decided upon at several imperial congresses, and that had been graciously agreed upon by the Imperial and Royal Majesty, and that they would not easily deviate from pleasing the Pope without great, necessary and urgent causes.

(12) That he had also been well and honestly received and kept at Wittenberg, that his electoral grace was also well pleased. Grace also well pleased.

(13) That he, the orator, had also talked and disputed with Doctor Martin Luther about the Concilio, pleased his electoral grace well. grace, and thought it well that Doctor Martini

Luther's concern and opinion would be right, good and honest. And although His Electoral Grace and the other princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire Grace and the other princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, related to it 1) for the sake of religion, have never been shy, and have not yet been shy before the knowledge and judgment, from and according to God's Word and the Holy Scriptures, about the doctrine to which we profess, in matters concerning religion and holy Christian faith; as then from the answer, so his Electoral Grace and their kinsmen before both, Roman Imperial Majesty, have given to Luther. Grace and their kinsmen, both of the Roman Emperor's Majesty, and the Pope's orators and deputies, are evidently and obviously sufficient, and are also again required to show the causes of their faith to all those who should have it. Likewise, if the Elector's grace were still most desirable Grace would still be most eager for a free common council, 2c. as the papal oratori, the day before, had passed, and now indicated. So it is his electoral grace that a council is to be held. grace that a council would not be so necessary and useful for our sake as for the sake of the foreign nations, so that the holy gospel and the comforting word of God's grace might arise in this form and be spread as widely as possible among those who have hitherto kept it hidden. For our doctrine, by the grace of God, does not need much correction, justification, knowledge, and judgment by the Council, for it would not be based on human delusion and wisdom (which could and might err and be lacking), but on the hard, strong, and solid rock of God's Word, which remains forever, and which even the gates of hell and their power would never be able to overcome.

Finally, his electoral grace would also graciously accept the papal orator's offer. His electoral grace would also be willing to graciously accept the papal orator's offer; his electoral grace would also be willing and willing to recognize it in turn.

1222 The opinion of the papal orator Vergerius, which he has sent in writing to the Elector John Frederick at his request. December 1, 1535.

See No. 1218. Latin also in the 6orp. Rsk. This German translation is in the Weimar Archives in Spalatin's manuscript.

Most Serene Prince and Lord! Here I want to present the articles concerning the Concilium, which I have offered Your Electoral Grace in my own person. Grace in my own person.

1) "their" put by us instead of: "in".

also put in a writing: considered that your electoral grace desires such from me. Grace desires such from me, although it is entirely unnecessary. For my advertisement is pure and brief, and not overwhelmed with any articles; so faithfully does Pope Paul, of the name of the third, mean it, and so eager is he to raise up again the faith in Jesus Christ.

(2) Therefore I have said that his holiness has entirely decided to reject and prevent a common general council, the division in our faith, and the danger and trouble which have now long been before our eyes in the future. In doing so, I have made many statements, and introduced what a special, faithful, consistent, conscientious, and wise man the pope is, so that everyone may note from them that he will do and carry out everything he now undertakes to do in the most honest and faithful manner.

(3) That the pope will also consider that the city of Mantua, for 1) many reasons, will be most convenient for the Concilio, that he will also describe the Concilium shortly.

4. He also said that he did not want to send an article either to the noble German princes or to the princes of other nations, as had been done in this matter before, but that he thought it would be much more convenient to discuss how a council should be held in an orderly and righteous manner when the council, assembled in the Holy Spirit according to the Pope's description and request, had already met; for now it is discussed that a council should be described, appointed, and held.

5th Also that his holiness soon in the beginning of his papacy sent and delivered messages and orators to all Christian princes, also above to the most noble Roman, to Hungary and Bohemia king, and all of the holy Roman realm princes and other princes and states, which I already touched to advertise to them.

(6) Moreover, if the pope had had the right and the power to command and to create all this, so that it was out of his power to keep it in this matter (which has always been entirely granted to the papacy, and would be so again), and had not been allowed to declare his mind, will, and opinion now by an orator of his own, he would still have been able to do so with all of them, and before with the glorious German nation,

1) "from" put by us instead of: "without".

whom he loves with all his heart. Therefore, when they hear such a request and description of the Concilii, which is directed to the expansion and greater spread of the faith and glory of Jesus Christ, they will gladly and unanimously dispose of themselves in the city of Mantua.

(7) And if I should find and request anyone who would perhaps oppose and oppose for reasons, that I should indicate the same reasons why the council should not be held elsewhere than in Mantua, or in another city in Jtalia, and before also those in German lands, as some desire; which reasons of his electoral grace I have also verbally reported, and now it is unnecessary to repeat.

(8) Besides, I have reported that I have traveled with such orders and advertisements to the most noble Roman 2c. king, then to all the princes of the Roman empire; then also with such advertisements and orders to your electoral grace that also his royal majesty has come. King, then to all the Electors of the Roman Empire; then also with such an advertisement and order to your Electoral Grace, that his Royal Majesty, as the Christian, God-fearing King, would do the best in this matter of his hope everywhere, likewise also the other German Princes with whom I have been; although at that time I was not able to report what the answer would have been from each of them.

(9) Of the Most Serene Lord, because in the answer first given to me the occasion required it, I have expressly and clearly said to those of the others; namely, that His Imperial and Christian Majesty, as much as I have noted from the Pope's writing, had already consented to hold a concilium at Mantua, which would be no news at all. For the Emperor's Maj. Majesty also did this three years ago, in addition to the papal orator, through her own orator and dexter, and in this opened his mind and opinion, and indicated that the Emperor, as a constant and before Christian Emperor, would have no reason at all that he should now be of a different mind in this matter than he was before, indeed, there would be many reasons why he would be of this opinion and mind now, when he was never of this mind before.

010 Especially, however, because of so many and ugly Sacramentans, Anabaptists, and other sects, which have unholily taken possession of the hearts of many German peoples, from whose raging and fury it would be difficult to save and manage a few assemblies of foreign, pious men of integrity, who would come to the concilio unarmed, to condemn their ineptitude and ungodliness; for it would seem to be a good thing to do so.

Everybody sees that several of them are quite mad and nonsensical.

(11) About this I have also said that your electoral graces would do Christianly and praiseworthily if they consented to such a thing; indeed, your electoral graces could not well do otherwise than consent to it. For after your electoral graces had previously received several articles from Pope Clement the Seventh, they answered that they were most eager for a pure and unadulterated council.

(12) Your electoral graces, however, would complain that a concilium should be held with such articles attached as would easily unite and entangle the princes. For your kinsmen have thus interpreted the same, which answer now every man now and then carries about. But now, I say, you abstain from holding a 1) pure, unadulterated, and without all articles concilium. Therefore, if your electoral graces did not want to consent to it now, they would give the whole world to understand that they did not want to submit to the concilii's judgment and decision, in view of the fact that your electoral graces did not want to consent to a concilium with articles before, nor to a concilium without all articles now.

013 I have also said that those who hoped for such a dishonest bargain would have a vain hope that the pope would send about some articles, not only before the judgment and sentence, but also before the appointment of a council, neither himself nor the papal see, and in matters which have now long been confirmed and confirmed by permanent causes. That even you many more would have this vain hope, who hoped that the most noble Roman Emperor Carl, of the name of the Fifth, as the most vigorous protector and handler of the Christian faith, against the Pope's will, or even without his consent, would describe and appoint a concilium for you in German lands (as of you much publicly that you thus desire).

Fourteenthly, I have also provided that a conducive council may also be with more fruit and benefit, as well as with your great praise and glory, if your Serenity, summoned before the call, were to ripen in Mantua. The pope has also asked you to do this out of paternal benevolence, for the promotion of the common peace of all Christendom.

1) "one" put by us instead of: "one".

(15) But if your Lordships should refuse to come to the Council (as might happen), his greatness would not fail to do such a holy work. (as might happen) would refuse to come to the Concilio, his great power would by no means refrain from such a holy work, and the pope would then rely on the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose affairs the pope is in charge of, and also on the approval and help and applause of those whom he knew would stand and hold steadfastly with him in carrying out such a holy work.

(16) These are all the articles which I have spoken. And since your Lordships have promised to send me an answer when they have dealt with their fellow relatives in the matters of religion and God's word, of this whole matter, therefore my request is to do this in the most beneficial way possible, and to make me a touched answer to the Roman Royal Majesty, by which I will therefore remain.

(17) After Your Electoral Grace had also asked me in this matter from whom and what kind of escort and assurance they should have. Your Grace, in this action, asked me from whom and what kind of escort and assurance they should have, since they would be traveling in Italy? and thereby avoiding that they would perhaps not only desire a written escort and assurance, but also to confirm it with scourges, I will also add the answer I have given to this article: For if the Concilium were to be in Mantua, because it is a fief of the Holy Roman Empire and lies on the border of the German Nation (since the nearest cities in Italy are either of the Lord Emperor or of the dominion of Venice, which would hold fast to justice and faith and would also be friendly to the Lord Emperor), then there would be no danger or trouble at all in Mantua. Therefore one would not need any insurance. But if someone should ask for escort and assurance, the Imperial Majesty would give them. Moreover, as far as he is concerned, the pope would not refuse to give the usual and necessary insurance, which he would like to give out of his power and authority.

(18) May the merciful God alone have so much mercy that your princely grace heartily desires a conciliar, as we are to provide for ourselves from many causes; for this matter will soon be settled, and the assurance shall not fail to do so. Given at Prague, on the 1st day of December, in the year of our Lord 1535.

Petrus Paulus Vergerius, Pabst's Paul the Third Orator.

1223 The protesting state's joint answer at the convention in Schmalkalden, which was sent to the papal orator Vergerius. December 21, 1535.

This writing is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 357; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 506; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 137, and in Hortleder, torn. I, lib. I, 6np. 20, p. 87; Latin in the Oorp. Lei. vol. II, 1018.

1. our greeting. The most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Duke John Frederick of Saxony, our cousin, friend and most gracious Lord, has told us what you reported to him at Prague, where you met him; He has also sent us your handwritten document, in which you report that the pope is being summoned to hold a council, but that the council is to be appointed in Italy, and that it has not yet been determined what the form and order of the council should be, and that this belongs entirely to papal authority.

002 Although not all of those who have come here have had orders from the Council, for in this hurry no notice of your advertisement may have been given to them, we, those described below, have nevertheless thought to answer you.

(3) And although an ample answer would have been necessary, for you have thus reported the Concilio, that you have also reported some articles, of which we justly complain from our and common Christianity's point of view; nevertheless, since you most opportunely desire an answer, we have wanted to give you our opinion briefly and clearly.

(4) And first of all, we have often declared our opinion of the Council in the Imperial Diet, and in the answer we gave two years ago to the Imperial and Papal Orators. For we too, for the good of common Christianity and betterment, heartily desire a Christian, free Concilium, which we and other princes and estates in the Empire have requested of Imperial Majesty. Majesty, as they have also considered that such a council would be necessary.

(5) We also do not doubt that all God-fearing people desire and wish for such a council that will one day help Christendom. For it grieves godly people greatly that with such unrighteous cruelty in many countries right doctrine and usefulness to the church are suppressed, the members of Christ are horribly torn apart, and ungodly abuses are confirmed.

006 This cruelty is not at all of those who are to govern the church; for it will be an everlasting destruction and desolation of the church.

where such does not occur through a Christian concilium.

(7) Therefore, if a council has ever been necessary in churches, it is now necessary to change the old abuses, and to prevent unjust cruelty, and in the future to provide salvation and welfare for Christendom in a right way.

(8) For this reason, we do not want to let ourselves be lacking, but gladly promote the common good; and with all our will, we ask to appear in this free and Christian council, which is necessary, as it is often decided in the imperial congresses; and we ask God to grant such a Christian council, which serves the glory of Christ and the salvation of the church.

(9) But as for the meeting of which you have announced that the pope will appoint Mantuam, we have no doubt that your imperial majesty will graciously comply with the previous decrees of the Imperial Diet and with the resolution that such a council be held in German lands. Your Majesty will graciously comply with the previous resolutions of the Imperial Diet and with the request that such a council be held in the German lands.

10th For that it is reported to the Elector that it should be unsafe in German lands, and that for that reason one should not be allowed to speak freely, we hold against it that for this very reason a court should be appointed in the German land, so that these things may be heard rightly and properly, and that one may speak freely, so that the interrogation is not prevented by parties and force, and pious people are not deterred in speaking to judge rightly and freely.

What danger can there be in German lands, since all princes, cities, and towns are subject and faithfully obedient to the emperor? In addition, there is a quite praiseworthy regiment in the cities, since protection and protection is honestly given to foreigners.

012 Ye also report that the pope alone will give a common escort, and that he may receive for his person; how we are to understand this, we have misgivings from the foregoing Conciliar History.

(13) Further, Christianity needs a common, free, Christian council, and to such we have appealed.

014 But ye report not to speak or act of the form and order of interrogation, and let it be heard that this belongs wholly to papal authority to draw; that is, not to consent to a free concilium.

015 Two years ago a concilium was promised, but with some articles dangerously attached; now the most important, namely, of

of the liberty of the Concilii, that is, of the form and order of the interrogation, partly dangerously concealed, partly placed on the pope. For you say, then, that to promote and to hold concilii belongs solely to papal authority. 1)

016 Now that the pope hath so often condemned our cause, he is publicly our adversary. But where the adversaries are to be judges, there can be no free or lawful concilium.

017 And therefore a free council is sought and promised, that is, in which, by universal suffrage, the emperor, kings, potentates, princes, and estates shall be chosen from all estates, competent, impartial men to hear and decide these matters according to the word of God.

018 For conciliation is not to be the judgment of popes only, but also of other people and estates in the church and in the holy scriptures; as is evident from the examples of the ancient churches, wherein it is seen that in conciliation the Christian princes, and other Christian honourable men, are brought in for trial. And it is sacrilege and tyranny to exert the Pope's power over the whole church.

(19) For this reason the authority of the emperor, kings, potentates, princes, and estates, as well as of pious, Christian, and honorable men, is to be exercised in councils, and competent men are to be chosen for interrogation, especially in such matters (as papal laws also regulate) in which the vices and errors of the popes are challenged, namely, unrighteous worship and false doctrine.

020 These things are especially common, and concern all Christendom, and in them kings and princes are bound to provide that a lawful hearing be held; as many other bishops are condemned for their errors by their churches, and some popes by the emperors and the church.

021 Now it is public that great things are in dispute, of unrighteous doctrine and unrighteous worship, which the pope administers not only with doctrine, but also with cruel commandments; wherefore great cruelty is exercised in obedience to him, upon those who do not commend such abuses.

022 Therefore it is clear that the pope is our part and our antitype, and that in this case it is necessary that the church, emperors, kings, princes, and estates have understanding, and decree the interrogation.

23 For this reason we ask once again, as before, for a free council, that is, in which competent, impartial people are elected from all the estates to decide these important matters, which are necessary to the consciences, according to God's word.

1) No. 1222, § 6.-

24 What can one seek that is cheaper? And this form of interrogation is according to the Gospel and the Church's previous examples.

025 When we perceive that by this lawful way, and not tyrannically, the things are to be done, nothing shall be done to us; and we hope that in such interrogation, by the grace of God, the truth may come to light, and the glory of Christ be extolled, and peace and unity of the church be restored.

026 But if there be not a common and free council, as aforesaid, we have here testified, that we desire that which is lawful and generally profitable to Christendom, and also manly desirable in all countries.

27 For it is to be considered, where these things are not heard rightly and properly, as reported above, according to God's word, that it is to be feared that there might be greater disruption and unrest in the church.

028 But as much as there is in us, let there be no lack in us to promote the common good, peace, and unity.

029 And as we cannot forsake the doctrine which pertains to the glory of God, (for Christ saith [Matt. 10:32], Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my heavenly Father:) so in other things let us show moderation and forbearance, that it may be known that we greatly desire common unity. At your request, we do not wish to restrain you on account of ourselves and the common church. Date at Schmalkalden, December 21, 1535.

By the Grace of God Johann Friedrich, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.
Franciscus, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg.
Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.
Together with the other princes, counts, lords, and estates, related to this answer.

1224 Pope Paul the Third's Bull, with which he has advertised the Concilium and appointed it to Mantua, June 2, 1536.

This writing, together with the following, is found in the Wittenberg edition (1553), vol. IV, p. 427b; in the Eisleben, vol. II, p. 388; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1054, and in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 143. Also in Hortleder, 1. e. pp. 91 and 96. This bull is in Latin in Lünig's spieib eoel. pari. I, p. 442.

Verdeutscht.

Paul, bishop, a servant of the servants of God, for future remembrance.

1. Having been required by divine providence and providence to care for and govern the Christian army, we have desired nothing more from our hearts, nor have we asked more diligently of God Almighty, than that we might cleanse His Christian church, which He has commanded us, of so many harmful heresies and errors, which have now long since arisen and grown up in it, through the grace and action of the Holy Spirit and through our diligent understanding, that we may see it cleansed, reformed and improved in good morals, restored to its proper state and righteous character, serving God in holiness and righteousness.

002 Moreover this care is not less incumbent upon us, that we perceive, and also see before our eyes, that the Christian congregation, both inwardly, by the antagonism and warfare of Christians one with another, and outwardly, by the persecution and wicked wiles of unbelievers, is troubled, daily rent asunder, and weakened.

(3) Because we, out of Christian concern, as befits a shepherd, would gladly meet such evil with timely counsel and help, and for this reason have diligently considered and considered many and various ways and means, we have found none better nor more convenient than this, which the holy people, our forefathers, and indeed the common Christian church itself, have tried and found to be the most salutary in such serious matters, namely, to assemble and hold a common council.

4. Accordingly, since we have stepped into the footsteps of these saints, and since we have fully considered and intended to hold such a council (which we also highly desired before, when we were still in a lesser state) so soon in the beginning of our papacy, we have not only had such a council publicly heard, but also given it to our beloved sons, Carolo and the Roman Emperor, and to other Christian emperors, we have not only let our constant mind and will be heard and heard publicly, but have also made it known to our beloved sons, Carolo, the Roman Emperor, and other Christian kings and princes by letters and messages; Now, however, to publicly proclaim such a council (by means of divine help), and subsequently to hold it at a certain time and place, as will be reported hereafter, and to bring it to a good end, finally resolved.

005 And are confident and hopeful, with the help of God, that by such a holy and wholesome remedy, not only will all heresy and error be rooted out of the Lord's field, and the morals of the Christian community improved, but also

To make a common peace and unity among the believers in Christ, and by a common military campaign under the banner of the holy cross, against the unbelievers, to conquer again our kingdom and lands which are taken by them; also to make the poor captive people, which are innumerable, free and delivered again, and to convert the unbelievers to our holy Christian faith (by divine grace). So that the whole world, brought together into one flock or sheepfold of the Lord, may live in right faith, hope and love, chastely, righteously and godly, and then wait to receive the crown of righteousness from God Almighty.

6. Therefore, if we have resolved to hold a common council for the praise and glory of God, and for the salvation, welfare and improvement of His Church, and if we intend to comply with it in our confirmed and constant mind, we proclaim, appoint, command, establish and order in the name of the holy, indivisible Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, by the authority and power of God Almighty, and the holy apostles Peter and Paul, whom we have on earth, and by the advice and consent of the venerable Cardinals of our brethren of the holy Roman Church, do ordain an OserirnsniLurn, universal, common Concilium in the city of Mantua (which is a safe, comfortable, fertile place, full of good houses and dwellings), in the year to be counted 1537, on the 23rd day of the month of May. It is to be held on the 23rd day of the month of May, which is the Wednesday after the holy day of Pentecost, and to be concluded and completed by God's help.

- 007 And hereupon command all and every one, the venerable, our dear brethren, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and our beloved sons, abbots, and others, of all the churches and monasteries, prelates, where they are in the world, by virtue of their oath taken, and of holy obedience, and under penalty and penalties imposed by law or custom, or otherwise on those who will not come to common council, to appear therein in person.

008 But to the above-mentioned Roman emperors, kings, dukes, princes, margraves, and others, to whom it is due by right or custom to be in such council, we exhort by the heartfelt love of the Lord JEsu Christ, that for the sake of peace and unity, welfare and improvement of the Church of God, they may also personally, which we most desire, or else, if they cannot personally, by stately and honest messages, at a convenient time, take this holy council.

lium, so shall be held in the city of Mantua (as reported above), shall attend.

009 Which, if they shall consider how pleasant and agreeable it will be to us and to all Christendom that they should be present in person at the aforesaid Council, we have no doubt that both of them, and all the other kings and princes above named, and especially Carolus, the Roman Emperor, and Franciscus, the most Christian King of France, will then appear therein in person.

(10) For the said Emperor Carolus, out of special earnestness and love for our holy faith, both in his name, and on account of his brother, the most illustrious Roman King Ferdinandi, also the princes, and other princes and estates of the holy Roman Empire, have often vehemently and earnestly requested a common council from our ancestor (of blessed memory), Pope Clement the Seventh.

11. After, however, due to various incidents, swift, heavy trades and wars, and for other important reasons, especially due to the above-mentioned Pope Clement's fatal departure, this holy work and completely inclined Christian mind, which our forefather carried to it, was prevented from continuing and remained, If the above-mentioned Pope Clement's deathly departure prevented this holy work, which our forefather carried to it, from continuing and remained, then we have to write out and keep our advice and concerns about the above-mentioned Council soon in the beginning of our upcoming papacy (as reported above), and then to give it to the above-mentioned of our brothers, the Holy Roman Church Cardinals. Roman Church Cardinals, in their common assembly decided and declared sentence, to the said Emperor Carolo; of which he, as our dear son, as befits, has thanked us most sincerely.

(12) Thus we have also received from the above-mentioned King Francisco, after he had also previously sent an entirely Christian writing to our much-mentioned ancestor, Pope Clement, and to the holy gathering of the Cardinals, as we have then provided ourselves to the most Christian king, an answer which is conformable and in accordance with our mind (concerning the Concilium).

013 Nevertheless we beseech and exhort the same Roman emperors, kings, princes, and others who have been notified, to use all possible diligence and earnestness, and to procure that all and every person who has been seated in their kingdoms, lands, and territories, and who by right or custom is required to be present at the common councils, may go and come thither in person. Or, if they are married and have a disability, which
they are to be credibly obliged to indicate that they are then to be provided with sufficient authority through suitable embassies, commanders, and orators to attend the council and to remain in the city of Mantua until the end of the council. So that through such a stately assembly of the faithful in Christ, what is conducive to God's praise, reformation and improvement of the morals in the church, and the same elevation, and complete eradication of heresy, and all the faithful in Christ's harmony and welfare, also conducive and conducive to a common campaign against the unbelievers, may be salutary and blessedly decreed in the same Concilium, by divine grace and help.

014 Moreover, in order that all and every thing which has been enumerated may be known to those whom it concerns, and that no one may plead that he has had no knowledge of it, nor that he has good reason to excuse himself (since also this writing would not be safe and without danger to some persons who are here understood to be personally and particularly notified and delivered), we desire and command that these present letters be publicly read by some of our court messengers, or public notaries, in the high church of the chief apostle St. Peter in the city of Rome, and in the church of Lateranensi (where the people are in the habit of hearing the divine office). Peter in the city of Rome, and in the church of Lateranensi (where the people frequently gather to hear the divine office), be publicly read and proclaimed in a loud and audible voice, and thereafter the copies of such letters shall be posted at the two churches now mentioned, and also at the papal gates and doors, and also at the front of the campoflor, and there remain affixed for some time.

15. We also will, when this letter is so posted, that all and every one whom it concerns, of what standing or dignity they are, after the expiration of two months (from the day on which it was proclaimed and posted), shall accept the same everywhere in like manner, and be bound thereby, and also give the same perfect undoubted credence, as if this letter or the copy thereof had been executed or signed by an open scribe's hand, and possibly sealed with an ecclesiastical prelate's seal, delivered and delivered to them personally.

016 Therefore let no man by any means be permitted to violate this letter of ours, our proclamation, calling, commandment, writ, order, summons, exhortation, and petition, will, and decree, or to live contrary to the same with unholy thirst.

017 But if any man shall presume to do so.

who shall know that he shall fall into grievous disgrace of God Almighty, and into the holy apostles of Peter and Paul.

Given in Rome at St. Peter's, after the birth of the Lord in the year 1536, on the other day of the month of June, and of our Papacy in the other year.

ul, bishop of the common Christian church, have signed.

Oonürina. koe OLus, cfuod opsratus 68 in nobis, 8unotu8 ?6trus, Kunetus ?au1u8.

?ÄUlU8 ?. ?. III.

And I

John, Bishop of Öftren, Cardinal Genen sis.

Johannes Dominicus, Bishop Portuensis, Cardinal Tranensis.

Bonifacius, Bishop Sabinensis, Cardinal Jpporigen.

Laurentius, Bishop Prenestinus, Cardinal Campegius.

Anthony, priest-cardinal of St. Severini. Augustine, Cardinal Perusinus, of the Most Holy Father, the Pope, chamberlain.

Vincentius Carrafa, Cardinal of Neapolis. Andrew, Cardinal Palmerius.

Franciscus, Cardinal St. Crucis. Franciscus, Cardinal Cornelius. Nicolaus, Cardinal Campuanus... Jerome, Cardinal de Ghinuciis?) Jacobus, Cardinal Simoneta.

Caspar, Cardinal Contarenus.

Paul, St. Eustachii Diaconus Cardinalis.

Alexander, 8. Nariao in via lata Cardinalis Caesarinus.

John, Cardinal Salmatis.

Nicolaus, Cardinal Rudolphus.

Augustine, St. Adriani Diaconus Cardinalis Trivultius.

Franciscus, Cardinal Pisanus.

Hercules, 8. Nuriao novu6 Diaconus Cardinalis.

Nicolaus, St. Theodori Diaconus Cardinalis de Gaddis.

Jerome, Cardinals d6 ^arQ68io, Vi666UQ66l1uriu8.

Guido, Ascanius Sfortia, Cardinal 8th I^lorao. Martinus, St. Mary's to ^guirio V1uooiiu8 Cardinals OuraeeioluZ.

All signed with their own hand.

Blasius B. Motta.

Visu. Joh. de Fortibus.

1) "Ghinuciis" put by us instead of: "Chinuciis" in the editions. This Jerome is the Bishop of Ascoli, whom we have already met in the 15th volume of our edition, Col. 544, § 1; he was Auditor General of the Pope.

In the year following the birth of the Lord 1536, indiot1oQ6 noiia,2) on the holy Sunday of Pentecost, the fourth day of the month of Junei, of the Pabst of the Most Holy Father in Christ, and of our Lord Paul, by the divine providence of the Third, in the other year,

I, John Doliatoris, the court messenger of our most holy father, the pope, have read the papal letters, proclamation, call, command, writ, order, command, summons, exhortation, petition, will and decision of the common council, which is to be held in Mantua, according to the same letters, in the church of St. John Lateranensis and in the cathedral of St. Peter in the city of Rome. The order, the request, and the decision of the common council, to be held in Mantua, according to these letters, in the church of St. John Lateranensis, and in the cathedral of St. Peter in the city of Rome, while masses and other divine offices were being held there, and a large crowd of people were present, and they were read word for word in a loud, audible voice before all the people who were present, as was proper.

Likewise I, John, and beside me Peter Serrano and Peter Gomez, also the court messengers of our most holy father the pope, have posted the above-mentioned papal letters, after they have been publicly read and proclaimed, at the above-mentioned church gate, and thus left them posted at every church gate for an hour and more, and have also left the same copies there, removed against their originals (as is customary).

On the same day the above-mentioned, I Johannes Doliatoris, court messenger, and Petrus Gomez, have posted the same papal letters, after they had been publicly read and proclaimed, on the gates or doors of the papal chancery, and in front on the campoflor at the time of vespers, and have also left them pinned up in any place for an hour or more, which copy, as above, has been collated with the original (as is usual).

So it's.

John Doliatoris. 1
Petrus Serrano. > Court messenger.
Peter Gomez.)
Thomas Roger, chief court messenger.

1225 Pope Paul III's bull for the reformation of the city and court of Rome, which he ordered a committee of cardinals and bishops to do. Sept. 23, 1536.

See No. 1224.

Verdeutscht.

2) In the Wittenberg wrong: "noua".

Paul, bishop, a servant of the servants of God, for future remembrance.

(1) The most high God therefore caused his only begotten Son to take on our flesh, and also united divine and human nature in one person, that in virtue of such ineffable union not only the fall of Ade might be restored, but that also his holy church might be promoted thereby, and that the same members might be joined together by a very firm bond of love, and that the Christian people might attain peace in unity, salvation in the power of the Spirit, and eternal glory in a firm bond of love. For this reason we (to whom the merciful, though unworthy, in his stead on earth, out of mild kindness, commanded the care and government of his church) have wished to execute such a command usefully and blessedly, and to help that this church, which is one body of Christ, may duly serve its Head, our Beatificator; as we then desire that it may be sanctified and cleansed from all stain.

(2) For this reason, out of very urgent concerns, moving causes of great importance, concerning the present state of the church and of the apostolic see at Rome, and the complete eradication of the poisonous, pestilential Lutheran heresy, and other heresies, we have resolved to proclaim and hold a concilium. And for this cause we have sent our own noble embassy to the Christian kings, princes, and potentates.

3. But since such a grave matter cannot soon be brought to an end, in the meantime, while we are engaged in this business, we have also undertaken to reform the holy city of Rome (which is the head and chief of all Christendom, from which all other Christians are to learn good manners and godly good conduct), and to sweep the court of Rome, and the officers thereof, from all abuses, from all vices, and from evil shameful habits; That therefore, when our own house is cleansed, we may the more easily sweep and purge the others, and order and arrange all that is therein for the glory and praise of them.

(4) But since human nature is frail and imperfect, so that we ourselves are not able to carry out this important matter which is incumbent upon us, and at the same time other matters and affairs in the city and court of Rome, we have appointed some of our brethren, Cardinals, whom the most high God has ordained to us as assistants in our care and office, to carry out such necessary matters.

and salutary works and burdens beside us. For this reason we have appointed the venerable, our dear brother John, bishop of Ostia, Sene, and our beloved sons, Antonium, priest-cardinal of St. Mary, beyond the Tiber, de St. Severino, and Hieronymum, priest-cardinal of St. Balbinä, de Ghinutiis, and Jacobum, priest-cardinal of St. Cyriaci in DUsrniis Liinonstain, also Paulum, DiaconCardinal St. Eustachii (all of whom are Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church), and to whom the worthy, our dear brethren, Christophorum Cassaneum, Nicolaum Nuivosicum, and Petrum Aquensem, all three bishops, residing in the Court of Rome, having been ordered and set as reformers of the city and Court of Rome by our apostolic power and command, order and set the same in virtue of this Bull. We also hereby give the above-named and the greater part of them free, full authority and power to reform, change, and improve all things and all things in particular that they find necessary in the reported court of Rome, both in spiritual and secular matters, and to order, provide, and decree everything that will be useful, necessary, and convenient for this office and matters. They also hereby give them further power and authority, in everything which they shall order or reform, to punish the objectors, by banishment and excommunication, iotas ssn-tsntias, by stunting, withholding of the yearly pensions and interest, by the payment of the annual taxes. The kingdom shall have the power to compel those who oppose it to obey the law, by the ban and excommunication, Iotas ssn-tsntias, by stunting, withholding of annual pensions and interest, by deprivation and deprivation of their ecclesiastical offices and fiefs, or other penalties and punishments, and to keep those who oppose it in obedience by all other penalties, penalties, and ways of law, and to call upon secular aid and draokinin ssonlars over the same, if it were necessary.

(5) And hereby command all and any persons, especially those who abstain in Rome, of whatever dignity, rank, degree, order, or nature they may be, ecclesiastical or secular, that they shall be obedient and obedient to the reported Reformatoribus in all and any matters, especially those which they shall create and command in such reformation, under the above-mentioned serious, ecclesiastical ban and secular punishments (as the Reformatores shall make such punishments). And hereby command the common Auditor Curiae, Camerä apostolicä, and also the Gubernator of the city of Rome, and the Vicario in Spiritualibus, as such will be our officials at all times, that they assist the reported reformers to order, to execute and to carry out the aforementioned command, if they are required.

with all favor and encouragement, and due husk shall do.

6. And do not wish to prevent any privilege, liberty, apostolic worship, such as that reported by the see of Rome to officials, their colleges or offices in their appointment or direction, or to any other persons whatever their dignity, station or nature may be or be, by us or by the reported see of Rome, in general or in particular, as to form or substance, with the expression of certain special decrees or clauses, which have been or may be made, and whether they have been confirmed or negated once, twice, or several times. For all of these in measure, as if we had expressed their entire content and tenor word for word and clearly here, we want to have expressed and expressed here, as far as the above-mentioned reformation is concerned, and to have repealed and revoked them everywhere, as far as this matter is concerned, so that no one can or may protect himself with them, or with anything contrary to this bull.

(7) And all men are hereby forbidden to violate this bull of our statute, order, appointment, commandment, creation, serious prohibition, our will, and the above-mentioned abrogation of privileges, or to oppose the same by defiant boldness or iniquity. But if anyone should dare to do so, let him know that he will fall into the disgrace of Almighty God and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Rome at St. Marcus, Anno of the Nativity of Christ 1536, on the 23rd day of the month of September, in the first year of our Papacy.

B. Motta.

The above-mentioned Bulla of the Reformation is written and publicly posted at Rome, in Cancellaria apostolica, on Friday, the 27th day of August, in the year and under the Papacy, as reported above.

k's Ossis, Msstns luäsrUnsnsis eustos.

1226.

Schmalkaldic Articles

or "Articles of Christian Doctrine, which should have been delivered to the Concilium at Mantua, or where else it would have been", by D. Martin Luther written in 1537.

After Pope Paul III had announced a Concilium to Mantua (No. 1224), the Elector John Frederick ordered in a letter of 11 December 1536 (this letter is in Burkhardt, Luthers Briefwechsel, p. 271) Luthern to draw up articles of doctrine, and to indicate in which articles one would like to yield and give way for the sake of peace or not. By January 25, 1537, at the latest, "such a list and concerns" were to reach the Elector (Burkhardt, 1. e. p. 272). Luther wrote these articles still in the year 1536 inz December, submitted them, as the Elector had wished, on December 28 and the following days (De Wette, vol. V, p. 45) to Amsdorf, Agricola, Spalatin, and the other Wittenberg theologians, Jonas, Cruciger, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon (Spalatin's Annals, p. 307), for their consideration, and sent them, signed by himself and the same theologians, to the Elector through Spalatin on January 3, 1537. Melanchthon had signed it with an addition in which he expresses himself about the authority to be granted to the pope. In a letter to Luther, dated January 7, 1537 (Kolde, Vunlsota, p. 287), the Elector expressed his displeasure with this addition. The Jena edition (1568), Vol. VI, p. 522, however, sharply castigates Melanchthon's later conduct on the basis of this addition in a note; not the addition itself. In the Wittenberg edition the signatures are missing, thus also this addition. At the Convention of the Protestant Estates assembled in Schmalkalden in February 1537, the articles were approved and signed by them. The signing, however, was not done as a solemn act of the convention, but in a free manner; the other theologians also signed neither on the same day nor in the same place.

The original manuscript by the hand of Luther is at the Heidelberg University Library Oock. Untat. Osrm. 423 and was published in 1817 by Marheineke. In front of it there is not the preface, which Luther made later for the print, but only a preface consisting of six short lines. The articles were printed only in the year 1538. The edition was provided by Luther himself, and thereby some changes by additions and omissions occurred, which however do not alter the sense (J. T. Müller, die symbolischen Bücher, p. HXXVII). The first edition has the title: "Artickel, so da hetten soll auffs Concilion zu Mantua, oder wo es würde sein, überantwortet werden, von vnsers teils wegen. And what we accept or give announced or not 2c. D. Mart. Luth. Wittemberg. N. V.XXXVIII." At the end: "Printed at Wittemberg by Hans Lufft. M.D.XXXVIII." Eight sheets in quarto. In the same year two other editions in quarto followed, then in the years 1543 and 1545 two octavo editions, which Luther himself arranged. Among many other editions, which were published in Wittenberg in 1550 by Peter Seiz the Younger, in Jena in 1555 by Christian Rvdinger, in 1557 by Thomas Rebart in Jena, in 1559 there by Christian Rödinger's heirs, and by the Wittenberg theologians in 1575 and 1576, we mention only one, which originated from Spalatin's copy, which is in the archives in Weimar, was available at the convention in Schmalkalden and was signed there: "Articles of the Evangelical Lere, so da hetten sollen auffs Concilium überantwortet werden 2c. Now everything from Vrsachen reported in the preface, from Fürstl. Order at Weymar by the court preachers there. ÄVIUII." Quarto. This edition was included in the German Concordienbuch in 1580. The name Schmalkaldic Articles was not attached to them until 1553 in this edition (see J. T. Müller I. e. S. I,XXXVIII).

in the disputes between the Weimar and the Wittenberg theologians, and has remained ever since. Wherever the Schmalkaldic Articles are spoken of before this time, it is not to be understood of these, but of those of the Conventions which were held at Schmalkalden (1529,1531 and 1540).

The Schmalkaldic Articles were translated into Latin by a Dane studying in Wittenberg, Ll. Petrus Generanus, who was studying in Wittenberg, and, with a preface by Veit Amerbach, printed in 1541 by Joseph Clug in Wittenberg. Probably because of Amerbach's preface, who later defected to the Papists and became professor of philosophy at Ingolstadt (De Wette, Vol. V, p. 629), not this good translation was included in the Concordienbuch, but a far worse one, which, though attributed to Selnecker, is most probably taken from an Allsgabe that appeared at Wittenberg in 1579, since Selnecker's text of 1580 reproduces the same conspicuous error i) that is found in this edition. By the way, Selnecker himself published a German-Latin edition in 1582, in which the original Latin text of the appendix is given, which was then included in the Concordienbuch. The Generanus edition appeared again in Wittenberg in 1542, but without Amerbach's preface. Another edition also appeared without Luther's name, as is evident from the kc^troinus Outu1c>AU8 Uaeretioor. liomao oonttatus 1559 ouw tutt. VsrMrii. 1560. where it appears among the
Books inoorti nowinm is cited.

Two counter-pamphlets against the Schmalkaldic Articles have appeared, one by Cochläus, whose name is not mentioned on the title, but in the preface, at Leipzig by Nicolaus Wolrab; the other by Georg Wicel, also at Leipzig, in 1538.

In the "Gesammtausgabe" our writing is found: in the Wittenberg (1553), vol. IV, p. 416; in the Jena (1568), vol. VI, p. 509; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1227; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 205; in the Erlanger (l.), vol. 25, p. 109, and in the second edition, vol. 25, p. 163. We give the text according to J. T. Müller, "die symbolischen Bücher," p. 295.

[Preface to the original manuscript.]

The articles

1537.

818 8utl8 68t äoetrinus pro vitu 66616818,6^) Oeteruw in politiu 6t oeoooiiomiu 88tl8 68t loAUM, osuifiu8 vsxunlur.

ut QOQ sit OPU8, prustsr Ü88

Niol68tiu8 ÜUA6r6 3,113,8; HUU8 Q0V1WU8 8utÜ6iuut, 6t 8it mulitiu6 ÜHI8.

That's enough teaching for the life in the church. By the way, in the

1) One can hardly say: misprint, since "the highest and last court is translated by ultiruum ksraulum (court at dinner) instead of sliäioium (decision, judgment).

2) The manuscript in its present state must be very illegible. Marheineke has in this short preface, moreover, that he has omitted this word,

We have enough of the laws with which we are afflicted in our worldly government and in our domestic affairs, so that it is not necessary to invent others besides these complaints. There is enough of those whom we know, and let wickedness end.

Preface V. Mart. Luther.

1. Since the pope Paul, of the name of the third, announced a council last year, to be held at Mantua on Pentecost, and afterwards moved away from Mantua, that it was not yet known where he would or could put it, and that we should provide for ourselves on our part, that we would either also be called to the Concilio, or be condemned without being called, I was commanded to place articles of our doctrine, and to bring them together, whether it would come to action, what and how far we wanted to or could give way to the Papists, and on which we finally intended to insist and remain.

(2) Accordingly I have brought these articles together and delivered them to our part. They have also been accepted by us, and unanimously confessed, and it has been decided that they should be publicly delivered (if the pope with his own should one day be so bold as to hold a right free council without lies and deceit, as he would certainly be obliged to do), and that we should present our confession of faith.

003 But because the Roman court is so dreadful of a free Christian council, and the light shines so shamefully, that he has taken away the hope even of those who are of his part, as if he would never suffer a free Christian council, much less hold it himself, whereupon, how justly, they are almost angry, and have no small complaint about it, than those who perceive that the pope would rather lose the whole of Christendom, and have all souls

no less than seven question marks with which he doubts a fine solution. E. Hermann, who has discussed this preface in detail in the Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht by Dove and Friedberg, vol. 17, 1882, pp. 231-242, remarks here: "Only traces of a strongly abbreviated word, which must have been sooltzsius," and furthermore brings to his solution, which we reproduce here according to the Erlangen edition, several "perhaps."

3i This little preface contains exactly the same thoughts which are expressed in the last two paragraphs of Luther's following preface.

before he wants to reform himself or his own a little, and have a measure set for his tyranny: Nevertheless, I have wanted to publish these articles by public pressure, if I should die before, because a concilium would (as I fully expect and hope), because the light-avoiding and day-shunning rogues have such a miserable trouble, and prevent the concilium, so that those who live and remain after me may have my testimony and confession to present, over and above the confession that I have previously made, on which I have remained until now, and will remain, with God's grace.

Four. For what shall I say? How shall I complain? I am still alive, writing, preaching, and reading daily, yet such poisonous men are found, not only among the adversaries, but also false brethren, who want to be of our part, who presume to lead my writing and teaching straight against me; let me watch and listen, whether they know that I teach differently, and want to adorn their poison with my work, and seduce the poor people under my name; what will become more and more after my death?

(5) Yea, I ought to answer for all things, because I am yet alive. Yes, again, how can I alone shut all the devil's mouths? especially to those (as they are all poisoned) who do not want to hear or notice what we write, but only practice with all diligence how they may most shamefully pervert and corrupt our words in all letters. To such I let the devil answer, or finally God's wrath, as they deserve.

(6) I often think of the good Gerson, who doubts whether one should write something good in public. If one does not, many souls are lost that could be saved; but if one does, the devil is there with innumerable poisonous, evil mouths, which poison and pervert everything, so that the fruit is prevented. But what they gain by it is seen in the day. For since they have lied so shamefully against us, and have tried to keep the people with lies, God has continued his work, making their multitude smaller and ours larger, and disgracing them with their lies, and still continues to do so.

(7) I must tell you a story. Here in Wittenberg a doctor was sent from France, who said publicly before us that his king was sure and certain that there was no church, no authority, no marriage state among us, but that everything went among themselves like cattle, and everyone did as he pleased. Now then, how shall they look upon us in that day before the judgment seat of Christ, who have imagined such gross lies to the king, and to other countries, by their writing, to be the truth? Christ, the Lord and Judge of us all, knows very well that they have lied and lied, and that they will have to hear the judgment again; this I know for certain. May God convert to repentance those who are to be converted! For the rest it shall be called, Woe and ache for ever.

(8) And coming back to the matter at hand, I would indeed like to see a truly Christian council, so that many things and people would be helped. Not that we need it, for our churches are now, by the grace of God, so enlightened and equipped with the pure word and right use of the sacraments, with the knowledge of all kinds of states and right works, that we do not ask for a concilium here, and in such matters know neither to hope nor to expect anything better from the concilium; but in the bishoprics everywhere we see many parishes empty and desolate that one's heart would break. And yet neither bishops nor canons ask how the poor people live or die, for whom Christ died, and they should not hear him speak to them as the right shepherd to his sheep, so that I am afraid and afraid that one day he will let an angelic council go over Germany, which will ruin us all like Sodom and Gomorrah, because we mock it so unjustly with the council.

(9) There are innumerable great things to be corrected in the secular world about such necessary church matters. There is disunity among princes and estates, usury and avarice have been torn down like a flood of sin, and vain law has become, wantonness, fornication, arrogance with clothes, eating, playing, flaunting, with all kinds of vice and wickedness, disobedience of the subjects, servants and workers, of all trades, also of the peasants.

have so outgrown it that ten councils and twenty imperial congresses will not make it right again. If one were to deal with such main matters of the spiritual and secular state, which are against God, in the Concilio, one would probably get one's hands full, so that in the meantime one would forget the children's game and folly of long skirts, large plates, wide belts, bishops' and cardinals' hats or staffs, and such jugglery. If we had first obeyed God's command and order in the spiritual and secular realms, we would have found time enough to reform the food, clothing, plates and casel. If, however, we devour such cameos, and for this we want to sweat gnats, leave the beams standing, and straighten the splinters, then we would probably also be satisfied with the Concilio.

010 For this reason I have set forth few articles, because without this we have so much command from God to do in the church, in the authorities, in the house, that we can never carry them out. What is the point, or what is the use, of making many decrees and statutes about this in the Council, especially if these principal things commanded by God are not respected or kept? It is as if he had to celebrate our play of jiggery-pokery for trampling underfoot his serious commandments. But our sins oppress us and do not allow God to have mercy on us, for we do not repent, nor do we want to defend all abominations.

(11) O dear Lord JESUS CHRIST, keep thou thy own concilium, and deliver thine own by thy glorious future! It is lost with the pope and his. They do not want thine. Help us, then, poor and miserable, who groan unto thee, and seek thee with earnestness, according to the grace which thou hast given us, through thy Holy Spirit, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Father, evermore vowed, Amen.

The first part

hts articles of divine majesty, as:

1. that Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in One Divine Being and Nature, are three distinct Persons, one God, who created heaven and earth.

II. That the Father is born of no man, the Son of the Father, the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son.

III That not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, but the Son was made man.

IV. That the Son was thus made man, that he was conceived of the Holy Ghost without man's consent, and that he was born of the pure holy virgin Mary. After this he suffered, died, was buried, went to hell, rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God, to judge the quick and the dead, 2c. as the apostle, item. St. Athanasii Symbolum, and the common children's catechism teaches.

These articles are in no dispute or controversy, because we confess the same to both parts. Therefore, it is not necessary to discuss them further now.

The other part

is of the articles, so concerning the ministry and work of JEsu Christ, or our salvation.

Here is the first and main article:

1. that Jesus Christ our God and Lord "died for our sins, and rose again for our righteousness," Rom. 4:25, and that "he alone is the Lamb of God, which bareth the sin of the world," Jn. 1:29, and that "God hath laid on him the sins of us all," Isa. 53:6. item: "They are all sinners, and are justified without merit by his grace, through the redemption of Jesus Christ in his blood." 2c. Rom. 3, 23. 24.

002 Forasmuch then as these things must be believed, and otherwise by no works, law, or merit, can they be attained or obtained, it is clear and certain that such faith alone justifieth us. As Rom. 3:28, St. Paul saith, "We hold that a man is justified without works of the law, through faith." Item 26: "That he alone might be justified, and justify him that believeth in Jesus."

003 From this article nothing can depart or yield, let heaven and earth fall, or whatsoever will not abide. "For there is none other name given among men, whereby we may be saved," saith Peter.

Apost. 4:12, "and by his wounds we are healed," Isa. 53:5, and on this article stands all that we teach and live against the pope, the devil, and the world. Therefore we must be quite sure of it, and not doubt, or all is lost, and the pope and the devil, and all things against us, shall have the victory and be justified.

The other article. From the fair.

004 That the mass in the papacy must be the greatest and most dreadful abomination, as it striveth hard and mightily against the principal article, and yet hath been the highest and most beautiful above and before all other papal idolatries. For it is held that such a sacrifice or work of the Mass (even done by a wicked wicked man) helps man from sins, both here in life and there in purgatory; which, however, the Lamb of God alone should and must do, as stated above. Neither is this article to be relinquished, nor is it to be abated; for the first article suffers no such thing.

(5) And if there were any sensible papists, one would speak to them in such a friendly manner, first of all, why do they hold so hard to the mass? For it is nothing but the feet of men, not commanded by God. And we may let go of all human fools, as Christ says, Matt. 15:9: "They serve me in vain with the commandments of men."

006 Secondly, it is an unnecessary thing, which it is well to leave without sin and driving.

007 Thirdly, the sacrament may be much better and more blessedly obtained after the institution of Christ. What is the point of forcing the world into misery and distress for the sake of a fictitious, unnecessary thing, when it can otherwise be had well and more blessedly?

008 Let it be preached publicly unto the people, how the mass, being a man's worship, may remain without sin, and that no man be damned that respecteth it not, but may be saved without the mass, by a better way. What does it matter if the mass then will not fall from itself? not only with the mad mob, but also with all pious, Christian, reasonable, God-fearing hearts. Much more, when they hear that it is a dangerous thing, invented and contrived without God's word and will.

(9) Fourthly, because such innumerable, unspeakable abuses have arisen throughout the world in the buying and selling of fairs, it ought to be let alone to prevent such abuses, even if it had something useful and good in itself. How much more should it be allowed to prevent such abuses forever, because it is quite unnecessary, useless and dangerous, and one can have everything more necessary, useful and certain without the fair.

(10) Now, fifthly, if the mass is nothing else, nor can be anything else (as the Canon and all the books say), but a work of men (even of wicked men), that one may reconcile himself, and others with himself, against God, and obtain and merit forgiveness of sins and grace (for thus it is kept, if it is kept at the very best; what else should it be?), then it ought and must be condemned and rejected. For this is contrary to the main article, which says that it is not a wicked or pious minister who bears our sins with his work, but the Lamb of God and Son of God.

011 And if any man would pretend, for the sake of appearances, that he would tell or communicate himself for devotion, he is not in earnest. For if he is serious about communicating, he has certainly done so, and in the best way, in the sacrament, after the institution of Christ. But to communicate himself is a human conceit, uncertain and unnecessary, and forbidden. Nor does he know what he is doing, because without God's word he follows false human pride and ignorance. So it is also not right (if everything else were bad) for a man to use the common sacrament of the church according to his own devotion, and to play communion with it as he pleases, without God's word, outside the church.

012 This article of the mass shall be the whole of it in the Conciliar. For if it were possible for them to yield to us all the other articles, they cannot yield to this article. As Campegius said at Augsburg, he would let himself be torn to pieces before he would let the mass go. So too, with God's help, I will let myself be reduced to ashes before I let a server with his work, whether good or evil, be like my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

be higher. So we are and remain eternally divided and opposed to one another. They know well, where the mass falls, there lies the priesthood. Before they do so, they kill us all where they can.

(13) Above all these things this dragon's tail, the fair, hath begotten many an idolatry of vermin and filth.

(14) First, there is purgatory. Masses, vigils, the seventh, the thirtieth, and annual celebrations, and finally the common week, and the day and bath of all souls in purgatory, have been used so that the mass is used almost exclusively for the dead, even though Christ instituted the sacrament exclusively for the living. Therefore, purgatory, with all its splendor, worship, and trade, is to be regarded as a mere devil's ghost. For it is contrary to the main article, that Christ alone, and not the works of men, should help souls. Without this, nothing else is commanded or commanded to us by the dead. For this reason, it may well be left alone, if it were neither error nor idolatry.

(15) The papists here cite Augustine and some of the fathers who are said to have written of purgatory, and think that we do not see to what end and whither they lead such sayings. St. Augustine does not write that there is a purgatory, nor does he have any Scripture that compels him to do so, but leaves it in doubt whether there is one, and says that his mother desired that she should be remembered at the altar or sacrament. Now all this is nothing but the devotion of individuals, who do not establish any articles of faith (which belong to God alone).

(16) But our papists lead such a human word to believe that one should sacrifice to their shameful, blasphemous, accursed fair of Masses in Purgatory 2c. Such they will not prove from St. Augustino for a long time. Now when they have done with the sacrilegious fair, of which St. Augustine never dreamed, let us talk with them whether St. Augustine's word without Scripture may be tolerated, and the dead remembered in the Sacrament. It is not valid to make articles of faith out of the holy fathers' work or word.
Otherwise it would also have to become an article of faith what they had for food, clothing, houses, 2c. as was done with the sanctuary. The Word of God is said to be an article of faith, and no one else, not even an angel.

(17) Secondly, it follows that the evil spirits have done much evil, appearing as the souls of men, and have preached masses, vigils, pilgrimages, and other alms, with unspeakable lies and mischiefs. Which we all hold to be articles of faith and must live by them, and the pope confirms this, as well as the mass and all other abominations. There is also no turning back or slackening.

(18) Thirdly, the pilgrimages, where masses were sought, forgiveness of sins, and the grace of God. For the mass ruled it all. Now it is certain that without God's word such pilgrimages are not commanded, nor are they necessary, because we may be better off, and leave them without all sin and driving. Why then does one leave at home one's own parish, God's word, wife and child 2c., which are necessary and commanded, and run after the unnecessary, uncertain, harmful cirrus of the devil, without the devil having ridden the pope to praise and confirm such things, so that people often fall from Christ to their own works and become idolatrous, which is the worst thing about it, over and above that it is unnecessary, unbidden, inadvisable, and uncertain, and also harmful; therefore there is no yielding or giving way here. 2c. And let it be preached that it is unnecessary and dangerous, and see where pilgrimages remain.

(19) Fourthly, the brotherhoods, where the monasteries, convents, and also vicars have committed themselves, and shared (right and honest purchase) all masses, good works, 2c., both for the living and the dead, which is not only vain man's work, without the word of God, quite unnecessary and unbidden, but also contrary to the first article of salvation, therefore by no means to be suffered.

020 Fifthly, the sanctuary, wherein are invented many a public lie and fool's work, of dogs' and horses' bones, which also for the sake of such superstition, that the devil hath been

The fact that the church laughed long ago should have been condemned, even if there were something good in it, is also without God's word, neither commanded nor advised, quite unnecessary and useless thing. But the most important thing is that it must also work indulgence and forgiveness of sins, as a good work and service, like the mass 2c.

(21) In the sixth place, here is the indulgence, which is given both to the living and to the dead (but for money), and in which the afflicted Judas or Pope sells the merits of Christ, together with the rest of the merits of all the saints and of the whole church; 2c. All of which is not to be suffered, and not only without God's word, without necessity, unbidden, but contrary to the first article. For Christ's merit is not obtained by our work or penny, but by grace through faith, without all money and merit, not by Pabst's power, but brought forward by the preaching or God's word.

Of invocation of the saints.

(22) The calling of the saints is also one of the abuses of the end-Christians, and is contrary to the first principal article, and destroys the knowledge of Christ. Neither is it commanded, nor advised, nor is it exemplified in Scripture; and all things are a thousand times better in Christ, if they were as good as they are, but they are not.

023 And though the angels in heaven pray for us, as Christ himself doeth, so also the saints on earth, or perhaps in heaven; yet it doth not follow that we should call upon the angels and saints, worship them, fast unto them, celebrate with them, say mass unto them, offer churches, altars, worship, and other things, and think them helpers in need, and divide all manner of help among them. It does not follow from this that we should call upon the angels and saints, worship them, fast, celebrate mass with them, offer sacrifices, endow churches, altars, worship, and serve them in other ways, and hold them to be helpers in need, and divide all kinds of help among them, appropriating a special one to each, as the papists teach and do, for this is idolatry; and such honor belongs to God alone. For thou, as a Christian and a saint on earth, canst pray for me, not in one need, but in all needs. But therefore I shall not worship thee, call upon thee, celebrate, fast, sacrifice, say mass in thy honor, and put my faith in thee for salvation. Otherwise I can honor, love, and thank you in Christ. Now, when such idolatrous honor is taken away by the angels and dead saints,
The other honor will be without harm, and will soon be forgotten. For when there is no longer any hope of benefit or help, either bodily or spiritual, the saints will leave them in peace, both in the grave and in heaven; for in vain, or for love, no one will much remember, respect, or honor them.

024 And in sum, what the mass is, what is derived from it, what is attached to it, we cannot suffer, and must condemn, that we may keep the holy sacrament pure and certain, according to the institution of Christ, used and received by faith.

The third article. Of foundations and monasteries.

(25) That the monasteries and convents, founded in time past in good opinion, should again be ordered to educate learned men and virtuous women, according to such custom, that they may have pastors, preachers, and other ecclesiastics, and other necessary persons for secular government, in cities and countries, also well-bred virgins for housemothers and housekeepers. 2c.

026 If they will not serve this purpose, it is better that they should be left desolate, or that they should be pulled down, than that they, with their blasphemous worship invented by men, should be held as something better than the common Christian state and the offices and orders established by God. For all this is contrary to the first principal article of the redemption of Jesus Christ. Moreover, that they (like all other human beings) are not commanded, not necessary, not useful, and make dangerous and futile efforts, as the prophets call such worship services, "efforts.

The fourth article. From the papacy.

027 That the pope is not *jure divino*, or from the word of God, the head of all Christendom (for this belongs to one only, who is called Jesus Christ), but only bishop or pastor of the churches at Rome, and of those who have willingly, or by human creature (that is, temporal authority), come to him, not to be Christians under him as a lord, but next to him as brothers and fellows, as also the old Concilia and the time of St. Cyprian indicate.

Twenty-eight. But now no bishop may call the pope...

He shall not call him brother, as at that time, but shall call him his most gracious lord, even if he were king or emperor. We will not, we ought not, and we cannot take it upon our consciences; but if any man will do it, let him do it without us.

029 From this it follows that all that the pope has done and has undertaken out of such false, sacrilegious, blasphemous, usurped power, has been and still is vain devilish history and business (without regard to the bodily government, in which God may well do much good to a people through a tyrant and a knave), to the corruption of the whole holy Christian church (as much as was in it), and to the disturbance of the first principal article, of the redemption of JESUS CHRIST.

030 For there stand all his bulls and books, wherein he roareth as a lion, as the angel formeth Revelation 12:1 and following, that no Christian can be saved, except he be obedient unto him, and be subject unto him in all things, whatsoever he will, whatsoever he saith, whatsoever he doeth. Which is nothing else, but thus much said, Though thou believest in Christ, and hast all things in him that are necessary unto salvation, yet is it nothing, and all in vain, if thou hold not me thy God, and be subject and obedient unto me. For it is evident that the holy church has been without a pope for at least five hundred years, and that to this day the Greek churches and many other languages have never been under a pope, nor are they yet. Thus, as has often been said, it is a man's poem that is not commanded, without need and in vain; for the holy Christian church can well remain without such a head, and would probably have remained better if such a head had not been raised up by the devil. Nor is the papacy of any use in the church, for it exercises no Christian office, and so the church must remain and exist without the pope.

(31) And I suppose that the pope would not be supreme in *law* or by the commandment of God, but that, in order that the unity of the Christians against the herds and heresies might be the better preserved, there should be one head to which the others should all adhere. Such a head would then be chosen by men, and it would be in the power of human choice and authority to change the same head, to deprive it of its authority, and to make it a head.

As the Council of Constance held almost the same way with the popes, they deposed three of them and elected the fourth. I now suppose that the pope and the see of Rome would want to accept such a thing, which is impossible, for he would have to reverse and destroy his entire rule and position, with all its rights and books; in sum, he cannot do it. For since one would not have to be subject to such a head by God's command, but out of human good will, it would be despised very easily and soon, and in the end it would not keep a member, nor would it always have to be in Rome or some other place, but where and in which church God would have given such a man who would be capable of it. O that would become a vast, desolate being!

32 For this cause the church can never be governed and preserved better than that we should all live under one head, Christ, and that the bishops should all be equal in office (though unequal in gifts), diligently holding together in one doctrine, faith, sacraments, prayers, and works of charity 2c.., as St. Jerome writes, that the priests of Alexandria governed the church together and in common, as did the apostles, and afterward all the bishops in all Christendom, until the pope lifted up his head above them all.

(033) This piece shows plainly that he is the true end-Christ or antichrist, who has set himself above and against Christ, and exalted himself, because he will not let the Christians be saved without his power, which is nothing, not ordered or commanded by God. This actually means, "to set oneself above God and against God," as St. Paul says in 2 Thess. 2:4. Nevertheless, neither the Turk nor the fool does this, as they are great enemies of the Christians, but lets whoever wants to believe in Christ, and takes bodily interest and obedience from the Christians.

034 But the pope will not believe, but saith, Let men obey him, and they shall be saved. We will not do this, or die over it, in the name of God. All this comes from the fact that he should have been called *jure divino* supreme over Christianity.

Church. Therefore he must make himself equal to Christ and above Christ, and make himself the head, then lord of the churches, and finally of the whole world, and badly boast of an earthly god, until he also supported the angels in the kingdom of heaven. And if one distinguishes Pabst's doctrine from the holy Scriptures, or sets it against them and holds it up, it is found that Pabst's doctrine, where it is best of all, is taken from the imperial, pagan law, and teaches worldly dealings and courts, as his Decretales testify; after that it teaches ceremonies of churches, garments, food, persons, and children's play, larvae, and foolery without measure, but in all this nothing at all of Christ, faith, and God's commandments.

035 Lastly, the devil is nothing but a vain devil, since he practiseth his lies of masses, purgatory, monasticism, his own works, and worship (which then is the true priesthood), above and against God; damning, killing, and afflicting all Christians, who lift not up and honour such his abomination above all things. Therefore, as little as we can worship the devil himself for a lord and god, so little can we suffer his apostle, the pope or end-Christ, to be head or lord in his regiment. For to lie and murder, to destroy body and soul for ever, that is his papal rule in fact, as I have proved in many books.

(36) By these four articles they will have enough to condemn in the Council. For they cannot nor will they leave the least limb of the Articles to us; of this we must be sure, and consider the hope that Christ our Lord has attacked his adversary, and will press on, both with his spirit and future, amen.

037 For in the Concilio we shall not stand before the emperor or the temporal authorities (as at Augsburg), who would have a gracious decree, and in kindness let the matters be heard, but before the pope and the devil himself we shall stand there, who does not intend to hear anything, but to condemn, murder, and force to idolatry. Therefore we must not kiss his feet here, or say, You are my gracious Lord, but, as in Zechariah the angel said to the devil, "Punish yourself, God, Satan." [Zech. 3:2.]

The third part of the article.

The following pieces or articles we may discuss with scholars, rational people, or among ourselves; the pope and his kingdom do not pay much attention to them. For conscientiousness is nothing with them, but money, honor, and power.

I. From sin.

(1) Here we must confess, as St. Paul saith, Rom. 5:12, that sin is of Adam, the only man, descended, by which disobedience all men became sinners, subject to death and the devil. This is called original sin, or original sin.

(2) The fruits of these sins are the evil works forbidden in the Ten Commandments, such as unbelief, false faith, idolatry, being without fear of God, presumption, despair, blindness, and, in sum, not knowing or respecting God. After that, lying, swearing by God's name, not praying, not calling, not respecting God's word, disobeying parents, murdering, unchastity, stealing, deceiving 2c.

(3) Such original sin is such a deep evil corruption of nature that no reason can know it, but must be believed from the revelation of Scripture, Ps. 51:7, Rom. 5:18, Ex. 33, Gen. 33, Gen. 3:6; wherefore the vain error and blindness against this article, which the school theologians have taught, viz:

(4) That after the inheritance of Ada man's natural powers remain whole and uncorrupted, and that man by nature has right reason and good will, as the philosophers teach.

005 That a man may have free will to do good, and to forbear evil; and again, to forbear good, and to forbear evil.

006 That man by his natural powers may do and keep all the commandments of God.

Item 7: Let him by natural powers love God above all things, and his neighbor as himself.

008 For if a man do as much as is in him, God will surely give him his grace.

009 Item, if he will go to the sacrament, it is not necessary that he have a good intention to do good, but be sufficient that he have not an evil intention to do good.

I have no desire to sin, for nature is so good, and the sacrament so powerful.

010 Let it not be found in the scriptures, that the Holy Ghost with his grace is necessary unto good works.

011 Such things, and many like them, are of ignorance and unawareness, both of sins, and of Christ our Saviour; true heathen doctrine, which we cannot endure. For if this doctrine be true, then Christ died in vain, because there is no harm nor sin in man for which he should die, or had died for the body only, and not for the soul also, because the soul is sound, and the body only is of death.

II. from the law.

012 Here we hold that the law was given of God, first, to control sin with threatenings and terrors of punishment, and with promises and offerings of grace and mercy. But all this has turned out badly because of the wickedness that sin has wrought in man. For some of them are worse than those who are under the law, because they reject what they like to do and reject what they do not like to do. Therefore, when they are able to escape punishment, they do more against the law than before. These are the wicked men who do evil in every place where they have room.

013 Others are blind and presumptuous, and think that they keep and can keep the law out of their own strength, as is now said above of the school theologians: from whence come hypocrites and false saints.

014 But the chief office or power of the law is to reveal original sin, with its fruits and all, and to show man how deeply his nature has fallen and been corrupted without cause, when the law must tell him that he neither has nor respects God, and worships strange gods, which he would not have believed before and without the law. Thus he is frightened, humiliated, despondent, desperate, would like to be helped, and does not know where to start from, and begins to be angry with God and to murmur 2c. This then is Rom. 4:15, "The law provokes wrath"; and Rom. 5:13, "Sin is increased by the law."

III. of repentance.

015 Such is the office which the New Testament retains, and also practices, as St. Paul does, Rom. 1:18, saying, "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all men." Item, Cap. 3,10.: "All the world is guilty before God. And no man is righteous before Him." And Christ Joh. 16:8. "The Holy Ghost shall punish the world for sin."

016 Now this is the thunderbolt of God, that he may smite both manifest sinners and false saints in one heap, and leave none to be right, and drive them all into terror and despair. This is the hammer (as Jeremiah Cap. 23, 29. saith), "My word is a hammer that breaketh the rocks." This is not activa contritio, a made repentance, but passiva contritio, the real heartache, suffering, and feeling of death.

017 And this then is the beginning of right repentance, and a man must here hear such a judgment, saying, There is nothing the matter with you all; ye are public sinners or saints; ye must all become and do otherwise than ye now are and do; ye are who ye are, and how great, wise, mighty, and holy, as ye would be. There is no one pious here.

018 But to such a ministry the New Testament quickly adds the comforting promise of grace through the gospel, which is to be believed, as Christ saith, Marc. 1:15, Repent, and believe the gospel: that is, become and do otherwise, and believe my promise. And before him John is called a preacher of repentance, but for the remission of sins, that is, he should punish them all and make them sinners, that they might know what they were in the sight of God, and know themselves to be lost men, and so be prepared unto the Lord to receive grace, and to wait for and receive forgiveness of sins from him. So Christ himself says Luc. 24, 27, "repentance and forgiveness of sins must be preached in my name throughout the world.

019 But where the law worketh alone, without the help of the gospel, there is death and hell, and man must despair, as Saul and Judas. As St. Paul says, "The law killeth through sin."

Again, the gospel does not give comfort and forgiveness in one way, but by word, sacrament, and the like, as we shall hear, so that salvation may abound with God, as the 130th Psalm, v. 7, says, against the great prison of sin.

020 But now we must hold the false repentance of the sophists against the right repentance, that they both may be the more truly understood.

Of the false repentance of the papists.

021 It was impossible for them to teach rightly of repentance, because they knew not the right sins. For, as was said above, they do not hold rightly to original sin, but say that the natural powers of man remain whole and undefiled, that reason can teach rightly, and that the will can do rightly according to it, that God certainly gives his grace when a man does as much as is in him according to his free will.

022 From this it must follow that they alone atoned for real sins, as, evil thoughts (for evil motion, lust, irritation, was not sin), evil words, evil works, which free will might well have left undone.

(23) And to such repentance they put three parts, repentance, confession, and satisfaction, with this consolation and promise: if a man repented, confessed, and satisfied himself, he would have earned forgiveness and paid for his sin before God. Thus the people were instructed in repentance on the confidence of their own works. Hence the word in the pulpit when the common confession was recited to the people: "Free my life, O Lord God, until I atone for my sin and improve my life.

(24) Here there was no thought of Christ, and nothing of faith, but one hoped to overcome and blot out sin before God with one's own works. We also became priests and monks of the opinion that we wanted to put ourselves against sin.

(25) Thus was it done with repentance: because no one could consider all his sins (especially those committed during the whole year), they mended the pelt thus: if the hidden sins were afterwards remembered, they must also repent and confess them 2c. However, they were commanded by the grace of God.

026 Moreover, because no man knew how great repentance should be, that it might be sufficient in the sight of God, they gave this comfort: he that could not have contrition, that is, repentance, ought to have attrition; which I may call a half repentance, or the beginning of repentance. For they themselves have not understood either, nor do they yet know what it is said, any more than I do. Such attritio was then counted as a condition when one went to confession.

027 And if it came to pass, that any man said he could not repent, nor be sorry for his sin, as if it had been done in harlotry or revengefulness, 2c. they asked whether he did not wish, or desire, that he might repent? Did he then say: Yes (for who would say no here but the devil himself?) they took it for repentance, and forgave him his sin on such his good work. Here they used St. Bernard as an example 2c.

028 Here we see how blind reason gropes in the things of God, and seeks comfort in its own works, according to its own conceit, and cannot think of Christ or faith. If we look at it in the light, such repentance is a thought made up and composed of one's own strength, without faith, without knowledge of Christ, in which the poor sinner, if he had thought of lust or revenge, would sometimes rather have laughed than wept; except those who have either met with the law rightly, or have been plagued by the devil in vain with a sad spirit; otherwise such repentance has certainly been pure hypocrisy, and has not killed the lust of sins. For they had to repent, and would rather have sinned more if they had been free.

- 029 Thus it was with confession, that every man must tell all his sins, which is an impossible thing; and it was a great torment. But those he had forgotten were forgiven him so far, if they came to his mind, that he still had to confess them. Thus he could never know when he had confessed purely enough, or when confession should come to an end. Nevertheless, he was pointed to his deeds and thus comforted: the purer he confessed, and the more he was ashamed, and thus disgraced himself before the priest, the sooner and better he would be satisfied for the sin, for such humility would certainly earn him favor with God.

030 Neither was there faith nor Christ here, neither was the power of absolution told him; but to count sin, and to be ashamed, was his consolation. But it is not to be counted what torture, evil and idolatry such confessions have caused.

031 Atonement is yet the most far-reaching thing. For no man could know how much he should do for a few sins, let alone for all of them. Here they found a counsel, namely, that they set up a few penances, which could be kept, as five pater noster, one day of fasting, 2c., and with the rest of the penance they were sent to purgatory.

032 Now here also was great misery and distress. Some thought they would never get out of purgatory, because according to the old canons seven years of penance belongs to one mortal sin. Still there was confidence in our work of atonement. And if the atonement might have been perfect, the trust would have stood on it, and neither faith nor Christ would have been of any use; but it was impossible. Now if a man had served a hundred years, he would not have known when he had served his penance. That is, he would always have done penance and never come to repentance.

033 Now the holy see of Rome came to the aid of the poor church, and invented the indulgence; and with it he pardoned and abolished the pardon, first of all individually, seven years, a hundred years, 2c., and divided it among the cardinals and bishops, that one might give an indulgence of a hundred years, and one of a hundred days. But to cancel the whole pardon he reserved for him alone.

034 And it came to pass, when the money was ready to be borne, and the bull market was good, that he devised the golden year, and sent it to Rome; which he called the pardon of all chastisement and iniquity. Then the people ran to him, for everyone would have liked to be rid of the heavy, unbreakable burden. This meant finding and raising the treasures of the earth. Quickly the pope hurried on, and made many golden years one after the other. But the more he devoured money, the wider was his throat. Therefore he sent it out by legates into the countries, until all churches and houses were full of golden years. And at the last he was also cast into purgatory among the dead,
first with masses and vigils, then with indulgences and the golden year, and finally the souls became so cheap that he gave one away for a sword groschen.

035 And yet all this did not help. For the pope, though he taught the people to rely and trust in such indulgences, yet he himself also made it uncertain. For in his bull he said that whoever wished to benefit from the indulgence or the golden year must repent and confess, and give money. Now we have heard above that such repentance and confession is uncertain among them, and hypocrisy. Likewise no man knew which soul was in purgatory; and if there were any in it, no man knew which had truly repented and confessed. So he took the money, and in the mean time put them off to his power and indulgence, and yet sent them again to their uncertain work.

036 Wherefore there were some that were not guilty of such real sins in thought, word, and deed, as I and my like in monasteries and convents, monks and priests, wished to be, who with fasting, vigil, prayer, mass, hard clothing, and bed 2c. resisted evil thoughts, and with earnestness and violence wished to be holy, and yet the inherent evil did, as it were, in sleep (as St. Augustine and Jerome with others confess), which is its manner. (As St. Augustine and Jerome with others confess), which is his way, yet each thought of the other that some were as holy as we taught, who were without sin, full of good works, so that thereupon we communicated and sold our good works to others, as superfluous to us to heaven. This is true, and there are seals, letters, and examples.

037 These were not allowed to repent. For what would they repent of, because they did not consent to evil thoughts? What would they confess, because they avoided words? For what would they do, because they were innocent of the deed? so that they might sell their remaining righteousness to other poor sinners. Such saints also were the Pharisees and scribes in the days of Christ.

038 Here cometh the fiery angel, St. John, the right preacher of repentance, and smiteth them both with thunder into one heap, saying, "Repent ye." [Matt. 3:2.] So think those:

But we have repented. These think, We are not allowed to repent. saith John, Repent ye both, for ye are false penitents, so are these false saints; and may ye both be forgiven of sins, because ye both know not yet what is right sin; hold your peace, that ye should repent of it, or avoid it. It is not good for either of you to be full of unbelief, ignorance, and ignorance of God and his will: for there he is, from whose fullness we must all receive grace for grace [John 3:16], and no man without him can be righteous in the sight of God. Therefore, if ye will repent, repent ye aright; your repentance doth not. And you hypocrites, who have no need of repentance, you snake-pullers, who has assured you that you will escape the wrath to come? 2c.

039 So St. Paul also preaches Rom. 3:10-12, saying, "There is none understanding, none righteous, none respecting God, none doing good, not even one; for they are all unrighteous and apostates. And Apost. 17:30: "But now God giveth all men, in all places, to repent." "All men" (saith he), none excepted that are men. This repentance teaches us to recognize sin, namely, that [it is] lost with us all, skin and hair not good, and must become bad new and different men.

040 This repentance is not lumpy and beggarly, as that which expiates real sins; neither is it uncertain, as that. For it disputeth not which is sin, or which is not sin; but it casteth all things into heaps, and saith, All and all sin is with us. What shall we long seek, divide, or distinguish? Wherefore even here repentance is not uncertain, for there remaineth nothing that we may think any good thing to pay for sin, but a mere, certain despair of all that we are, think, speak, or do 2c.

041 Neither can confession be false, uncertain, or deceitful. For he that confesseth that all things are sin with him understandeth all sin, leaving none out, and forgetting none. Neither, therefore, can repentance be uncertain, for it is not our uncertain, sinful works, but the suffering and blood of the innocent Lamb of God, who bears the sin of the world.

042 Of this repentance preacheth John, and afterward Christ in the gospel, and we also. With this repentance we cast down Pabst and all that is built upon our good works. For all things are built upon a corrupt and vain foundation, which is called good works, or the law; when there is no good work, but wicked works; and no man doeth the law, as Christ saith, John 7:19, but transgresseth it all. Therefore the building is full of lies and hypocrisy, when it is most holy and most beautiful.

043 And repentance endureth unto death with Christians, because it bitteth with the rest of the sins of the flesh throughout the whole life, as St. Paul hath witnessed in Romans 7:2, that he struggled with the law of his members, 2c. not by his own strength, but by the gift of the Holy Ghost, which followeth upon the remission of sins. This gift cleanseth and purgeth out the rest of sins daily, and worketh to make a man clean and holy.

044 Of this the pope, the theologians, lawyers, nor any man knoweth not; but it is a doctrine from heaven, revealed by the gospel, and must be called heresy among the ungodly saints.

045 Again, if some of the spirits of the wicked should come, as there may be some already, and have come before me in the time of the riot, holding that all they which once received the Spirit, or remission of sins, or believed, if they sinned afterward, yet they continued in the faith, and such sin did them no harm, crying thus, Do what thou wilt, if thou believest, it is all nothing. Faith blots out all sin 2c. Say to this: If any man sin according to faith and the Spirit, he hath never had the Spirit and faith aright. I have had many such foolish men before me, and fear that there are still some such devils in them.

046 Therefore it is necessary to know and to teach, that if the holy people, having and feeling original sin, repent and contend against it daily, fall into public sin, as David did into adultery, murder, and blasphemy, then faith and the Spirit are gone [2 Sam. 11,

4. ff.). For the Holy Spirit doth not suffer sin to have dominion and to prevail, that it may be accomplished; but he controulth and restraineth it, that it should not do what it will. But if it does what it wills, the Holy Spirit and faith are not with it. For it is said, as St. John [1 Ep. 3, 9.) says, "He that is born of God sinneth not, neither can he sin." And yet is also the truth (as the same St. John writes), "If we say that we have no sin, we lie, and God's truth is not in us."

IV. From the Gospel.

(47) Let us now return to the gospel, which does not give counsel and help against sin in one way or another; for God is abundant in his grace, first by the oral word, in which is preached the forgiveness of sins in all the world, which is the true ministry of the gospel. Secondly, through baptism. Thirdly, by the holy sacrament of the altar. Fourthly, by the power of the keys, and also per mutuuw eoIIoHuiuni et eonsoIgUonem IrLtrum, 18, 20: IIbi cluo luerint eonAreALti ete.

V. Of baptism.

(48) Baptism is nothing else than God's word in water, commanded by His institution, or as St. Paul says [Eph. 5:26]: 4iÄvo>erum in verbo, as also Augustine says: ^.eeänt verbuin elementum, st üt Laernmentuin. And therefore we do not hold with St. Thomas and the preacher-monks, who forget the word "God's institution," and say: God has put a spiritual power into the water, which washes away sin through the water. Nor with Scoto and the barefoot monks, who teach that baptism washes away sins by the assistance of divine will, that is, that this washing away is done by God's will alone, not by word or water.

029 Of infant baptism we hold that infants ought to be baptized, because they also belong to the promised salvation which came through Christ, and the church ought to administer it to them.

VI Of the Sacrament of the Altar.

050 Of the sacrament of the altar we hold that the bread and wine of the Lord's supper are the true body and blood of Christ, and are given and received not only by pious Christians, but also by wicked Christians.

051 And that one should not give one form only. And we have no need of the high art which teaches us that under one form there is as much as under both, as the Sophists and the Council of Constance teach us. For though it be true that there is as much under one form as under both, yet the one form is not the whole order and institution instituted and commanded by Christ. And especially in God's name we condemn and curse those who not only allow both forms to stand, but also gloriously forbid, condemn, and lust as heresy, and thereby set themselves against and above Christ, our Lord and God. 2c.

022 Of transubstantiation we pay no heed to the sophistical sophistries, which teach that bread and wine leave or lose their natural nature, and that only the form and color of bread remain, and not really bread. For it rhymes most perfectly with Scripture that bread is there and remains, as St. Paul himself calls it [1 Cor. 10:16], "The bread which we break"; and, "So he eateth of the bread."

VII Of [the] keys.

(53) The keys are an office and power given to the church by Christ, to bind and loose sin, not only the gross and well known sins, but also the subtle and secret ones, which God alone knows, as it is written Ps. 19:13, "Who knoweth how much he sinneth? "and Paul himself complains that he serves the law of sin with the flesh. For it is not for us, but for God alone, to judge which, how great, and how much sins are, as it is written Ps. 143:2: "Go not into judgment with thy servant, for before thee no living man is righteous." And Paul 1 Cor. 4, 4. also saith, "I am conscious of nothing, but therefore I am not righteous."

VIII. Of the confession.

054 Because absolution, or the power of the key, is also a help and consolation against sin and evil consciences, established in the gospel by Christ, confession, or absolution, ought by no means to be omitted in the church, especially for the sake of stupid consciences, and also for the sake of the young raw people, that they may be interrogated and instructed in Christian doctrine.

55. But the recital of sins shall be free unto every man, whatsoever he will recount, or whatsoever he will not recount. For as long as we are in the flesh, we shall not lie, when we say, I am a poor man, full of sin, Rom. 7:23, "I feel another law in my members," 2c. For since the *absolutio* private comes from the office of the key, it is not to be despised, but held high and worthy, like all the other offices of the Christian church.

56. And in these matters concerning the oral, outward word, it is to be firmly adhered to that God gives no one his spirit or grace without or with the preceding outward word, so that we may guard against the enthusiasts, that is, spirits who boast of having the spirit without and before the word, without and before the word, and judge, interpret, and stretch the Scripture or oral words to their liking, as Muenzer did, and still does much today, who want to be sharp judges between the spirit and the letter, and do not know what they say or put. For the papacy is also a vain enthusiasm, in which the pope boasts that all rights are in the shrine of his heart, and that what he judges and says with his church should be spirit and law, even if it is above and against Scripture or the oral word.

(57) All this is the old devil and the old serpent, who made Adam and Heba also enthusiasts, and led them from the outward word of God to spirits and conceit, and yet did it also by other outward words. Just as our enthusiasts also condemn the outward word, and yet they themselves are not silent, but chatter and write the world full, just as if the Spirit could not come through the writing or oral word of the apostles, but through their writing and words
he ought to come. Why do they not leave their preaching and writing until the Spirit himself comes into the people, without and before their writing, as they boast that he came into them without the preaching of the Scriptures? There is no time here to argue about this, for we have done it enough.

058 For they also which believe before baptism, or are made believers in baptism, have it by outward sayings beforehand. For the ancients, when they came to their senses, must have heard beforehand, that whosoever believeth and is baptized is blessed, though they believed not till after ten years, when they received the Spirit and baptism. And Cornelius Apost. 10, 4. ff. had long before heard with deu Jews of the future Messiah, by which he was righteous before God, and his prayer and alms were acceptable in such faith (as Lucas calls him righteous and godly), and not without such previous word or hearing could believe nor be righteous. But St. Peter had to reveal to him that the Messiah (in whom he had believed until then) had now come, and his faith in the future Messiah did not keep him captive with the stubborn, unbelieving Jews, but knew that he now had to be saved by the present Messiah, and not deny Him with the Jews nor persecute Him 2c.

(59) In sum, enthusiasm has been in Adam and his children from the beginning to the end of the world, instilled and poisoned into them by the old dragon, and is the origin, strength and power of all heresy, including that of Pabstism and Mahomet. Therefore we should and must insist that God does not want to deal with us humans except through His outward Word and Sacrament. But everything that is praised by the Spirit without such Word and Sacrament is the devil. For God also wanted Most to appear first through the fiery Bufch and verbal Word [Ex. 3, 2]. And no prophet, neither Elias nor Elisaeus, except or without the ten commandments got the spirit. And John the Baptist did not conceive without Gabriel's preceding word, nor without Mary's voice leap into his mother's womb [Luc. 1, 19. 45.]. And St. Peter speaketh s2. Ep. 1, 21.ft "The prophets have not by human will, but by the Hei-.

The Holy Spirit prophesied", but as the holy people of God. But without an outward word they were not holy, much less, when they were still unholy, would the Holy Spirit have driven them to speak, for they were holy, he says, because the Holy Spirit spoke through them.

IX. From the ban.

(60) The great excommunication, as it is called by the pope, we consider to be a lawful secular punishment, and is of no concern to us ecclesiastics. But the small one, that is the right Christian ban, that manifest, stiff-necked sinners should not be allowed to come to the sacrament or other fellowship of the church until they amend and avoid sin. And the preachers should not add to this spiritual punishment or banishment the temporal punishment.

X. Of the consecration and vocation.

(61) If the bishops would be true bishops, and take care of the church and the gospel, let it be given them for love and unity's sake, but not out of necessity, that they ordain and confirm us and our preachers. But put behind them all the trappings and trappings of an unchristian nature and appearance. But since they are not true bishops, nor do they want to be, but worldly lords and princes who neither preach, nor teach, nor baptize, nor communicate, nor want to do any work or ministry of the church, and persecute and condemn those who do such ministry, the church must not remain without ministers for their sake.

Therefore, as the ancient examples of the church and the fathers teach us, we ourselves want and should ordain capable persons to such an office. And this they have neither to forbid nor to hinder us, even according to their own law. For their rights say that those who are ordained even by heretics are to be called and remain ordained. Just as St. Jerome writes of the church at Alexandria, that it was first governed without bishops, but by priests and preachers in common.

XI. Of the marriage of priests.

022 That they have forbidden marriage, and have burdened the divine estate of the priests with perpetual chastity, they have no justification for it.
nor right, but have acted as the end-christian, tyrannical, desperate boys, and thus given cause to all kinds of terrible, horrible, innumerable sin of unchastity, in which they are still stuck. Now as little as we or they have been given power to make a male into a female, or a female into a male, or both into nothing, so little have they had power to separate such creatures of God, or to forbid that they should not dwell together honestly and conjugally. Therefore, we do not want to consent to their unpleasant celibacy, nor do we want to suffer from it, but to have marriage freely, as God has ordered and instituted it. And we do not want to tear apart his work or hinder it, for St. Paul says in 1 Timothy 4:1 that it is a devilish doctrine.

XII. From the church.

63. We do not confess to them that they are the church, nor are they, nor do we wish to hear what they command or forbid under the name of the church. For, praise God, a child of seven years knows what the church is, namely, the holy believers, and the sheep who hear their shepherd's voice. For thus the children pray: I believe a holy Christian church. This holiness is not found in shirts, plates, long skirts, and other ceremonies, which are made up by them about the holy scriptures, but in the word of God and right faith.

XIII How to be justified before God, and of good works.

(64) I do not know how to change what I have taught before and since, namely, that through faith (as St. Peter says) we receive a new, pure heart, and God, for the sake of Christ, our mediator, wants to and holds us to be completely righteous and holy. Even though sin in the flesh is not yet gone or dead, he does not want to count it or know it.

055 And upon such faith, regeneration, and remission of sins, good works follow. And whatsoever is sinful or defective in them shall not be counted sin or defect, even for the same Christ's sake; but man shall be whole.

Both according to the person and his works, to be called righteous and holy, and to be, out of pure grace and mercy, poured out and spread abroad upon us in Christ. Therefore we cannot boast much of the merit of our works, when they are considered without grace and mercy, but, as it is written in 1 Cor. 1:31, "He that boasteth, let him boast of the Lord," that is, that he has a gracious God, then all is well. They also say that if good works do not follow, then faith is wrong and not right.

XIV Of monastic vows.

66 Because the vows of the monastery are contrary to the first principal article, they are to be evil. For it is they that Christ says of Matt. 24:5, LZo suva Obrwtus eto. For he that voweth a monastic life, believeth that he leadeth a better life than the common Christian man, and seeketh by his works to help not only himself, but also others to heaven: that is, to deny Christ. And they boast from their St. Thomas that monastic vows are equal to baptism. This is blasphemy.

XV. Of the statutes of men.

67. That the papists say, The statutes of men serve for the remission of sins, or merit salvation, is unchristian, and condemned, as Christ saith [Matt. 15:9.], "In vain do they serve me, because they teach such doctrines, which are nothing, but the commandments of men." Item, aä Htum 1, 14.: ^. ävorsantium veritutew. Item, that they say it is mortal sin to break such statutes, is not right either.

68. These are the articles upon which I must stand, and will stand, even unto my death, if God wills it; and I know not how to change nor yield therein. But if any man will relent, let him do so according to his conscience.

69 Lastly, there is the pope's jugglery, of foolish and childish articles, as of consecration of churches, of baptisms of bells, of altar-stones, and asking of prayers, which gave to it 2c. Which baptisms are a mockery and scorn of holy baptism, that it should not be suffered.

Seventy, Then consecrate light, palms, cakes, oats, spices, 2c. which cannot be called consecrated, nor be, but is mockery and deceit. And of the innumerable jugglerics, which we command their gods to perform, and to perform to themselves, till they be weary of it; we will be unwearied with it.

Murtinus Luther D. subscripsit.
Justus Jonas D. Rector, subscripsit manu propria.
Johannes Bugenhagen Pomer. D. subscripsit. *Caspar Creutziger* D. subscripsit.
Nicias Ambsdorf subscripsit Magdeburgensis. *Georgius Spalatinus* Aldenburgensis.

I, Philip Melanchthon, also consider these above-mentioned articles to be right and Christian. But of the pope I hold, if he would allow the gospel, that for the sake of peace and common unity of those Christians who are also under him, and would be in the future, his superiority over the bishops, which he otherwise has, is also permitted to him *jure humano* by us.

Johannes Agricola Eisleben subscripsit. *Gabriel Dydimus* [1]) subscripsit.
Ego *Urbanus Regius* D. Ecclesiarum in Ducatu Luneburgensi superintendens subscribo meo et fratrum meorum nomine, et Ecclesiae Hanopheranae.
Ego *Stephanus Agricola* Ecclesiastes Curiensis subscribo.
Et ego *Johannes Draconites* subscribo, Professor et Ecclesiastes Marburgensis.
Ego *Conradus Figenbotz* pro gloria Dei subscribo me ita credidisse, et adhuc praedico et credo firmiter, uti supra.
Andreas Osiander Ecclesiastes Nurembergen- sis, subscribo.
M. *Vitus Dieterich* Ecclesiastes Noribergensis subscribo.
Erhardus Schnepfius Concionator Stugardien- sis subscribo.
Conradus Oettingerus Phorcensis Ulrichi Ducis Concionator.
Simon Schneevveis Parochus Ecclesiae in Crailsheim.
Johannes Schlainhauffen Pastor Ecclesiae Co- tensis subscribo.
M. *Georgius Heltus* Forchemius.
M. *Adamus a Fulda*) Concionatores Hes-
M. *Antonius Corvinus* Jsiaci .

1) So also in the Jena edition instead: Oid^rnus.

Rursum ego *Johannes Bugenhagius* Pomera- nus D. subscribo nomine Magistri *Johannis Brentii*, quemadmodum a Schmalkal- dia recedens mihi mandavit ore et literis, quas his fratribus, qui subscripserunt ostendi.

Ego *Dionysius Melander* subscribo Confessioni, Apologiae et Concordiae in re Eucharistiae.

Paulus Rhodius Superintendens Stetinensis.

Gerardus Oeniken Superintendens Ecclesiae Mindensis.

Ego *Brixius Northanus* Ecclesiae Christi, quae est Susati, Minister, subscribo articulis reverendi Patris M. Lutheri, et fateor me hactenus ita credidisse et docuisse, et porro per Spiritum Christi ita crediturum et docturum.

Michael Coelius concionator Mansfeldensis , subscripsit.

M. *Petrus Geltnerus* concionator Francken- furdensis subscripsit.

Wendalinus Faber Parochus Seburgae in Mans- feldia.

Ego *Johannes Aepinus* subscribo.

Similiter et ego *Johannes Arnbsterdamus* Bre- mensis.

Ego *Fridericus Myconius*, Gothanae Ecclesiae apud Thuringos Pastor, meo et *Justi Menii Isenacensis* nomine subscribo.

Ego, *Johannes Langus* Doctor et Erphurdien- sis Ecclesiae concionator, meo et aliorum meorum in Evangelio Cooperariorum nomine, nempe:

Domini Licentiati *Ludovici Platzii* Melosingi.

Domini Magistri *Sigismundi Kirchneri.*

Domini *Wolfgangi Kismetter*.

Domini *Melchioris Weitmann.*

Domini *Johannis Tali.*

Domini *Johannis Filiani.*

Domini *Nicolai Fabri.*

Domini *Andreae Menseri*, mea manu subscribo.

Et ego *Egidius Mechlerus*, mea manu subscripsi.

1227. writing "von der Gewalt und Obrigkeit des Pabsts", compiled by the scholars at Schmalkalden before March 1, 1537; printed 1538.

This writing is an appendix to the Schmalkaldic Articles. The author of it is Melanchthon, who wrote it in Latin. But not the original text of Melanchthon, but the German version prepared by Veit Dietrich.

At the Convention in Schmalkalden, the first translation was "presented to the Estates as an official text and approved and signed by the theologians" (J. T. Müller i. e. S. DXXXVIII). Nevertheless, in the complete editions of Luther's works as well as in the Concordienbuch, the text bears the above inscription, which we have placed above it, even though Veit Dietrich expressly noted in an edition he prepared in 1541: "gestellet durch Herrn Phil. Melanchthonem vnd verdeudschet durch Vitum Dietherich" and Chytraus had this appendix printed in 1571 as a seriptum NAunoUtUomk. Yes, Selnecker, because he considered the German to be the original text, added in 1580 to a fine edition of the Concordienbnches a back translation into Latin made from the German, as has already been mentioned in the prefaces to the previous number. In the edition of 1583 he improved this error and included the original Latin text. Our writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. XII, p. 283d; in the Jena (1568), vol. VI, Bl. 533d; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1343; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 230, and in Walch. The time determination for the adoption results from No. 1237, Z5. We have revised the text according to I. T. Müller, "die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche," p. 328 ff.

I. First, the pope boasts that by divine right he is supreme over all other bishops and pastors in all Christendom.

002 Secondly, that by divine right he hath both swords; that is, that he may set and depose kings, and ordain temporal kingdoms: 2c.

003 Thirdly, he saith, that in case of loss of eternal blessedness, one is bound to believe these things. And these are the causes that the pope calls himself and boasts that he is the governor of Christ on earth.

(4) These three articles we hold and acknowledge to be false, ungodly, tyrannical, and altogether injurious to the Christian church.

005 Now, that our reason and opinion may be the more truly understood, let us first shew what it means that he boasts that he is supreme by divine right. For thus they mean that the pope is common bishop over the whole Christian church, and, as they call it, 06ouM6rriou8 6pi8oopu8, that is, by whom all bishops and pastors throughout the world are to be ordained and confirmed, that he alone has right and power to elect, order, confirm, and depose all bishops and pastors. Besides this, he also arrogates to himself the power to make all kinds of laws concerning worship, changes in the sacraments, and doctrine, and he wants his statutes and ordinances to be held equal to other articles of the Christian faith and holy scripture, as they cannot be relaxed without sin. For he wills such authority to be based on divine right and sacred law.

He wants us to prefer it to the holy Scriptures and the commandments of God. And what is still worse, he adds this: All these things should and must be believed at the loss of eternal blessedness.

(6) Therefore, first of all, we wish to indicate from the holy Gospel that the pope may not arrogate to himself any authority over other bishops and pastors by divine right.

7. i. Luc. 22, 25. 26. Christ declares with clear and bright words that no apostle should have any authority over the others. For this was the question among the disciples, when Christ had already spoken of his passion, as they disputed among themselves, who among them should be lord, and Christ after his death should decompose? But Christ punished such error of the apostles, and taught them, that it should not be so, that they should be lords, and have dominion; but that they should be apostles at the same time, and preach the gospel in the same office. Wherefore he saith also, "The worldly kings reign, and the mighty are called gracious lords: but ye are not so: but the greatest among you shall be as the least, and the chiefest as a servant." Here it is seen, when they are contrasted, that he will have no dominion among the apostles.

8. II. As this also appears from the other similitude, where Christ [Matth. 18, 2. f.], in the same discourse of the government, setteth a young child in the midst of the apostles, that he might shew, that, as a child desireth no government, neither is subject to it; so also the apostles, and all that should lead the word, should neither seek nor need government.

9. iii. Joh. 20, 21. Christ sends his disciples at the same time to preach, without any distinction, that one should have neither more nor less authority than the other. For thus he saith, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." The words are clear and plain, that he sends each one just as he was sent, so that no one can boast of any special authority or power over the others.

10. IV. Gal. 2, 7. f. St. Paul clearly shows that he was neither ordained, nor confirmed, nor confirmed by Peter; nor does he recognize Peter in any way as if he had to be confirmed by him; and he especially denies this, that his calling is not at all based on St. Peter's authority. Now he is said to have ever recognized Peter as a superior, when Peter would otherwise have received such authority from Christ, as the pope boasts without any reason.

011 Wherefore Paul also saith, that he had preached the gospel freely for a long time, before he had discussed it with Petro and the rest. Item, he saith, "He careth not for them which have the reputation of whom they were. For God does not respect the reputation of persons or men. But unto me they that were of reputation did no commandment.

012 Now because Paul clearly testifies that he did not seek permission of Peter to preach, even when he last came to him, we have a certain doctrine that the ministry of preaching is derived from the common profession of the apostles, and that it is not necessary that all of this one person should have Peter's profession or confirmation.

13. 1 Cor. 3, 6. ff. Paul makes all church servants equal and teaches that the church is more than the servants. Therefore it cannot be said with any truth that Peter had any authority or power before other apostles over the church and all other church servants. For thus saith he, "All things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas:" that is, neither Peter, nor any other ministers of the word, may ascribe to them any authority or supremacy over the church.

014 Let no man burden the church with his own statutes; but let it be said here, that no authority, nor reputation, shall be more authoritative than the word of God. Let not the authority of Cephas be exalted above that of the other apostles, as they used to say at that time, Cephas thus holdeth, who is the chiefest apostle; therefore let Paul and others also so hold. Nay, saith Paul, and taketh off Petro's little hat, that his stature and authority should be higher than that of the other apostles, or of the church.

From the Histories.

(15) The Council of Nicaea decided that the bishop of Alexandria should govern the churches of the Orient, and the bishop of Rome the *suburban* churches, that is, those which belonged to Rome in the Occident. Here the Roman bishop's power first increased, not by divine but by human rights, as was decreed in the Concilio Niceno. If, then, the Roman bishop had been supreme by divine right, the Council of Nicaea would not have had the power to take such authority away from him and to transfer it to the bishop of Alexandria; indeed, all the bishops in the Orient would have ever desired the bishop of Rome to ordain and confirm them.

16 VII. It has been decided in the Nicene Council that each church may appoint a bishop for itself, in the presence of one or more bishops.

Bishops who lived in the vicinity. This was held not only in the Orient for a long time, but also in other and Latin churches, as is clearly expressed in Cyprian and Augustine. For thus saith Cyprian spist. 4. aä Oornsliuin: Therefore it is to be kept diligently according to the commandment of God and the Apostles' usage, as it is kept with us, and almost in all countries, that to the congregation where a bishop is to be elected, other bishops situated near the place are to come together, and in the presence of the whole congregation, who know each one's walk and life, the bishop is to be elected; As we see, then, that in the election of Sabini, our fellow bishop, it also happened that, after the election of the whole congregation and the council of some bishops who were present, he was elected bishop, and the hands were laid upon him 2c.

017 This manner is called by Cyprian a divine manner and apostolic usage, and it is a witness that it was so kept almost in all countries at that time.

(18) Since neither the oräirmtio nor eonkrrantio was then sought from the bishop of Rome by the great part of the world, in all the churches of Greece and Latin, it is clear that the church at that time did not give such authority and dominion to the bishop of Rome.

Nineteenth, And such a sovereignty and dominion is altogether impossible. For how could it be possible that one bishop should govern all the churches of all Christendom, or that the churches, so far from Rome, could have all their ministers ordained by one alone?

020 For this is ever certain, that the kingdom of Christ is divided throughout the whole world. Even to this day there are many Christian assemblies of the church in the Orient, which have ministers who are neither ordained nor confirmed by the pope nor his own. Now, since such authority, which the pope, contrary to all Scripture, arrogates to himself, is quite impossible, and the churches of the world have now and then neither recognized nor used the pope for such a lord, it is evident that such authority is not instituted by Christ, and does not come from divine rights.

(21) (VIII) Many conciliar meetings have been called and held of old in which the bishop of Rome did not sit as supreme, as he did at Nicaea and in other places; this is also an indication that the church at that time did not recognize the pope as a supreme ruler over all churches and bishops.

22 IX St. Jerome says: If one wants to speak of power and dominion, je ordis is more than urds, that is, world is more than the

City of Rome. Therefore, whether he be the bishop of Rome, or of Eugubia, or of Constantinople, or of Rhegium, or of Alexandria, both dignity and office are the same 2c.

23. X. Item, Gregory writes to the patriarch of Alexandria, and bequeaths to him that he should not call him the supreme bishop; and in the regalia he says: it was offered in the Concilio of Chalcedon to the bishop of Rome that he should be the supreme bishop, but he did not accept it.

24 XI. Lastly, how can the pope be over the church according to divine rights, since the election is with the church, and this has even become customary in time, that the Roman bishops have been confirmed by the emperors.

025 Here are some sayings against us, as Matth. 16, 18: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church. Item [Matth. 16, 19.]: "To you I will give the keys." Item [John 21:16], "Feed my sheep." And the like more. But because this whole business has been diligently and sufficiently traced by ours before, we want to have the same Scriptures raised here, and to answer briefly this time, how the sayings mentioned are to be understood in principle.

026 In all these sayings Peter is a common person, and speaketh not for himself alone, but for all the apostles. This the texts clearly prove. For Christ does not ask Peter alone, but says, "Who do ye say that I am?" And that Christ here speaks to Peter alone, as, "Unto thee will I give the keys," item, "What thou shalt bind," 2c., the same he speaks elsewhere to the whole multitude, "All that ye shall bind upon earth," 2c. Item, in John [Cap. 20, 23.], "Whom ye forgive sin," 2c. These words testify that the keys were given to all together, and that they were all sent to preach at the same time.

027 Of these things it must be confessed, that the keys belong not to one man only, but are given to the whole church, as may be sufficiently proved by clear and certain causes. For as the promise of the gospel belongs certainly and without means to the whole church, so the keys belong without means to the whole church, since the keys are nothing else than the office by which such promise is communicated to everyone who desires it; as then it is evident in the work that the church has power to ordain ministers. And Christ saith in these words, "What ye shall bind," 2c., and signifieth to whom he hath given the keys, namely, to the church: "Where two or three

are gathered together in my name." 2c. Item, Christ gives the supreme and final judgment 1) to the church, saying, "Tell the church."

028 From this it follows that in such sayings not Peter alone, but the whole company of the apostles, is meant. Therefore, in no way can such sayings be used as a basis for a special power of authority, which Peter had or should have had before other apostles. But when it is said, "And upon this rock I will build my church," it must be confessed that the church is not built upon the authority of any man, but is built upon the ministry of the confession which Peter makes, namely, that Jesus is the Christ and the Son of God. For this reason he also addresses him as a minister of this ministry, since this confession and teaching is to go within, and says, "Upon this rock," that is, upon this preaching and preaching ministry.

029 Now the ministry of preaching is not bound to any place or person, as the ministry of the Levites was bound in the law; but it is spread throughout the whole world, and is in the place where God gives his gifts, apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, 2c. And if the person does nothing at all to such a word and ministry, commanded by Christ, let him preach and teach it whoever he will. Where there are hearts that believe it and keep it, to them be done as they hear and believe it.

030 In this manner many ancient teachers interpret this saying, not of the person of Peter, but of the office and confession, as Origen, Ambrose, Cyprian, Hilarius, Beda. Now that in other places it is said, "Feed my sheep," item, "Peter, lovest thou me also better than these?" [It does not follow that Peter should have more authority than other apostles, but that he is called to "feed them," that is, to preach the gospel, or to govern the church by the gospel; which applies to other apostles as well as to Peter.

(31) The other article is even clearer than the first. For Christ gave his disciples only spiritual authority, that is, he commanded them to preach the gospel, to proclaim the forgiveness of sins, to administer the sacraments, and to banish the ungodly, without bodily authority, by the word, and did not command them at all to wield the sword, nor to appoint or take temporal rule, to set kings, or to depose them. For thus saith Christ [Matt. 28:12], Go ye, and teach that they keep that which I have commanded.

1) Here the memorable mistranslation has taken place, which is thought of in the introduction to the previous number: tereulurn instead of: sudieiuna.

I have commanded you." Item [John 20:21], "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you."

Thirty-two: Now is the day that Christ was not sent to wield the sword, or to rule in a worldly manner, as he himself saith [John 18:36], "My kingdom is not of this world." And Paul saith [2 Cor. 1:24.], "We rule not your faith." Item ^2 Cor. 10, 4.]: "Our armour and weapons of war are not carnal" 2c. Now that Christ in his passion was crowned with thorns, and brought forth in a purple robe, and thus mocked, was all an interpretation, that in time the true spiritual kingdom of Christ should be despised, and his gospel suppressed, and another external kingdom set up instead of it, under the appearance of spiritual power. Therefore the OoQ8titntio Horüiueii VIII. and the eap. OmQ68, äi8t. 22, and the like other sayings more, are altogether false and impious, that they may maintain that the pope, by divine right, is a lord over the kingdoms of the world. How then, from such false delusion, first terrible darkness came about in the church, and after that terrible destruction and tumult in Europe. For the ministry of preaching was abandoned, and the doctrine of the faith and the spiritual kingdom of Christ was completely extinguished, and the outward character and statutes of the pope were taken for Christian righteousness.

033 After this the popes also came, seizing principalities and kingdoms, installing and removing kings, and plaguing almost all the kings of Europe, especially the German emperors, with unjust excommunications and wars; sometimes so that they might seize the cities of the Welsh country, sometimes so that they might make the bishops of Germany their subjects, and confer the bishoprics themselves, which the emperor alone has the right to confer. Yes, that is more, in the Clementina it says: if the empire stands alone, then the pope is the rightful heir to it.

(34) Thus the pope has not only unrighteously taken upon himself temporal rule, contrary to God's clear command, but has wanted to be like a tyrant over all kings. Although this kind of action on the part of the popes is entirely criminal, it is the most fearful thing about it, that he covers up such wantonness and iniquity with the command of Christ, and the keys point to worldly rule, and are attached to such an ungodly and shameful opinion of the salvation of souls, since he says: "Let the people believe it for the salvation of their souls that the pope has such power from divine rights.

035 Now, because such abominable errors have entirely darkened the doctrine of the faith and kingdom of Christ, it will not suffer in any way that we should be silent concerning it; for it is seen in the work before our eyes what great harm has come to the church from it.

(36) Thirdly, it must also be known whether the pope already has the primacy and supremacy by divine right, that no obedience is owed to those popes who pretend to false worship, idolatry, and false teaching against the gospel. Yea, the more is, that such popes also, and such a kingdom, should be thought anathema and accursed; as Paul plainly saith [Gal. 1:8.], "If an angel come down from heaven, and preach any other gospel than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." And in Acts it is written [Cap. 5, 29.], "obey God rather than men," as the spiritual right themselves say, "A pope who is a heretic is not to be obeyed.

037 The high priest in the law of Moses had the office of the divine rights; yet none were bound to obey when they acted contrary to the word of God, as is seen that Jeremiah and other prophets separated themselves from the priests. So the apostles separated themselves from Caipha, and owed him no obedience. Now it is a fact of the day that the popes and their followers want to maintain and practice ungodly doctrine and false worship. So also all the vices prophesied of the Antichrist in the holy Scriptures rhyme 1) with the kingdom of the pope and his members.

038 For Paul, when he paints the Antichrist [2 Thess. 2:3], calls him "an adversary of Christ, which exalteth himself above all things that are called God, or God's service, so that he setteth himself in the temple of God, as a god, and pretendeth that he is God. Here Paul speaks of one who reigns in the church, and not of worldly kings; and calls him "an abominable man of Christ," because he will devise another doctrine, and that he will arrogate to himself all these things, as if he did them by divine rights.

039 Now first of all this is true, that the pope reigneth in the church, and hath usurped such dominion under the appearance of spiritual power. For he bases himself on these words, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Second, that Pabst's doctrine is contrary to all the ways of the gospel. Thirdly, that he pretends to be God is to be noted in three parts.

1) Müller: "weisgesagt".

(40) First, that he presumes to change the doctrine of Christ and the proper worship instituted by God Himself, and wants to keep his doctrine and his own invented worship as if God Himself had commanded it. Second, that he arrogates to himself the power to bind and release, not only in this temporal life here, but also in that life. Thirdly, that the pope will not suffer the church or any other person to judge him, but that his power shall be over all concilia and the whole church. But this is to make oneself a god, if one does not want to suffer either [the] church or anyone's judgment. In the end, the pope has defended such errors and ungodly beings with unjust violence and murder, so that he has had all those killed who did not keep all moderation with him.

041 Therefore, since this is the case, let all Christians be on their guard against such ungodly doctrine, blasphemy, and unrighteous despotism, but let them depart from the pope and his members or associates, as from the kingdom of antichrist, and curse it, as Christ commanded [Matt. 7:15], "Beware of false prophets. And Paul commandeth [Gal. 1:8.] that false preachers should be shunned, and cursed as an abomination. 2 Cor. 6:14. he saith, "Pull not ye on the strange yoke with unbelievers. For what fellowship hath light with darkness?" 2c. It is hard to separate oneself from so many countries and people, and to lead a special doctrine. But here is God's command that everyone should be careful and not be in agreement with those who teach unrighteous doctrine, or who intend to maintain it with desolation.

042 Therefore our consciences are well excused and assured. For we see before our eyes the great errors that go into the kingdom of Pabst, and the Scriptures cry out with all their might that such errors are the doctrine of the devil and of Antichrist. The idolatry in the abuse of the masses is evident, which, besides being good for nothing else, are abused for shameful enjoyment and profiteering. The doctrine of penance has been entirely falsified and corrupted by the pope and his followers. For thus they teach: Sin is forgiven for our own works. And attach this to it, that we should nevertheless doubt whether sins are forgiven. They do not teach that sin is forgiven without merit for Christ's sake, and that forgiveness of sins is obtained through faith in Christ.

043 By such doctrine they take away the glory of Christ, and deprive the consciences of right and certain consolation, and deprive the right divine things of their own.

The most important thing is the exercise of faith, which struggles with unbelief and despair over the promise of the Gospel.

044 Likewise they have also obscured the doctrine of sin, and have devised their own statutes, how all sin ought to be told and confessed; from which hath followed many errors, and at last despair.

045 Then they devised their own satisfaction, by which the good pleasure and merit of Christ was also obscured. From this followed the indulgence, which is a lie, and is devised for the sake of money alone. What abuses and abominable idolatries have followed from the invocation of the saints! What shame and vice have come from the prohibition of marriage! How has the gospel been so darkened by the teaching of vows! It has been taught that such vows are righteousness in the sight of God, and merit forgiveness of sins; that therefore the merit of Christ is drawn to the statutes of men, and the doctrine of faith is utterly destroyed.

046 And they have praised their foolish and frivolous statutes for right worship and perfection, preferring them to the works which God requires and ordains of every man in his profession. Now it must not be considered that these are minor errors, for they take away Christ's glory and condemn souls; therefore they must not be allowed to go unpunished.

47 To these errors are added two great and grievous sins. The first is that the pope defends and wants to preserve such errors by force, with unreasonable ferocity and cruel tyranny.

(48) The other, that he takes away the judgment of the church, and will not ordinarily have such religious matters judged. Yes, he wants to be more than all conciliation, and to have the power to tear up and annul everything that has been decided in conciliation, as the canons sometimes impudently state, and the popes have done so even more impudently, as many examples testify.

49. 9. Huasst. 3 The canon saith, No man shall judge the supreme throne: for neither emperor nor priest, neither king nor people, judge the judge. So the pope acts like a tyrant on both sides, that he defends such errors with violence and despotism, and does not want to suffer any judges. And this other thing does more harm than all the madness. For as soon as the church is deprived of its right judgment and knowledge
it is not possible that false doctrine or unrighteous worship can be controlled, and therefore many souls must be lost.

(50) Therefore, God-fearing people should well consider such abominable errors of the pope and his tyranny, and first know that such errors are to be fled, and the right doctrine is to be accepted for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Then, that one should consider what a grave and great sin it is to support the Pope's unjust rage, since so many pious Christians are so miserably murdered, whose blood God will undoubtedly not allow to go unsmelled.

(51) Kings and princes, as the most prominent members of the church, are especially to help and see that all kinds of error are removed, and that the consciences are taught rightly. As God especially admonishes the kings and princes to such an office in Psalm 2, v. 10: "O kings, let yourselves be instructed; and ye judges of the earth, let yourselves be chastened." For this is to be the foremost care of kings and great lords, that they diligently promote God's honor.

052 Wherefore it were ever unreasonable for them to use their power and authority to preserve such abominable idolatry and other innumerable vices, and so miserably to slay the pious Christians.

053 And in case the pope should immediately hold a concilium, how can the church be helped against such pieces, if the pope will not suffer anything to be concluded against him, or others, than those who before by dreadful oaths, even God's word not excepted, are to attend him, to judge in church matters?

(54) But since the judgments in councils are judgments of the church, and not of the pope, it behooves kings and princes not to concede to the pope such arbitrariness, but to see to it that the church is not deprived of the power to judge, and that everything is judged according to the holy Scriptures and the word of God. And just as Christians are obliged to punish all other errors of the pope, so they are also obliged to punish the pope himself, if he wants to flee or resist the right judgment and true knowledge of the church.

055 Therefore, although the pope by divine right has the primacy or supremacy, yet no obedience is to be rendered to him, because he desires to maintain false worship and another doctrine contrary to the gospel: yea, out of necessity he is to be set against as the right antichrist. The errors of the pope, and how great they are, are seen in the day.

(56) This is also how we see the incitement which he uses against the devout Christians. This is the command and word of God, that we should flee idolatry, false doctrine, and unrighteous desolation. Therefore, every pious Christian has important, necessary, and bright reasons enough for not obeying the pope. And such necessary causes are a great comfort to all Christians, against all manner of shame and disgrace, which they lay upon us, that we may give offence, and cause division and dissension.

(57) But those who hold with the pope, and defend his doctrine and false worship, defile themselves with idolatry and blasphemous doctrine, and bring upon themselves all the blood of the pious Christians whom the pope and his followers persecute; they also hinder the glory of God, and the blessedness of the church, because they defend such errors and vices before all the world and all their descendants to their hurt.

Of the power and jurisdiction of bishops.

(58) In our Confession and Apologia we have generally stated what was to be said of church authority. For the gospel gives to those who are to preside over the churches, that they should preach the gospel, forgive sins, and administer the sacraments. And over this it gives them jurisdiction, that those who lie in public vices are to be banished, and those who want to amend are to be released and absolved.

59 Now everyone, even our adversaries, must confess that all who preside over the churches have this command at the same time; they are called pustores or pr68d^tsri or bishops. Wherefore also Jerome speaks with bright words: that 6pi860pi and Pv68d^t6ri are not distinguished, but that all parish rulers are at the same time bishops and priests, and allegories the text of Pauli uä 1Ltum, as he writes to Tito [Cap. 1, 5.], "I left thee therefore at Creta, that thou shouldest appoint the cities to and fro with priests"; and calls such afterwards bishops: "There shall be a bishop of a woman's husband." So Peter and John call themselves priests.

(60) After this Jerome says further, But that one alone should be chosen, having others under him, was done to prevent the division, that one should not take a church here, and another there, and so the church be divided. For in Alexandria (he says), from Marco the Evangelist to Heraclam and Dionysium, the *presbyteri* have always had one church.

chosen from among them, and held higher, and called sxisooxurri (a bishop); as a

The bishops also choose one of them, who is able, to be their captain, and call him archbishop. For, tell me, what does a bishop do more than any presbyter, without ordaining others to the church office? 2c.

- 61 Here Jerome teaches that such a difference between bishops and pastors is due solely to human order, as is also seen in the work. For the office and command are one and the same, and afterwards ordination alone made the difference between bishops and pastors. For so it was ordained, that a bishop also ordained men to the ministry in other churches.

022 But since by divine right there is no distinction between bishops and pastors or parish priests, if a parish priest ordains in his church some competent persons to the church offices, there is no doubt that such ordination is valid and right according to divine right.

63 Therefore, because the ordained bishops persecute the gospel, and refuse to ordain competent persons, any church in this case has good reason and right to ordain its own ministers.

(64) For where the church is, there is always the command to preach the gospel. For this reason the churches must retain the power to require, elect, and ordain ministers; and such power is a gift actually given to the church by God, and cannot be taken away from the church by any human power. As St. Paul testifies in Eph. 4:8, where he says, "He ascended on high, and gave gifts to men." And among such gifts as are proper to the church, he enumerates pastors and teachers, and hangs upon them to be given for the edification of the body of Christ. Therefore it follows that where there is a true church, there is also the power to elect and ordain church ministers, just as, in case of need, even a bad layman can absolve another and become his pastor. As St. Augustine writes in a history, that two Christians were together in a ship, and one baptized the other, and thereafter was absolved by him.

65There belong the sayings of Christ, which testify that the keys are given to the whole church, and not to some particular persons, as the text says, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." 2c.

(66) Lastly, this is also confirmed by the saying of Peter, when he saith [1 Cap. 2:9], "Ye are the royal priesthood." These words actually refer to the true church, which, because it is the priesthood

If the Church alone has the priesthood, it must also have the power to elect and ordain church servants.

67 The common custom of the church also testifies to this. For in ancient times the people elected parish priests and bishops, and the bishop, sitting in the same place or in the vicinity, came and confirmed the elected bishop by laying on his hands, and at that time the ordination was nothing other than such confirmation.

After that, other ceremonies were added, as Dionysius recounts several of them. But the same book of Dionysius is a new poem under a false title, just as the book of Clementis has a false title, and is made by a bad boy long after the elements.

069 And after these things were added unto the last, that the bishop said unto them whom he consecrated, I give thee power to sacrifice for the living and for the dead: but this also is not written in Dionysius.

(70) From this it is seen that the church has the power to elect and ordain ministers. Therefore, if the bishops are either heretics or do not want to ordain capable persons, the churches are obligated before God, according to divine law, to ordain pastors and church servants for themselves.

011 Whether this be called disorder or division, let it be known that the ungodly doctrine and tyranny of the bishops are guilty of it. For thus Paul gives Gal. 1:7, that all bishops, who either teach unrighteously themselves, or defend unrighteous doctrine and false worship, are to be counted as wicked men.

(72) Hitherto we have spoken of ordination, which alone made any distinction between bishops and priests, as Jerome says. Therefore, it is not necessary to discuss the other episcopal offices much, since one would want to speak of confirmation, baptism with bells, and other such games, which are used almost exclusively by bishops. But the jurisdiction is still to be discussed.

(73) It is certain that all parish priests should have the common jurisdiction to banish those who lie in public vices, and that the bishops, as tyrants, have taken it to themselves and disgracefully abused it for their own benefit. For the bishops have used them in an unpleasant way, and have plagued the people, either out of avarice or out of some other kind of spite, and have banished them without any prior legal knowledge. But what kind of tyranny is this, that an official in a city should have the power, solely according to his own will, without legal knowledge, to plague and force the people with the ban in this way?

(74) Now they have used such constraint in all manner of things, and have not only not punished the right vices with it, since the condemnation should follow upon them, but also in other small matters, where one has not fasted or celebrated rightly; so that they have sometimes punished adultery, and then also often reviled and defamed innocent people. For because such accusations are very important and serious, no one should ever be condemned without a legal and proper judgment in the case.

75 Since the bishops, as tyrants, have usurped and shamefully abused such jurisdiction, and since there are other good reasons for disobeying them, it is right that this stolen jurisdiction should be taken from them again and given to the parish priests to whom it belongs by Christ's command, and that it should be used properly for the betterment of the people and for the increase of the glory of God.

(Seventy-six) Then there is a zuriseietio in those matters which, according to papal law, belong to the korum seelssiustieum, or ecclesiastical court, as especially matrimonial matters are. The bishops have brought such jurisdiction to themselves only from human order, which is nevertheless not very old, as can be seen from ex 6oäi66 and QovsIIls -lustiniuni that matrimonial matters were at that time handled by secular authority, and secular authority is obligated to judge matrimonial matters, especially where the bishops judge unjustly or are negligent, as the canons also testify.

(77) For this reason, the bishops are not to be obeyed on account of such jurisdiction; and because they have made some unjust statutes in matrimonial matters, and need them in the courts which they possess, the temporal authorities are also obliged, on this account, to appoint such courts differently.

(78) For if the prohibition of marriage between spouses is unlawful, it is also unlawful that, when two are divorced, the innocent party should not marry again. It is also unlawful that where two are divorced, the innocent party should not remarry, and that, in general, all marriages that take place secretly and by fraud, without the knowledge and consent of the parents, should be valid and enforceable. The prohibition of priestly marriages is also unjust.

(79) There are other such things in their statutes, so that the consciences have been confused and troubled, which it is not necessary to tell here, and it is enough that it is known that in matrimonial matters many unjust and unfair things have been commanded by the pope, from which temporal authorities have reason enough to order such courts differently for themselves.

80 Because then the bishops who are attached to the pope have ungodly doctrine and false godliness.

They have defended the ministries by force, and do not want to ordain pious preachers, but help the pope to murder them, and have taken away the jurisdiction from the parish priests, and have used them only like tyrants for their own benefit.

81) Lastly: Because they also act so inequitably and unjustly in matrimonial matters, the churches have great and necessary cause enough that they should not recognize them as bishops. But they, the bishops, should consider that their goods and incomes are endowed as alms, so that they may serve the church and carry out their office the more nobly, as the regula says: Beneficium äatur propter (Mcium.

(82) Therefore they cannot in good conscience use such alms, and thereby deprive the church, which needs such goods for the maintenance of the ecclesiastics, and to raise up learned men, and to provide for some poor, and especially for the appointment of the marriage courts. For there are so many strange cases that a separate court would be needed. But such a court cannot be appointed without the help of these estates. St. Peter speaks s2. Ep. 2:13]: The false bishops of the churches will need goods and alms for their pleasures, and will leave the ministry. Because the Holy Spirit is dreadfully threatening them, the bishops should know that they must also give account to God for this robbery.

List of the Doctors and Preachers who have signed the Confession and Apologia. Anno 1337.

De mandato illustrissimorum Principum, et Ordinum, ac Civitatum evangelii doctrinam profitentium, relegimus articulos Confessionis exhibitae Imperatori in conventu Augustano, et Dei beneficio omnes Concionatores, qui in hoc Smalcaldensi conventu interfuerunt, consentientes profitentur, se juxta articulos Confessionis et Apologiae sentire, et docere in suis ecclesiis, profitentur etiam, se articulum de primatu Papae et ejus potestate, et de potestate et jurisdictione episcoporum, qui hic Principibus in hoc conventu exhibitus est Smalcaldiae, approbare. Ideo nomina sua subscribunt.

Ego *Johannes Bugenhagius Pomeranus D.* subscribo articulis Confessionis Augustanae, Apologiae et articulo de papatu Smalcaldiae Principibus oblato.

Et ego *Urbanus Regius D. Ecclesiarum, in Ducatu Luneburgensi Superintendens*, subscribo.

Nicolaus Ambsdorff Magdeburg ensis subscripsit.

Georgius Spalatinus Aldenburgensis subscripsit.

Andreas Osiander subscribo.

M. Vitus Dietrich Noribergensis subscripsit.

Stephanus Agricola Ecclesiastes Curiensis manu propria subscripsit.

Johannes Draconites Marburgensis subscripsit.

Conradus Figenbotz subscripsit per omnia.

Martinus Bucerus.

Erhardus Schnepfius subscribo.

Paulus Rhodius Condonator in *Stettin.*

Gerardus Oeniken Ecclesiae Mindensis Minister.

Brixius Northanus Susatiensis Condonator.

Simon Schneeweis Parochus Crailsheim.

Rursum ego *Pomeranus* subscribo nomine magistri *Johannis Brentii*, quemadmodum mihi mandavit.

Philippus Melanthon subscribit manu propria.

Antonius Corvinus subscribit tam suo, quam *Adami a Fulda* nomine manu propria.

Johannes Schlainhauffen subscribit manu propria.

M. Georgius Heltus Forchemius.

Michael Caelius Condonator Mansfeldensis.

Petrus Geltnerus Condonator Ecclesiae Fran- kenfurdensis.

Dionysius Melander subscripsit.

Paulus Fagius Argentinensis.

Wendalinus Faber Parochus Seburgae in *Mansfeldia.*

Conradus Oettingerus Phorcensis, Udalrici Ducis Wirt. Condonator.

Bonifadus Wolfart verbi Minister Ecclesiae Augustanae.

Johannes Aepinus Hamburgensis Superintendens subscripsit propria manu.

Id ipsum facit *Johannes Amsterdamus Bre- mensis.*

Johannes Fontanus, inferioris Hassiae Superintendens subscripsit.

Fridericus Myconius pro se et *Justo Menio* subscripsit.

Ambrosius Blaurerus.

Legi, et iterum atque iterum relegi Confessionem et Apologiam ab illustrissimo Principe Electore Saxoniae et aliis Principibus ac Statibus Romani Imperii Caesareae Majestati Augustae oblatam. Legi item Formulam Concordiae in re Sacramentaria, Wittebergae cum D. Bucero et aliis institutam. Legi etiam

articulos a D. Martino Luthero, Praeceptore nostro observandissimo, in Smalcaldensi conventu Germanica lingua conscriptos, et libellum de papatu, et de potestate ac jurisdictione episcoporum. Ac pro mediocritate mea judico, haec omnia convenire cum sacra Scriptura, et cum sententia verae *xat ^01^* catholicae ecclesiae. Quanquam autem in tanto numero doctissimorum virorum, qui nunc Smalcaldiae convenerunt, minimum omnium me agnoscam, tamen quia mihi non licet exitum hujus conventus expectare, obsecro te, clarissime vir, D. Johannes Bugenhagi, Pater in Christo observande, ut humanitas tua nomen meum, si opus fuerit, omnibus illis, quae supra commemoravi, adseribat. Me enim ita sentire, confiteri et perpetuo docturum esse per JEsum Christum, Dominum nostrum, hoc meo chirographo testor. Actum Smalcaldiae, 23. Februarii, Anno 1537.

Johannes Brentius, Ecclesiastes Hallensis.

1228 The preachers' petition to the Protestant estates assembled in Schmalkalden. February 24, 1537.

This writing is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 369; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. III6; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 194; and in the Oorp. Rsk., vol. ill, 288.

To the most illustrious, noble, highborn princes and rulers, and their kinsmen of the Christian understanding, assembled at Schmalkalden, our most gracious and gracious lords.

1. the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ beforehand. Most illustrious, most noble, most highborn sovereigns and princes, most gracious and most gracious lords! Since it is public what costs, work and great peril your churonic and princely graces, together with their kinsmen, are bearing for the preservation of the Holy Gospel, from which it may well be inferred that your churonic and princely sovereigns and other estates seek nothing else in this highly important matter than to promote and spread the glory of God, we hope that your churonic and princely sovereigns, together with their kinsmen, will support our subordinates in this matter. G. will graciously pass our submissive reminder (which also concerns the order of the churches and God's honor), as I then ask in submission that your chur- and F. G. graciously accept this document of ours, which is based on a faithful and simple opinion. For although we know to some extent that in some princes

We are of the opinion that in many towns and cities the ecclesiastics are adequately provided for, and that it is seriously observed that they are provided for, that the parish priests and schools are appointed from church and monastery property, and that the hospitals are improved, so that men must confess that such property is not used for the help of the church in any other way than in a Christian way: Nevertheless, we find that in many places there is a great lack in this, namely, that the ecclesiastics and schools are very poorly provided for, or are not appointed at all and are desolate, and yet not only the authorities, but also private individuals, take possession of monastery and church properties of their liking. Now Your Electoral and Princely Grace sees that especially at this time it is extremely necessary to provide for the churches and schools in such a way that one can have capable persons. In addition, the common people do little of their own accord, and such gifts must be and remain princely eleemosyna. As also the holy Scriptures praise Jehoshaphat and Ezechiam, and several other kings, on account of such provision. And the text speaketh plainly, that it should be done for this cause, that the priests of the doctrine may wait.

(2) Now your electors and princes will find, as we have learned in several places, that something proper is needed for such an order. Your Grace will find in the works, as we have experienced in several places, that something proper is needed for such an order, that this stock of church and monastery goods is well needed for it. Thus these goods, gifts, and endowments are assigned to the church for the preservation of religion, even though many are misused out of error. Therefore, even though the authorities are responsible for these goods and may use them with moderation, they should first of all provide the church offices with the necessary funds. For God has commanded the princes and rulers, above all, to administer, protect, and promote proper church services, and also to ordain the provision of the church servants.

(3) It is also easy to understand how difficult it will be, after the dispersal of these present goods, to bring together new ones, and what damage must first be done before one can again come to another supply.

(4) Therefore, we humbly request that your Electoral and Princely Grace, for God's sake, take heed of the great need in this case. For God's sake, let us heed the great need in this case, and admonish the estates that the church and monastery estates be especially used and preserved for the order of the churches and schools, for the praise of God, for the benefit of the land and the people, and that dispersion (which is not only very harmful to the church, but also to the authorities and the lands) be prevented.

5 God has bestowed upon your electoral and princely graces. Grace in

the highest honor that the secular government should have, namely to promote the right doctrine and to protect the right churches, thereby serving many pious Christians throughout the world. This honor and vocation Your Electoral and Princely Graces wish to consider. Grace, and the more diligently preserve the doctrine and churches. We also ask in submission that you graciously understand this simple writing of ours, which we consider necessary for the sake of our conscience. May God always graciously protect your sovereign and princely graces. God always graciously preserve your sovereign and princely Grace for His praise and for their blessedness, and for the protection and comfort of poor Christianity. Date Schmalkalden, on the day of St. Matthew [24 Feb], Anno 1537.

Ew. chur- und prinstl. Grace.

subservient and willing servants prebendaries assembled here.

1229. Joh. Aurifaber's news of the convent at Schmalkalden.

This writing is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 378; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1226; and in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 77.

(1) On the fifteenth day of February a meeting was held at Schmalkalden, where the protesting estates were all described for the sake of the council, and the princes and sovereigns, and also the cities, brought their most distinguished theologians with them, as D. Mart. Luthern, Philippum Melanchthonem, D. Pomeranum, Martinum Bucerum, Andream Osiandrum, and others in great numbers more. On this day, Emperor Carln sent Matthias Held, Vice-Chancellor, to the protesting Estates, who had taken great action with the Estates on behalf of the Emperor's Majesty; so the Pope also sent his legation there for the Concilii.

2. at this day were in their own persons: Duke John Frederick, Elector, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Duke Ernst and Francis, Princes of Lüneburg, Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, Duke Philip of Pomerania, Prince Wolf, George and Joachim of Anhalt, Count Gebhard and Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, and the envoys of the imperial cities in large numbers, and on the 6th day of March the electors and princes, also the envoys of the imperial cities, departed from this day.

(3) The theologians at this day also discussed with the greatest earnestness and diligence what they finally wanted to base and maintain in the Concilio, and several articles were written by Martin Luther as a summary of Christian doctrine,

and was approved by all the theologians assembled there and signed with their own hand; which booklet then went out in public print in the 38th year and was called the Schmalkaldic Articles.

4th It was also ordered by the sovereigns and princes on this day to the theologians that they should read through the Augsburg Confession and Apology (delivered by Emperor Carln at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1530) again with diligence, and if anything was found in it that was not in accordance with holy divine Scripture, or if they did not teach such things in their churches, that it should be changed, and they, the theologians, signed the Confession and Apology anew with their own hand. This signature took place on the 24th day of Februarii. Martinus Bucerus in particular signed the Augsburg Confession and Apology on behalf of the preaching ministry and churches in Strasbourg.

1230. council of the church of a committee of several cardinals, Pope Paul the Third written and delivered by his command. With a preface and glosses by Martin Luther. 1538.

The Concilium announced by Pope Paul III to Mantua did not take place, because the Duke of Mantua considered a military garrison in the city necessary for the Concilium, and demanded a contribution from the Pope for its maintenance, which the latter refused. Now the pope moved the council to Vicenza, and it was to begin there in May 1538. In order to avert the suspicion that he was not serious about the reformation of the church, he issued an order in 1537 to the cardinals, who had signed the final document, to draw up a council on the improvements to be introduced in the church. In the same year, this writing came into the hands of Johannes Sturm of Strasbourg, who published it (1537) in Latin with notes; a German translation of it had also appeared before Luther began to publish it (Luther's letter to Hausmann of Feb. 23, 1538). In Rome this writing was printed in 1538 under the title: 6onsüium cko srusnckнnckn seelssin nu8pieÜ8 I>nuU III. 6on86riptum, but in 1559 it was placed in the incksx libroruru proüiditoruln. It is reprinted in 1s ? 1nt, ruonuin. Irick, torn. II, p. 596. Luther translated the same in February, 1538, and provided it with his preface and glosses. The first edition is entitled: "Ratschlag eins ausschus etlicher Cardinel, Bapst Paulo des namens dem dritten, auff seinen befelh geschrieben vnd überantwortet. With a preface by D. Mart. Luth." Below this a woodcut: three Cardinals sweeping the church with foxtails. Then follow the words, 8ox>Ui8rna 6Ur^8ippi. 8i ruentiri8, vtiuru yuock usrurn < 11618, ru6ntiri8. At the end: "Printed at Wittemberg by Hans Lufft. M.D.XXXVIII." 4Z quarto sheets.

Jir the same year another edition by the same, in which some printing errors of the first are improved, and added from the title "of the churches". Only the preface is found in the Jena edition (1568), vol.VI, p. 533d, and in the Altenburg, vol.VI, p. 1253. The whole writing in the Wittenberg (1553),vol.I V, p.431d; in the Hallische Theile, p. 443 with the woodcut; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 229; in the Erlangen (1st), vol.25, p. l48, and in the second edition, vol. 25, p. 251. The former Papal Nuncio, Peter Paul Vergerius, after converting to the Gospel, also organized an edition in 1555.

Preface D. Mart. Luth.

I. The pope drags himself along with the poor Concilio like a cat with its kittens. In Germany he will not keep it, at Mantua he cannot keep it (as he pretends); now it shall become Vincent, since it cannot be, and they do not mean it. I fear he will be a Marcolfus, that could nowhere find a tree to hang upon. So the pope cannot find a place where he would have a concilium. If my advice were valid, I would almost advise that the holy people be satisfied with the concilium; they cannot suffer one, and will not make one, unless they can do what they want inside. What then are they accused of? They cannot let themselves be reformed, nor do they want to, that is known for certain. And yet, if it came to the Concilium, they would have to give feather or let hair, even their own patron, as emperor, kings, princes, etc., as they burned themselves in the Costnitz Concilium, and were well aware of it.

002 For if they should be found, even in the smallest part, guilty or false, the pope would fall with the crown and keys, and this terrible cry would go out against them, that the pope and the Roman church were in error and wrong. That would be death and hell for such a high majesty, which has so far stood by such an article that the pope and his see or church cannot err, but what he does and says is an article of faith, to be believed by all Christians at the loss of their blessedness. Now if he should be punished in error in a little, he would already be suspected in all things, as his own rights say, Hui his! malus, hisper prnesumitur malus, who
once a rogue is invented, he remains in all suspicion. So it would all fall hereafter.

003 Wherefore the necessity of their majesty requireth that they hold no concilium, in which they may question or debate, whether the Roman see hath erred, or is in the wrong, or may err; but they must do as Marcolfus did, and find no city in which they will suffer a concilium or reformation. And they must not hold a council, or hold one which they have power to hold, and in which nothing is done but what pleases them; as the Lateranense was at Rome, under Popes Julio and Leone, in which Pope Julius was highly praised, and nothing else was done.

004 For it is written of the Antichrist, Dau. 11:16, that he should be such a king, that he should do as he pleaseth, that is, he should be God, subject to no law, but be lord and master of all rights, as his flatterers sing unto him in their writings, 8m jubeo, sie volo, sit pro ratione voluntns. M-. Omniu)ura suut in seriuio peetoris esus; that is, Thus will I, thus will I; my will shall be the right; and: All the rights are in the treasury of his heart. As we see, then, that the pope's rule is such that 1) he does what he wills, without right, against right, above right, straightway according to his will. So that he also in his decree Ouneta per munäum cries out that the holy scripture is under his chair, and he not under the holy scripture.

5. Since he now fetches with such majesty in the grant 2) and is an old usage and custom, how should he then let himself be reformed, and put under the law, or let himself be instructed by someone who until then has been above all? And hath not been able nor willing to suffer any to be judge nor master, but hath made himself judge of all the world, even of angels, as the Bulla Clementis testifieth, when he commanded the angels of Paradise, as a governor of Christ, that they should lead the pilgrims that die on the journey to Rome into Paradise. Speaks to this: Nolmnus, we would not have it that such pilgrims should be led into hell by any means 2c.

1) So the Wittenbergers and the Jenaers. Erlanger: "da".

2) "Warranty" - Possession.

(6) Not content with this, he has always usurped the other part of the power, that is, the earthly or imperial authority, persecuting emperors and kings, cursing them, removing and installing them, beheading and expelling some of them, according to all his will, against God and right. And now also his learned flatterers saw fit to call the pope no more Pabst, nor Lumwuin Uontillvom (as of old), but the prince and Uoutillcsi" Naximuiu, which names of old the heathen Roman emperors had, as Julius, Nero 2c. For now they no longer speak thus: the pope is at Rome, but: kriuveps sst aä Hrdsm, the prince or emperor is in his imperial city Rome. Thus, after they have long been emperors by deed, they now also begin to use the names and titles of the heathen emperors. For they want to be it alone, God in heaven, emperor on earth. And their cardinals will no longer be called cardinals, but oonsuls. For they have become legates in the provinces, as the pagan oousules.

007 If then all this filth should be shaken in a free council, what a stench should arise there? They are afraid of this, and seek the most wondrous plots, and yet hope that it will not be noticed. For they have now thrice maddened the Concilium. They have let the Roman court's reformation go out, so that the Council (if it had to go without their will) would not find anything to reform in Rome, because they have spoken such good words (impudent lies!) about the reformation as they want to reform themselves, just as if it were still the previous time, when people willingly believed their letters and words, before they knew their flesh. But because such a time is over, and they are known to be impudent liars before all the world, it is almost ridiculous, and a fine carnival play, that they still continue to go about in the same disguise, and think that one does not know them, but that one will (as before) always believe what they lie. No, it is said: It is finished that one roasts bacon on coals; it does not help, brother, that you are painted, one knows you nevertheless.

008 But now they have devised a rank of the whole reformation of the church, as this booklet fox-foxes, that, if such a lie be believed, henceforth there shall be no concilium
is necessary. For as the papal court was reformed before by that reformation, so now, with this booklet, the whole church is reformed. And even if the concilium had to be held (of which they are so dreadfully afraid), it would still have nothing more to reform in the church, because the pope has already begun to do so. Therefore the concilium and meeting would be nothing else than that one would tell the other, and then they would go home again, because everything has happened that a concilium might desire.

9th But look at the desperate boys, how they reform the church with fox-tails; where it hits the pope and cardinals, they give everything to the pope, and neither pope nor cardinal has never done anything wrong, are all pious, shall have what they have, and even more, stay as they are 2c. Who then is reformed? The great rogue no one. For if the pope and cardinals are pious, their servants are also pious; for who will have done it, if the pope and cardinals have done nothing? So then all the misfortune was done by the wretched nobody, and this reformation is nothing but nobody's reformation. Well, one should not curse (that is true), but one must pray that God's name be hallowed and honored, the pope's name be profaned and cursed, along with his god the devil, that God's kingdom come, and the kingdom of the last Christ perish. Such a paternosteric curse may well be prayed, and should be prayed by every Christian, because the last arch-villains at the end of the world, pope, cardinals and bishops, so shamefully, maliciously, wantonly blaspheme and mock our dear Lord and God. LxsurZe vomins, Huai-o odäormis? ste. 8oä vsniono vsnit, and should they become nonsensical!

Advice of a committee of some Cardinals, Pope Paulo of the name of the Third from his order written and delivered.

(1) Most Holy Father, we are so far lacking that we cannot express how great, great thanksgiving all of Christendom owes to the Almighty, Most High God[a]appointing you at this time to be a pope and shepherd of his flock, and also to give you such a mind and spirit.

so that we cannot even with any thought attain the thanks which Christianity owes to God for it.

a) Ei, what a seriousness is here the holy chair! is always pity that one can believe such Schälken and liars nothing more, if it could lament someone.

(2) For the Spirit of God, by whom the powers of the heavens were created, as the prophet saith, hath determined by thee to put a hand under the church of Christ, which is now not only tottering, but even nigh falling to pieces, and, as we see, to raise it up to the former majesty, 1) and to restore it to its former respectable and glorious estate. And of this divine counsel and decree we may have actual notice, since thy holiness required us to it, and commanded that we should (considering neither thine own, nor ours, nor any man's own benefit) denounce unto thee the grievous, great pestilences and abuses, wherewith the church of God hath all along been laden, and especially this court of Rome. It has happened that the great, dangerous, pestilential plague has quietly and singularly broken in and taken over, and brought the great fall and decline to Rome, as we see.

(b) For they are so subtle, secret, and invisible, that the pope could not see them, if these holy cardinals did not show them, yet the geese and ducks cry foul over them in all the world.

003 And after thy holiness, taught by the Spirit of God, who, as Augustine writes, in the hearts of men, without sound and tumult of words, well knoweth and hath known the beginning of this calamity and great hurt, that certain popes, having itched ears, as St. Paul saith, they themselves, not that they learned of them what they should do, but that by their deceit and guile they devised a way to do what they would. And thus it came to pass, that in all great lords there were hypocrites, as the shadow is in the flesh, and the truth came hardly to their ears, that immediately there came forth doctors, who taught that the pope of all fiefs was a lord. And since every lord has the power to sell his own, it follows from this that the pope cannot be guilty of some sin. So that the mere will of the pope is a rule[c] and guide of all his lords.

l) Here the Wittenberg edition has the gloss which is missing from the first edition, "Ja stinckt euch dz maul darnach."
2) Instead of "them" in the issues, it should probably read "him" (the Spirit of GOD).
3) from which it follows that he may do what he pleases without hesitation, as the Latin proverb reads: tzuoä lidet, reads what one pleases, that he may also do.

c) Rule) Fire here, these cardinals have become heretics, who condemn such an old article of faith, on which, after all, the papacy stands. Oh that you boys 2c.

(4) From this well, most holy father, have sprung all the abuses in the church of God, as the heroes from the Trojan horse, and so many grievous pestilences, from which, as is to be seen, they lie very near sick unto death, and these rumours have been heard very near even among the heathen and the Turk. And this your holiness shall certainly believe us, that they also chiefly ridicule our Christian faith and religion for the cause, so that for our sake, for our sake (we say) the name of Christ is blasphemed among the heathen.

005 But unto thee, most holy Father, and verily, most holy Father, after thou hast been taught by the Spirit of God, after thou hast put forth all diligence above thy former common wisdom, that thou shouldest heal the sickness of the church of Christ, which is committed unto thy care, and restore it to health, thou hast well seen that the medicine must be raised up, [d]) whence the sickness sprang in the first place.

d) raise) For God's sake, say an Our Father for these Cardinals, so that they do not think differently, for people do not understand such Welsh and false Wallitzschier 4) but firmly hope that one does not know their larvae, and believe what they say, as they have been accustomed to until now,

006 Thou hast followed the doctrine of St. Paul, and wilt be a servant and a steward, and not a lord, and be found faithful and diligent of the LORD.

007 Hast also followed the servant in the gospel, whom his lord hath set over his servants, to give them their hire in due season.

008 And for this cause thou hast determined with thyself to abstain from that which is not proper for thee, neither wilt thou do that which is not proper for thee. [e]) Wherefore thou hast called us unto thee, which, though we be inexperienced, and unfit for such great things, yet are not a little unskilful, 5) and eager for the praise and honour of thy holiness, and especially for reformation and rebuilding.

3) So the Wittenbergers. Erlanger: "which".
4) "Wallitzschier" Bellitschier, good reputation, good appearance. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 298.1677.
5) Instead of: "uninclined" should probably read "inclined".

of the Church of Christ, and therefore commanded us with all earnest speeches to gather up all abuses and report them to thee.

(e) not due) What then is this "not," since the pope is a lord over emperor and all? C. Ounota eto.

009 Thou hast also highly and faithfully reminded us that we would have to give an account of this matter to God Almighty if we were unfaithful or diligent in this. And that all things among us might be done the more freely, and be reported to thee, thou hast counted us free from the oath, that we might be bound to thy holiness, and hast bound us under penalty of excommunication, that we should not or would not tell any other of these things.

010 So we have been obedient to thy commandment, and have gathered together in the shortest possible time the diseases and pestilences, and the remedies which we of our little understanding have devised. But thou, according to thy goodness and wisdom, wilt supply and execute all that we, with our little understanding, have devised. But that we may compose all things within a certain bounds, seeing that thy holiness is a prince of these countries, subject and subjected to the jurisdiction and authority of the Roman church, and also a bishop of the whole common Christian church, and also a bishop of Rome, we have not refrained from speaking of those things which belong to the principality and supremacy of the Roman church, which principality we perceive to be best governed and made manifest by thy prudence and wisdom. For this reason we want to attack only those things that concern the office of the bishop[f] whole common Christian church, and also some things that belong to the bishop of Rome.

f) Just as the court of Rome was recently reformed, so this reformation is also a serious matter.

011 Now this, most holy Father, we must put before all things and decree, as Aristotle says in *Politicis,* that just as in every police and commune, so also in this spiritual administration of the church of Christ, we have this law and right before all, that, as much as possible, the laws and common rights and

be held. And that we take it for this[g]) and respect that it is not due nor proper to us in *law*, and contrary to the ordinance of the

The right to dispense otherwise than for urgent and necessary cause. For no more dangerous nor more harmful custom can be introduced into any police force than that

one does not keep the rights and laws, and lets come in contempt and dishonor, and does not want to consider that our ancestors have the l^sZs8 and rights sacred and unbreakable have wanted to have kept, and their power vsnsrariäarQ st äivinarn, venerable and divine called.

(g) If I knew thee not (said the lion to the wolf), I should be afraid of thee myself.

(12) Thou knowest all this, most pious Pontiff, and hast now long since read it among philosophers[h] and theologians.

(h) Philosophers) For the Scriptures are of no use in the matter.

013 But this we consider to be not only the nearest to the article next mentioned, but also much more important, greater, and more, than the article mentioned, that it is by no means proper for the pope and Christ's vicars and governors, in the use of the power of the keys, we say of the power given to the pope by Christ, to seek the enjoyment of money, [i]gain, and profit. For this is Christ's command: Ye have received it freely, ye shall give it freely.

i) Money) Hold this, and see where pope, cardinals, bishops, priest, and monk abide with their splendor. But one must speak thus, that the Reformation may be esteemed in earnest. That you boys 2c.

014 When therefore all these things are first ordained and established[k], then let thy holiness take the care of the church of Christ, that she may have many ministers, by whom she may provide such pastoral care. These ministers are all clergy and clerics who are commanded to minister, especially the priests, and most of all the parish priests, and above all the bishops. Therefore, if this administration is to proceed properly, diligence must first be taken to ensure that these ministers are competent and skilled in the office for which they are responsible.

(k) erect) This is when the devil goes to heaven.
(l) proficient) That is, to be curtisans, legates, and Roman crockery.

015 The first abuse in this part, action, and commerce, is the ordination and consecration, and before the priests, in which there is no care nor diligence, that at many ends the most unlearned and inexperienced, who are of the least birth and arrival, who are of evil manners and youths, are admitted to the ordination, and most of all to the priesthood, and I say, to the character and sign, which most properly signifies, signifies, and resembles Christ[m]; therefore

countless troubles come, hence contempt for the clergy; for this cause the reverence for the divine service is not only diminished, but almost entirely extinguished. Therefore we think it best that your holiness first ordain in this city of Rome two or three prelates, learned and pious, honest men, who have the command to ordain and consecrate clerics.

(m) similar) Here be taught, O man, that character makes priests like Christ, similar and images; other Christians may be like the devil, because they have not the priestly character.

016 That thy holiness also command all bishops, with censures and excommunications, to be well aware thereof in their dioceses.

017 Neither will thy holiness suffer any man to be ordained and consecrated, except by his bishop, or with the permission of the decrees of Rome, or of his bishop.

(18) That every bishop also keep a magister, by whom the young clerics, according to the laws, are both instructed and taught in arts and manners.

019 There is also another abuse which is exceedingly great, which is the granting of spiritual fiefs.

020 And especially of the pastorates, and above all others of the dioceses, in which this custom has broken down and become prevalent, that [one] thereby helps and serves the persons to whom such ecclesiastical fiefs are conferred, 1) but not the host and church of Christ.

021 Wherefore, if it be desired to confer such ministries, and especially the bishoprics, diligence should be taken, and care should be taken that they be lent to pious, upright, and learned men; and for this very cause, that they by themselves and by their own persons may administer and maintain such ministries as they are bound to do.

(22) That such pastorates also be lent and conferred upon those who are likely to have their residence and essential[n] maintenance with their parishioners. Therefore one shall not lend to a whale a spiritual fief in Hispania or Britain, or again. And this is to be observed, both in the granting of fiefs which have been disposed of by death and by resignation, in which case only he who resigns and cedes such fiefs, and no one else at all, is to be benefited. If

1) To make sense, we inserted "one" and put "lent" instead of: "lend".
Now if one or two pious honest men were appointed to such things, to pardon the ecclesiastical fiefs in a useful way, 2) then we consider that it would have been well done.

n) Essential) How is this to be done? Shall the cardinals and prelates return the stolen parishes? That would be terrible' But what harm is it that one says so, even if one does not mean it.

023 There is yet another abuse, when spiritual fiefs are bestowed, or when they are given to others by renunciation and cession. For this abuse has crept in secretly, that those who have renounced such fiefs are deprived of their use, enjoyment, and interest, and sometimes even of all fruits and revenues. [o])

o) They, the popes and cardinals, have invented such 3) romance themselves, and will probably remain unreformed.

024 And in this case it must be observed, that for no other cause, and by no other right, can a pension and interest be reserved and made, but for alms, for [p]godly exercises, and for poor and needy people. For the pensions and incomes are as much attached and dependent upon the ecclesiastical fiefs as the body of the soul, [q]) for which reason the ecclesiastical fiefs are by their nature due to him who holds the ecclesiastical fief, that he may honestly have his maintenance from the ecclesiastical fiefs according to his estate; that he may also endure and bear the expenses of worship, and of keeping the churches and houses of God in a state of building. [r]And what is left over from all this, he shall invest in pios usus, that is, in godly practice. For this is the nature and inherent type of the same pension and income.

p) Alms) Cardinal and Curtisans to fatten; is that reformed, if one suffers such reservations and does not even reject them? O cardinals, how you disgrace yourselves!
q) Soul) To such bodies the pope is the soul to which they all cling.
r) How the cardinals of Rome keep the churches, so that not a mouse dwells in them.

025 But as in natural things there are some things which are contrary to common course and manner, as men and other beasts with two heads, and other monsters more: so also the pope, the imivsrsulis äispsnsukor, that is, a common steward of the church goods, when he seeth that the part of the goods which is to be turned into godly use, is better turned into one

2) Maybe: "lend"?
3) Erlanger: "Solchs".

If a pope wants to turn to another godly custom, he may do so without doubt. For this reason, a pope may justly set a pension and interest on an ecclesiastical fief in order to help a poor person,[s] a cleric, and a clergyman, so that he may be able to maintain himself the more honestly. For this reason it is a great abuse to reserve and reserve all use of ecclesiastical fiefs, and to take away everything that should be given and given for the worship and entertainment of the owner of the ecclesiastical fief.

s) Yes, I thought the pope wanted to be the soul of the pensions and remain unreformed. Now reform, that God may punish you, you healed boys!

(26) It is indeed a great abuse to give pensions and interest to rich clerics, who can otherwise maintain themselves usefully and honestly from the pensions they have. [t]) For this reason, both of these abuses should be abolished.

(t) Except when the pope does it, who is justly angry when someone else does it, and does not let him do it alone.

(27) There is also another abuse in the confusion and exchange of ecclesiastical fiefs, which is done with such engagements, contracts, and agreements, all of which are simoneous, and directed to nothing else, but only to disgraceful gain").

(u) Gain) For there the pope is gone again, who should do it alone with his cardinals.

(28) In all cases, we must also put an end to the abuses that have now become rampant in this Roman court through the cunning of some of the learned. For although it is provided in law and forbidden that no one may bequeath and bequeath spiritual fiefs to another in his will and last will, in view of the fact that the spiritual fiefs are not of the testator and testament maker, but of the church[x]. And so that such goods may be kept for the benefit of all the pious in common, and not for the exclusive and private use of one alone, human, but not Christian, modesty and discretion have nevertheless invented many wonderful ways and means by which one acts contrary to this right, and thereby mocks and despises it. For they hand over the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical fiefs, first of all to ourn rsZrssZu, that is, [y]) that they again have an access to them.

1) So the Wittenbergers; Erlanger: "these".

They are able to reserve and reserve to them also the fruits and uses; so they also heap upon them the reservation and reserve of administration and management, and by this means make him a bishop who can have neither episcopal power nor right; and again, give episcopal power and right to him who is not a bishop. Therefore let your holiness see how far this flattery is broken down, and that at last it will come to pass that every one will do what he lusts and desires. Now what is all this but to make him an heir to spiritual fiefs?

x) Church) This is the pope, he alone shall have it, so then the church is reformed.
y) that is) They sell and barter with the bisthumens, as the rogues with dice.

029 Besides these things, they have invented another deceit, namely, that, when the bishops are given and decreed more unfit [z]coadjutors at their request, neither are they themselves; that it may be clearly seen (unless one will shut his eyes) that by this means heirs are made ecclesiastical fiefs.

(z) more unproficient) For proficient ones are well enough, but who will find unproficient ones?

(30) Item, Pope Clement has[a] again denied the old right that the priests' children of their fathers should not possess ecclesiastical fiefs, so that the common goods of the church would not in this way become their own and private. But nevertheless one also dispenses[b]and imposes in these honest rights.

a) Clemens) Ah, the pious pope! why does one not follow such a pope who has reformed the church so finely?
b) dispensirt) That is, one reforms how and what one wants. They say that clipping is part of the trade.

(31) We do not wish to conceal the fact, if any man of understanding can see for himself the truth, that no other thing has made this disgrace and apostasy of the clergy more, from which so much revolt and indignation have arisen, and still others arise and follow, for this taking away of the spiritual and ecclesiastical goods, pensions, and incomes for their own use. Before this, all men hoped that these abuses would be corrected. But now they have despaired of it. [c]) and speak almost evil of this chair.

c) despairing) There it will probably remain, because such cardinal reformation strengthens such despairing with such Roman, shameful, false words.

(32) After this there is another abuse in the expectation and reservation of ecclesiastical fiefs, so that one also gives cause to desire other people's deaths and to hear them gladly. For by this rank 1) they close the way to those who are more worthy of such ecclesiastical fiefs, if they are transferred, and give cause to quarrel and to right, and we consider that all these abuses should be stopped.

(33) Another abuse has also been invented and fabricated by the above-mentioned trickery[d]. For some ecclesiastical fiefs are called in the right, and are also irwoinxmtibilia, which do not suffer each other. Now our forefathers, by and with the interpretation of the name inooinxatidilin, wanted to admonish us that these should not be conferred on one alone. Now, however, this is also dispensed with, and it is not only in two or more other ecclesiastical fiefs, but also, which is worse, in many bishoprics. Because this custom has become so widespread for the sake of avarice, it is rightly abolished, first of all, that one should not lend a lot of bishopric[e]one.

d) List) Neither the pope nor the cardinal has done this, nor do they yet; therefore such reformation does not concern them; the king of Callicut has done it, and the cuckoo of Taprabona, they are reformed here.

e) bishopric) because to the pope alone they should remain eomputidiliu.

034 What shall we say of the ruiionidus, and jointure to one person all their life, that they pretend that it should not hinder, though the spiritual fiefs be given much to one only, from that two or more fiefs are joined together; should not this be a vain deceit of right?

(35) Another abuse has also become prevalent, that the most reverend cardinals[f] are lent bishoprics, or commendated and invested, not only one, but many. And in this abuse, most blessed Father, methinks there is much that is wonderful in God's Church: first, that the office of cardinal and the office of bishop are ineoinxutidiliu, and do not suffer each other. For it belongs to the cardinal's office to assist your holiness, and to keep its essence with her, to govern the whole common Christian church. [g]) But the bishop's office is to feed his flock and sheep, which he does not do rightly or well,

1) Wittenberger: ranck; Erlanger and Walch: "rank". We have followed the former reading.

Nor how he may do, that he may have his way with his sheep, as a shepherd with his flock.

f) Alas, the poor cardinals, where will they go before this reformation? Help, infernal 2) Cardinal of Mainz, that it not become serious here, along with your peers unpleasant.

g) Hui, brother! do not deny yourself to death, you can still feed well.

(36) Moreover, holy father, this abuse is most injurious by way of example. [h]) For how can this holy see judge and correct other people's abuses, if abuses are tolerated in its noblest members? We also hold that because they are cardinals they should be permitted, not the more, but the less, for the sake of such causes, to act contrary to common rights, ordinances, and statutes. For the life of cardinals should be a law[i]and rule for others to follow.

(h) I see it in thine eyes, how great is the earnestness thereof.

(i) law) be stinginess rule.

037 Neither should men follow the Pharisees and hypocrites, which speak, and do not; but the Lord Christ, who began to do, and to speak after that. Furthermore, this custom also does harm in the counsels of the church. For this liberty is a nourishment and abstinence of avarice. In addition to this, the cardinals are stingy with kings and princes about bishoprics, to which they are so attached that they are not allowed to speak their mind and opinion freely in councils; indeed, even if they could do it well and would like to[k]they would still allow themselves to be deceived by their weakness to speak right. For this reason, God wished that this custom be abolished, and that the Cardinals be so provided for that they might live honestly in their position, and that one might have as much income as the other. Which we think would easily be done, if we would turn from the service of mammon to the service of Christ alone. [m])

(k) gladly) for that the great Satan sternly guards them. l) honestly) that one would have four kingdoms.

(m) Yes, there it is, "if we would"; but the cardinals and popes say, We will not do it, as he said at Salzburg, and they all say. What then is this Reformation? A Roman larva, which has been wickedly belarved, and has shamefully betrayed itself.

2) In the Wittenberg: "hellischer"; in the Erlangen: "höllischer". The latter is meant, however, but it is written: "hellischer" == hällischer, that is, to Halle.

038 If then the abuses which have been touched were corrected, which belong to and serve to ordain ministers, by whom, as instruments, both worship may be well directed, and the Christian people honestly instructed, governed, and guided in the Christian life, it would be necessary to take hold of the things which belong to govern the Christian people.

039 In which part, most blessed Father, this abuse must first be abolished before all others, that first the bishops before all others, and then the pastors do not dwell from their churches and parishes; before the bishops, as they have said to me: for they are the bridegroom[n] of the churches which are commanded them. For, dear eternal God, what sight can be more wretched and more miserable to a Christian man who is scouring the lands, than that the churches should become so desolate? For almost all shepherds have departed from their flocks, and the parishioners are all ordered to the hirelings. Therefore a great punishment should be inflicted on the bishops before all others, and after that on the parish priests who have departed from their flocks. And this punishment was to be inflicted not only by censure and banishment, but also by not allowing the absent bishops and parish priests to receive the rent and interest, so that the bishops would receive permission from your holiness and the parish priests would receive permission from the bishops for a short time. [o]) Read the common laws and some conciliar decrees and ordinances, in which this provision was made, that the bishop should not be allowed to be away from his church for longer than three Sundays or weeks.

(n) Bridegroom) This is what the devil wanted, that bishops should be the bridegroom of the churches, which is Christ alone. Behold, how instructed is the pope"! in the Scriptures!

(o) Permission) Yes, if that hole is open, then the Reformation is very much fucked.

(40) This is also an abuse, that so many most worthy cardinals do not have their being in this Roman court, and do none of the offices[p] that are due to the cardinals. For this reason, though perhaps not all, for we think it good that some cardinals have their being in their countries, for by them, as by some roots, interwoven and distributed through the whole of Christendom, the peoples, rations, and regions are preserved under and at this Roman see; yet it would be good that at least the greater number of cardinals be required by your holiness at the Roman court to have their being all there. For by this means, that the cardinals should arrange their office, so that the
would also promote the honor of the Roman court. And thus would be fulfilled and repaid that which had been broken off and withdrawn from the Roman court by the withdrawal of[q]many bishops who had turned to their churches.

(p) Offices: How can they all do their office at Rome? For there is no more monastery to eat, but they must seek their office in other countries, which is to eat monasteries. Therefore it is right here that cardinals should take root in all Christendom, and hold it under the pope.

q) Behold, behold, the desperate knaves want to have everything by the Rom!

(41) There is also still a great abuse, and in no way to be suffered and tolerated, in which all Christendom is angry, from which hindrance [in the matters] which come before the bishops in the government of their flocks, most of all to punish, amend, and atone for the malefactors[1]. [r]) For first of all, wicked men, before the clergy and clerics, make themselves free and exempt from their bishop's and ordinaries' compulsion to judge by many ways. Afterwards, if they are not exempt and freed, they soon have recourse to the office of penitentiaries or dataries, at which ends they soon find an opening to remain unpunished, and, which is worst of all, for this very reason, if they only give money. For, most holy father, this affliction grieves the Christian people so much that words cannot reach them.

r) Who does this other than the pope and cardinals who do not want to be reformed?

042 We beseech thy holiness, by the blood of Christ[s], that he hath redeemed, washed, and cleansed his church and congregation, let such abuses cease; let shame and vice be put away. For if this some access were given in some commune, country, and kingdom, it would soon fall off the neck and go to the ground, and might stand in no way longer. And shall we think ourselves just and good, if we bring such abominations into Christendom?

s) Thus shall you smear the mouths of the barbarians. Again, blasphemous liars, God blasphemes you. For whoever hears such words, and does not know you, should believe that you are in earnest. But you have told such lies and oaths many hundred years too many; you are no longer believed.

043 Another abuse in monastic orders must also be changed, corrected, and remedied, because so many of them have come into such disrepair and disorder that they greatly annoy the seculars by it, and with the example

1) Inserted by us to give sense. In the first single edition: "aus den Verhinderung". Erlanger: "from the prevention".

Do very much harm. Therefore we consider that all conventual orders should be abolished, not by doing violence to anyone, but by forbidding the taking in of new monks, for in this form they would soon be destroyed and leave, and pious monks and clergymen would be appointed in their place. Now, however, we consider that all the boys who have not yet taken profession and monastic vows should be driven out of their monasteries.

44. In our opinion, this should also be improved, and a diligent eye should be kept on the appointment of preachers and confessors from the brethren, so that, first of all, their superiors should have good diligence, that they should be competent and skilled for this purpose. Next, they are to be presented to the bishops, who are charged with the care of souls and the church above all others, to be interrogated and examined by the bishops themselves or by skilled men; they are then to be admitted to such matters by their will.[t]

t) Will) But once reformed, yet do what they will. There will always be "reservations" that they will be reformed, and yet remain unreformed.')

045 Most holy Father, we have said, that in no way shall it be fitting or fitting to suffer in the use of the keys, and in matters of confession and penance to seek some profit of the confessor; in which we have the firm word of Christ, "Ye have received freely, ye shall give freely." Now this concerns not only your holiness, but all who are partakers of your power. Therefore we would gladly have it observed by the papal legates and nuncios. For just as the custom, which has now gained the upper hand, does dishonor to this see, and makes the common people mad and grieved, so also, if it were directed to correction, it would be honest to this see, and the common people would be wonderfully improved thereby.

(46) Another custom also afflicts Christendom in the nuns and nuns' maidens who are cared for by the friars of the convent, since in many convents public disgrace of [u]God is done with all male vexation. Therefore, let your Holiness take the same care from all the friars of the convent, and order it either to the ordinaries, [v]) or to others, as it is deemed most convenient.

(u) God's disgrace) This is bad to translate. But he means so much that many nunneries are public whorehouses, when they should be God's own brides; as they well know how things are in Rome, etc., but do not intend to improve anything seriously.

(v) ordinaries) AIS the best disgrace can cause, neither the monk".

1) This gloss is missing from the Wittenberg edition.

(47) It is also a great and pernicious abuse, before the most ungodly and unchristian disputations take place in Italy and in the French lands, where many teachers and philosophers teach the ungodly nature.[w] Even if some are godly and Christian, they are still very evil and dishonest, and act with no reverence for the common people. For this reason we thought it best that the bishops in the places where universities and high schools are located should be commanded to admonish the teachers and reading masters who read, so that they do not teach and instruct the young people in ungodly matters, but that they show them in questions concerning God, the creation or eternity of the world, or the like, how weak and small the natural light is, and instruct them in godliness, religion, and the fear of God[x].

(w) Give thanks, ye confess, that ye have so ruled, until epicuri preachers have become, whom ye yourselves rather hear than the gospel.

(x) Lt ut <io"-rvnt, unimao" essv ilnmortalew, se- vniulnu" IX'vrvtum I^onis Oociwi, in Concilio I^t "raiwusi etc.

(48) Likewise, they did not permit public disputation on such questions, nor on such theological matters, which are truly held in great contempt by the common people, but that such matters should be disputated in secret, but not in public. 2) pkvmvis guaskitinnibus and natural questions and matters. This should also be ordered in all other cities, especially in the most excellent cities, where such disputations are held.

(49) The same diligence should be applied to the printing of books, and all princes should be told to see to it that all the books in their lands and dominions are not printed from time to time. And the ordinaries should be ordered to keep an eye on this. Because children in schools are now taught the Colloquia Erasmi,[y]in which there is much that instructs the young and unrepentant in godlessness, it should be forbidden to read this book and others like it in schools.

y) Erasmi) Yes, he must have done it. Would to God he were alive, and pay you shameful knaves, and show how godly you have improved young and old with words and works.

050 Whereupon, as much as it concerns thy servants to instruct, whom thou needest for the supply of the whole common Christian church, even to administer the same, one must keep an eye on the gratuities

2) We suppose that instead of "noo" should be read: "of".

and indulgence should not be given, if they also left their monastic vows, so that they committed themselves against God; so they should not be allowed and indulged to have ecclesiastical fiefs and administration, and to govern churches.

z) Apostates) Here he does not mean the Lutherans, whom he does not call so honestly, but whom the pope has shorn out for the sake of money and let go in priestly garments 2c.

022 Besides these, there is also an abuse in the stationaries of the Holy Ghost, St. Anthony, and others like them, which deceive the peasants and simple-minded, and confound them with innumerable superstitions and delusions. In our opinion, the same stationers should also be put down altogether. [a])

(a) abthun) Go on beautifully, holy pope, the See of Rome has confirmed it, which has never erred.

(53) It is also another abuse to dispense with ordained persons, and to permit them to take wives. Now this dispensation should be given to no one except for the entertainment of a people or nation, in great and most important matters,[b]before these times, when the Lutherans insist on this article to the utmost.

b) Things) He nevertheless wants to keep the power to sell the marriage; that is reformirt!

54) Furthermore, it is an abuse in marriages between blood friends or brothers-in-law to dispense with them. For we hold it there-

1) Instead of: "after" in the editions probably "the after" should be read.

For that one should not give such dispensation in the other degree and member except for[c] the sake of public, important causes. But in other degrees and members only for the sake of some causes, and, as we have said, without money. They would then already have been given together and enclosed. For in such a case a fine[d]or penance would be imposed on them for absolution for the sin committed, and applied to the expenses which your holiness does for godly custom and in honor of God. For just as there is no sin in the custom of the keys, no money may be demanded, so also, where one asks for absolution from sin, a fine may be imposed, and applied in Christian godly custom.

(c) Excepting) Gentlemen, reform with confidence. But do not surrender anything that is too close to your tyranny.

d) Fine) It would not be a great wonder if God with lightning, thunder and hellish fire turned pope, cardinals and reformers to ashes, like Sodom 2c. How shamefully they mock the wretched Christians. Oh, dear God, look at them for once!

(55) It is also another abuse, that one absolves the ZirsoiUusos and spiritual usurers. For, alas, this poisonous vice now reigns and prevails in God's church to such an extent and power that even some are not at all ashamed to practice simonei[e] and spiritual usury. From that time on they ask for absolution from the chastisement; yes, they buy the absolution and also keep the purchased spiritual usury.

e) Simonei) Yes, what is Simonei of this time? All monasteries, popes, and cardinals would be desolate if Simonei, which existed before times, were there.

056 This we do not say, that thy holiness hath no power to remit to the cimoniusis and ecclesiastical usurers the penalties imposed upon them by human law and jurs positives, but that thy holiness shall in no wise resist such great iniquity, seeing that there is no vice more injurious nor more grievous than the ecclesiastical usury, simony, and haggling for ecclesiastical fiefs[f].

f) Yes, the pope may reserve everything to do.

(57) Neither should the clergy and ecclesiastics be permitted to grant and testify to anyone of the church's goods, except for urgent[g]great causes, lest the goods of the poor be turned to special pleasure and great houses be built.

g) urgent) That is where and if they wanted, it is called urgent.

58. confessional also, or letters of confession, also portatel, altar-stone to need, should not easily-.

And they shall be given unadvisedly and corruptly. For in this way spiritual and ecclesiastical things come into contempt, and especially the most excellent sacrament.

59) Nor should indulgences[h] be given more frequently than once a year in every excellent city.

h) Indulgences) This has already been reformed by Luther.

026 Neither should the confusion and alteration of vows be done so wickedly, nor should the vows be changed and confounded with other works, because they would be equal in value to the vows. [i])

i) Value) Such value shall stand in the will of the pope, according to which the penny rings.

(61) It is also customary to change the last wills of testators, who, for the sake of godly things, bestow a sum of money, which, by the authority of thy holiness, they 1) apply to the heirs or legatees, to whom something has been granted and bequeathed, on account of presumed and pretended poverty, 2c. and this for the sake of profit and their own use and enjoyment. There would have been a great change in the food and housekeeping of the heir by the death of the testator, so that presumably the testator, where he should have lived longer, would have changed his will against the heir. For it is unchristian to change the last will of the testators. [k])

k) But that the hands of the pope are not closed, the reformation does no harm to the wicked.

022 Of gain and selfishness and usefulness we have often spoken; therefore we hold that touching change in all ways should be abstained from.

63) Now that we have told in summary and in brief all that concerns the whole common Christian church, as much as we know how to remember, we have still to say of some articles concerning the pope or bishop of Rome.[l]

(l) All things) Yea, indeed, the splinters are stirred a little, and the awful beams are confirmed; the gnats are set, and the cameos are swallowed up.

64. this city and church of rome is a mother and mistress of other churches; therefore both worship and honorableness of morals shall be most excellent there. Therefore, most holy

1) This "they" is deleted in the Wittenberg edition; nevertheless, this sentence remains incomprehensible to us. Perhaps after "use" 2c. "pretend" should be added and the second "they" omitted.

Father, all foreigners and foreigners who go to the most holy St. Peter's Cathedral are angry because some uninformed, unlearned, incompetent priests are dressed in such chasubles, vestments, and clothes[m] that they could not use even in despised, uninformed, lowly houses with honor, and they say mass there. This is a great annoyance for everyone. For this reason, the most venerable archpriest or the most venerable penitentiary should be ordered to keep an eye on it and to put an end to this nuisance here in Rome and also in other churches.

(m) Behold, is it for raiment? but where remaineth the fairs, and the dreadful fair, and many other abominable, blasphemous abominations and principal things in Rome, and in all the world? Such beams must remain.

(65) In this city of Rome, the maidens walk as matrons, or ride on mules, and they are followed, even in broad daylight,[n] by the noblest of the cardinals and clerics. We have not seen the same fornication in any other city, although Rome should be a mirror and model for all cities. Also, these same bishops live and sit in splendid large houses. This shameful abuse should also be abolished.

(n) Here they confess rightly; but it is no sin to Rom, but great honour against the Welsh and Roman chastity.

66 In addition to these things, there are also in this city of Rome several peculiar and private grievances, dissensions, and enmities among the citizens. Now it belongs to the bishop of Rome in the first place to tolerate, judge, and put down such enmity. Therefore, such enmity should be reconciled by some cardinals, before by those who are most capable of doing so,[o]and the citizens should again be made one with each other.

o) all Oal^nllas Oraeeas.

67 There are hospitals, widows, and orphans in this city; the care of these is principally for the bishop and the prince; [p]) for this reason your holiness could also arrange this through pious cardinals.

p) Princes) That is, to the pope, as pagan emperor at Rome.

(68) These are the articles, most holy Father, the articles which we have gathered together from this time, according to our little understanding, and what is in our mind to be improved and changed. Now you will judge and do all this according to your goodness and wisdom. [q])

q) so that nothing is reformed.

069 And though we be too weak and lowly in these great matters and dealings, and this commerce be far above our ability, yet we have done with it our consciences, and have a wondrous hope, that under thee, Princes, we shall see the Christian church purified and beautiful, and as a peaceful dove living with the whole body in the highest unity, with everlasting remembrance of thy name, praise, and glory.

070 Thou hast taken the name of Paul: therefore we hope thou wilt follow his love, and shew love toward the church, as he did. St. Paul is mentioned as having preached the name and merit of Christ among the Gentiles.

011 Now we hope that thou wilt be chosen to restore and[r)] restore the name of Christ, both darkened by the heathen and by us clerics, and heal the sickness in our hearts and works, and bring the sheep of Christ again into one fold, and turn away from us God's wrath and vengeance, well deserved, which we see ready and pressing upon our necks.

r) Also without God's word and right doctrine 2c., of which nothing is necessary to reform nor to remember.

Caspar, Cardinal Contarenus.
Johann Petrus, Cardinal Theatrinus.
Jacobus, Cardinal Sadoletus.
Reginaldus, Cardinal Anglicus.
Friedericus, Archbishop Salernitanus. Jerome, Archbishop Brundusinus. John Matthew, bishop Veronensis.
Gregorius, abbot [of] St. George, Venetus. Brother Thomas, magistor saeri Palatii. 1)

1) We give here some more detailed news about the members of the Committee of Cardinals: Caspar Contarini was later legate at the Diet of Regensburg in 1541. John Peter Caraffa became pope in 1555. under the name of Paul IV. James Sadoletus, bishop of Carpentras, is known for his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Reginald Polus (kools), formerly archbishop of Canterbury, had fled from England on account of the innovations of Henry VIII. Frederick Fregoso, Archbishop of Salerno, published our writing at Rome in 1538 under the above title; later, in 1539, he became a Cardinal. Jerome Aleander, Archbishop of Brindisi and Cardinal, is the well-known Papal Nuncio at the Diet of Worms in 1521. John Matthew Gibertus was Bishop of Verona. Gregorius Cortes was abbot of St. George in Venice. Thomas Badia, Papal Lord Chamberlain, the theologian of the Dominican Order; in 1542 he too became a Cardinal.

1231: The Roman King Ferdinand's (alleged) letter to Luther. The 1st(?) Feb.1537.

This letter was first published by D. Polykarp Leyser in 1607 in his streun uff ilneodum Gretserum, x. 43, stating that he found it inserted in an old volume (eoäiees, which formerly belonged to Luthern. After this Goldast included it in the Ooustitut. ilux. toru. lll, p. 561; further, Gerhard in the eonkoss. entü., lib. I, xnrt. I., enp. 4, x. 43, and Matthias Hoe in his I,utü. tünurunturA. Gerhard has already justly doubted the genuineness of this letter a "and so has Seckendorf, llist. I^utü., üb. Ill, x. 162, Vää. I. The latter gives even more locations there.

Ferdinandus, by the grace of GOD, Roman, Hungarian and Bohemian king 2c.

Honourable, learned, devout one! Although before the time when we arrived in Germany in our youth, and were first placed in princely, and then, by the gracious grant of the Almighty, in royal government, we did not like your writings and teachings that went out then and thereafter, but, according to the report of some of our preachers and confessors, considered them heretical, seductive, and repugnant and inappropriate to the holy Roman Church's statutes and commandments: Nevertheless, for the past two years, as much as our excellent duties, in which we have at times taken little time, may have suffered, we have been reading some of your books, and especially psalms, which are mostly directed to royal and princely rule.

2. In addition, it has also occurred to me that one of our confessors, of the Order of the Barefoot, whom we brought with us from Hispania, recently departed from God, who, shortly before his departure, demanded of us to come to him and confessed how he had deceived us until now and had not shown us the right path to salvation; with the highest request to graciously forgive him for God's sake, and now to immediately accept with our kingdoms, principalities and lands granted by God the saving Gospel, which is diligently and faithfully taught and propagated by you, and also to guide and bring our most beloved Lord brother, the Roman Emperor, so that such a thing may also be done by his majesty and love, if he would die all the happier and more willingly.

(3) In addition, we have been informed by our nobles, our rulers, and the kingdom's faithful, Hans Offling, Chancellor of Bohemia, and Andreas Ungnad, both barons, who listened to your sermon last autumn in Torgau, and who also had verbal conversation and sub-conversation with you, how you at that time had a Christian and a Christian friend.

I have heard you say that you have made a good distinction between your sermons and especially your works, and that you have otherwise given them reasonable information about your doctrine, on which it is based.

4. From these and other Christian motives, before because we feel the pope and his scholars, whom you, for the sake of their order, doctrine and life, as we have in part inquired from your writings, in manifold ways seriously and arduously, against you so faintheartedly, and (as we may well report) uncomposed and unpublished, our royal mind, which was ungracious to you before, has mellowed, and (thanks be to God in eternity) has turned to such an extent that we may now well suffer and tolerate your teaching, insofar as you remain steadfast in divine and biblical Scripture, and in addition do nothing rebellious or contrary to Christ. For we have now unfortunately found that the pope and his followers have hitherto sought their own, and have divided and sold us chaff for grain.

5. Therefore we are minded to deliver in a few days, for the sake of these and other excellent things, a respectable embassy, inclined to the Gospel, in Hispania to His Imperial Majesty, our most beloved lord and brother, and to act diligently with his majesty and love, And let the things, touching our confessor's blessed report, request, and also our understanding, inquired and apprehended from thy books, diligently act with his majesty and love, and exhortation do, whether we may move his love, which doubts us not at all, to that end. And in case it is irrelevant to his majesty and love, then, notwithstanding the Pope's intended council, as Roman king, to proclaim a common imperial diet in a convenient place, and to unanimously and finally unite and compare ourselves with the estates of the Holy Roman Empire cities, your and other scribes' council, according to divine and reasonable discretion, for the sake of the faith of Christian 1) religion.

In our gracious opinion we do not want to save you from this, in order to work and execute the truth the more nobly. Given in our Tyrolean county, in our city of Insbruck, the first Monday of February, 2) Anno 1537, ours.

1) "Christian" put by us instead of: "spiritual".

2) Also this time determination makes the letter suspicious. If one takes it like this: Monday, February 1, it is wrong, because in 1537 the first of February was a Thursday. But if we take it to mean "the first Monday in February" (Feb. 5), the time would undoubtedly have been: Monday after Mary's Purification (or kuriüeutiouis), Seckendorf and Walch take February 1.

Empires, the Roman in the seventh and the other in the twelfth year. Ferdinandus

^. ä Nanckatnm.

To the honorable and learned, to our and the empire's dear faithful, Martin Luther, the H. Scripture teacher at Wittenberg.

1232 D. Martin Luthers Bedenken des Concilii halben, zu Schmalkalden gestellt im Februar 1537.

This misgiving is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 379; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1074; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 149, in De Wette, vol. V, p. 51, and in the Erlangen, vol. 55, p. 168. According to Seckendorf, Ilist. Imtü., lik. Ill, p. 145 it is placed before the arrival of the Papal Nuncio Borst, that is, before February 24.

001 I see, and I fear, that it shall come to pass at last, that there is no need to be afraid, though God is almighty, and is called, who hath hitherto wrought many things otherwise than we mean.

(2) There is no doubt in my mind that the pope or his own are afraid and want to see the council hindered, but that they can boast with confidence that they have not been lacking because they have announced it. They have sent messengers and summoned the estates to see how they would arrange it.

(3) Therefore they have presented to us a devil's head hideous, so that only should be frightened and flee back, namely, that they proclaim such a Concilium, in which they report nothing of church things, nothing of interrogation, nothing of other things, 2c. but only the Lxstirpution or extermination of the poisonous Lutheran heresy, as they interpret themselves in the Bulla, äo Uokornmtüono Euriae, 3).

(4) Hereby we have not only already our judgment, which is to be passed upon us in the Concilio, but the appeal with interrogation, answer, and action of all things is added, also all pious, honorable people, who might be chosen as mediators, are struck away; but the cursed knaves of the devil want to do their bidding, not only condemn them (for they want to be sure of this from the previous bull issued against us), but also immediately begin the execution and extermination, and to be-

3) No. 1225, § 2 in this volume.

If we are not yet interrogated (as all rights demand), even they, the Cardinals, have never read our Scriptures, nor recognized the doctrine, because our books are forbidden everywhere, but only the false writers and liars have heard, and have not heard us, although in German lands both bishops and princes know, even in their part, that [they are] lying books and boys, whom the Pope, Welsh and other nations believe.

5th For we have heard at Wittenberg from the Pope's orator, Petro Paulo Vergerio, 1) that he is not mean, and is reported much differently, neither he finds it with us, in many pieces. Also the king of France's embassy, Doctor Gervasius, publicly confessed before us that his king was thus persuaded, and certainly held that with us Lutherans there was no marriage, no authority, no church, nor anything. From where the king, pope, and other nations got this, can be well reckoned. The wicked man of Halle and his like have brought in books, perhaps also writings, in order to defend our books. But God is not caught.

(6) That the pope and his own are in some respects far too eager to believe such shameful and impudent lies, and are therefore obliged to interrogate us. Without what else their part will bring up against them than that the pope and cardinals tear apart and devastate the monasteries and convents, the bishop of Halle has three bishoprics and his like canons have many benefices, and countless things, which even without Luther's things might well be subject to a concilii. But the Bulla keeps all this quiet, fearing that it might be stirred up in the Council.

007 Wherefore they would gladly discourage us, that we should refuse, that they might be sure, and say that we had hindered it. And

1) Pierre Paolo Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Jstria, who has appeared several times in this chapter as a papal orator and legate (No. 1218 ff.), had become acquainted with Lutheran doctrine in Germany, and after his return to Italy in 1541, since he endeavored to refute it, had been converted to the truth by reading Lutheran writings. He left his bishopric and first worked for the Gospel in Upper Italy. In 1548 he left Italy, preached the gospel in Grisons and Würtemberg, and died in Tübingen in 1565.

2) De Wette: "Klöster-Stift".

we would not remain alone in displeasure, and would have to hear that by our refusal we would have strengthened all such abominations of the pope, which otherwise might have been corrected.

008 For behold, the devil in his wicked wretches, that they would not condemn, but destroy; which is this: they have hitherto diligently practised the *Canonem Si Papa, etc.,* and in our time have shed much innocent blood, put all plagues upon many pious, honest people, chased them away, afflicted them, and dealt miserably with them, solely because they took the sacrament, 2c. knowing well that it was right.

009 Now they will judge such bloodshed and persecution in the council, and not only that, but also first of all they will begin and confirm such devilish raging, and force us to believe it to be right, and to be their masters, so that their bloodshed, persecution, blasphemy, and the destruction of Christendom, which they have committed before, and are still committing, and intend to commit forever, may be loaded on our consciences, and knowingly drag into hell with them. Let the devil do this, as he does through them.

010 All these things would be sufficient cause that they should have been attacked and torn asunder long ago. But because we have the advantage that it will become (as is the case at this time) a lousy, despised concilium, in which there will be few potentates; moreover, that the ban (where they wanted to make it) has long been dead, even now the concilium will come to such a clamor that it may err, and has often erred, so that it has lost its power and prestige, that they must even show a high apparent justice, so that it may again come to honor. For if this Bulla 3) should come to an end and be struck out, what a mocking, ridiculous Concilium it should be held by all pious, honest people, and give a delicious example to others, as Costnitz Concilium 2c., which foolishness has now also been revealed by God's Word:

011 So I would not be afraid of such hempen renders, but let them go away.

3) This will refer to the previously indicated Bull No. 1225.

and pour out their fools and their bells completely, and do not give a negative answer to the legate (who would desire his safekeeping), but do not entrap me either; for they will (whether God wills it) pour out the great fool after the little one as well. So here, too, there is no need to hurry, and we must learn God's way, which does not hurry, but patiently draws them out until he puts a stake in front of their tongues, so that they cannot pull them back into their mouths.

012 For if we should hasten thus without necessity, and fish for God before the name, we should labour in vain. For we must have his help with us, as they that are too weak for the devil's reason.

(13) This would also cause great annoyance, and perhaps even apostasy among many good people, if we were to refuse the Council at this time, when the Turk is present and the emperor is at work. Although I believe that the Roman boys (because they knew that this would be the case with the Turks and the French) have placed the Council in this very year, so that the Lutherans would not prevent it, but that it would be prevented by the Turks and the French. Although they would prefer that it be called hindered by the Lutherans. For that would have to be called will of courage; that would have been forced by necessity, so that it could not have been held before the Turk. In sum, they cannot tolerate a council, not even of their own part, if they are not to do as they please.

1233 The first petition of the Emperor's Orator and Vice-Chancellor, as far as the appointed Concilium is concerned. February 15, 1537.

This document, together with the three that follow, are from a print that came out in 1537 in quarto in Wittenberg under the title: "Wahrhaftiger Unterricht etlicher Handlungen, die sich Pabst Pauli des Nahmens des III. Concilii halben, das er den nechstkünftigen 23. The title of this book is: "Veritable Instruction of Some Acts which Pabst Pauli, in the name of the III Concilii, which he has decreed for the 23rd day of the mowing against Mantua, between the Roman Kahserlicher Maj. Oratorn and Vice-Canzler, Doctor Matthiasen Held, and the Elector, Princes, Counts, Lords, also the cities, which are related to the true evangelical confession and confection, took place at the new Reichstag held in Schmalkalden.

1) Here we have erased "they".

have. And so that everyone may read, see, and examine that the answers given to the above-mentioned confession relatives, for all the actions on which they are based, are well-founded and true, then the same actions, as those which took place one after the other, are listed at the end of this print. According to this in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 379; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1076 and in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 151, Also in Hortleder, vol. I, lib. I, oax. 25, p. 98. The acts themselves, "as they passed one after another," are found in Hortleder, vol. I, lid, VII, 6nx. I. 8^., P. 1231.

(1) Your High and Princely Grace undoubtedly have good knowledge that the Imperial Majesty in her own person, and in her absence through her envoys, has had the matters of religion thoroughly considered and discussed at many imperial congresses as to how they should be settled peacefully; but after much deliberation it has finally been concluded that a common general council should be held. Now her Majesty has truly spared no serious diligence, effort, or labor on her part, and has endeavored so long that she has brought such a council to be announced, and her Majesty has finally been of the mind, after her Majesty has come from Africa, to remain in the realm so long until such a council is held and the disputed religious matters are settled. And it is not the least grievance that her Majesty had to go to her Hispanic hereditary kingdoms this winter. However, so that Your Royal and Princely Grace will not think that the Concilium should be prevented due to Her Majesty's absence, Her Majesty has commanded me to announce that she intends to return to Italy this spring and to attend the Concilium in person. That also her Majesty shall not prevent anything, but only force of war, which they do not want to resist. As then her Majesty has sent herself in all other ways with her court servants and otherwise to appear again in Italy at the time in question.

(2) And even if great matters of war should occur which would prevent Her Majesty from appearing in person at the Concilio, in that case Her Imperial Majesty will take such precautions that for Her Majesty's sake there will again be no lack at the Concilio. It will also not be acceptable to His Imperial Majesty. Majesty that the war between Her Majesty and the King of France be settled, for which the Frenchman has wantonly forced Her Imperial Majesty beyond all his promises, treaties, oaths, letters, and seals.

003 And therefore the imperial majesty understands, because your royal and princely grace is all-

The Emperor has shown himself inclined to have the disputed religious matters settled peacefully, and this cannot be done better than by a General Council, to which Your Royal and Princely Grace also invoke that Your Royal and Princely Grace and those who are turned towards them will faithfully promote such Council with all diligence. And thereupon, Their Imperial Majesty requests a full report as to what Your Royal and Princely Grace and the same favouring ones think of the Concilium, to have the same visited personally or by their envoys, and to conduct themselves therein like other Christian members, especially since the Concilium alone is the right way by which such discord of religion may be settled, and other nations are also inclined to do so, that Your Royal and Princely Grace has shown itself to be as Christian, peaceful, and benevolent as hitherto, and that Her Imperial Majesty has provided for and graciously comforted it, and has faithfully promoted such a General Council on its part, and will not now be moved or persuaded to do otherwise, and will not give cause for such a General Council to be delayed, or for a schism to be practiced therein. And the Imperial Majesty hopes that the Almighty will grant his grace that the discord will not only be settled, but also that the Christian Church will be brought into a good reformation, to the praise and honor of God the Almighty, for which Her Imperial Majesty will not spare any diligence, effort, or work, but will, as before, hold and show himself as a praiseworthy Christian Emperor.

(4) Consider also your Imperial Majesty, where your sovereign and princely grace would seek delay or excuse therein, that not only thereby such good conduct might perhaps be prevented, but would also give rise to other nations' thoughts, as if one were more inclined to unrest than to peaceful unity.

(5) Your Imperial Majesty graciously gives notice of all this, so that Your Royal and Princely Grace may decide all the more wisely and not give cause for hindrance. For their Imperial Majesty seeks nothing else than that God the Almighty may be praised and honored, and that common Christianity may also benefit from it. And we graciously entreat Your Royal and Princely Grace that these things be done not only for Her Majesty's honor and subservience, but also for the benefit of the common Christians: but also for the comfort, welfare and good of common Christendom. Majesty's gracious confidence. His Majesty will in turn owe this in all graces.

6. Majesty has imposed this point on him in particular, because it is highly important, where he has

If he finds himself in a blockade or exodus, that he should reject it with diligence for the best, that he recognizes himself guilty to do and inherits, to show the cause to the best of his ability in all submissive manner. Where some explanation is needed in his application, he will also let himself be heard and offered to do so according to the Emperor's Majesty's command.

This advertisement was made by Doctor Matthias Held, Imperial Majesty's Councillor, Vice-Chancellor and Embassy to the Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave Philippe of Hesse, and their Electoral and Princely Graces in matters of religion and faith, who are in the Nuremberg stalemate, at Schmalkalden, Thursday after Esto mihi [Feb. 15], Anno 1537.

1234 The answer of the Christian confessionals to the imperial orator and bicchancellor's request, as far as the Concilium is concerned. February 24, 1537.

See the previous number.

(1) But when the Roman Imperial Majesty finally graciously gave us notice of an announced and scheduled council, with most gracious request. Maj. has graciously given us notice of an indicated and scheduled concilium, with most gracious request, because such a concilium would be the way by which the occurred discord in religion could be settled, that we would visit or attend the same and let ourselves be heard, what our will and mind would be in it.

(2) Thereupon we may not leave it undeclared to Her Imperial Majesty. 2. Then we may not leave it undeclared to Her Imperial Majesty in submission that it has not long since reached us before this time how the present Pope Paul, of the name of the Third, is supposed to have scheduled and indicated in the past Pentecost at Rome a General Council against Mantua, to be held in the near future on May 23, by a Bulla 1). Which bull and its contents, because we have received copies of it, we have been moved to the necessity of gathering here primarily for this reason; however, we find that the aforementioned Pabst's statements do not compare at all with the most gracious and Christian opinions of the Emperor's Majesty, as the same has also been felt and found with some of his ancestors in this most important matter.

003 For the imperial majesty hath in most gracious remembrance, though pope Adrianus, of the name

1) No. 1224 in this volume.

the Sixth, had his legate at the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg in the second and twentieth year of the few number, and there made the following statement 1) before their Imperial Majesty the Governor, also the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire. They had the following statement 1) made and presented before their imperial governors, princes, princes and estates of the empire, namely, that for some years there had been many abominable things in the see of Rome, abuses in the ecclesiastical, overreaching in commandments 2) and statutes, and finally all things had been changed into the perverse, therefore no wonder that the addiction had struck and come from the head into the limbs, from popes into the sub-prelates. That also pope, prelates, and clergy had deviated, each in his own way, and now for a long time there had been no one who did good, not one, with a distant appendix, that the said pope's legate should promise the German princes that he would turn all diligence to this end, so that first the Roman court, from which such evil all comes, might be reformed 2c.

(4) However, such a request was almost changed soon after the death of the said Pope Adriani, when Clement the Seventh became Pope, as is shown by his legate's 3) advertisement and action, which he had at Imperial Majesty's other and next following Imperial Diet at Nuremberg. Majesty's other and next following Imperial Diet at Nuremberg. And has Her Imperial Majesty by Her Majesty Majesty, through her Majesty's Governor and Orator, as well as the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire, for excellent reasons, causes and motives, had a resolution made and established there to hold a general universal and free council in the German nation. 4)

005 That such a council may be meant, and no other, than that which, according to a right, free, Christian council, might be useful for the reformation of all errors and abuses rooted in the church, both in heads and members, and not according to the manner and form which for a time have been made and kept by the popes.

(6) Her Imperial Majesty has issued such a Nuremberg Imperial Decree of a free, universal and Christian Council to us, the protesting Estates, at the negotiation of our lords, cousins and most gracious lords of the two Electors of Main and Palatinate. Majesty has, upon the negotiation of our lords Ohm, cousins and most gracious lords, both Electors, Mainz and Palatinate, against us, the protesting estates, in her Majesty's established and prescribed assurance of peace and peace of mind.

1) See Document No. 718 in the 15th volume of this Allsgabe.
2) The preceding reads in Walch thus: "much abominable has been, abuses in the spiritual make over, in commandments" 2c.
3) Campegius. See No. 738 ff. of the 15th volume.
4) See in 15 Vol. No. 747, § 5, Col. 2292.

The first of the two and thirtieth years of the lesser number, graciously confirmed and confirmed. 5)

(7) However, contrary to all the opinions determined and approved by Her Majesty Most Gracious, and also by the Empire of the German Nation, the aforementioned Pope Clement, in the third and thirtieth year of the few number, had us, the protesting Estates, hold a concilium through his Nuncium envoy, with Imperial Majesty their Orator. Majesty her Oratorem with him, the contents of some articles presented, 6) and have them proposed. Thereupon we have submitted to Her Imperial Majesty's Oratori, with all the answers, 7) which they have received. Majesty's Oratori, with sufficient explanation as to why we do not wish to regard such a Concilium as a common, free, Christian Concilium, and the Imperial Majesty's Governors and Orators, as well as the Princes, Princes and Estates concerned, as conforming to the agreements, obligations and acts made. To this he has also proposed the Malstatt in Italy, which is why we do not know how to consent to the same. But for the sake of a righteous, free council, we have made Christian, honorable, and reasonable requests, as all of Nunci's advertising and actions, as well as our given answer, sufficiently demonstrate, to which we wish to refer.

(8) We have also given the same answer when the present Pope Paul, in the fifth and thirtieth year, next to some of ours, had a council held in Italy, indicated by his nuncio, and not to be led out of the kingdom, as the copy enclosed here clearly and sufficiently shows.

(9) But concerning this we find from the said Pope Paul's alleged bulls, so that he proclaims the Concilium at Rome, that he has not only written to hold a Concilium concealed from the most gracious intention of the Emperor's Majesty, and from the decrees established and confirmed in the realm of his Majesty, but also contrary and improper to our given answers, but at the same time a dangerous and deceitful 9) Concilium, as Pope Clement has publicly given to understand by his articles.

010 For from the same bull it is recorded that he is not only disinclined to have errors, unchristian grievances, and abuses spoken and acted of in a christian manner, even with earnestness and truth, but irrefutably admits

5) See the documents No. 1197 ff. in this volume.
6) No. 1212 in this volume.
7) No. 1216 in this volume.
8) No. 1223 in this volume.
9) "fraudulent" put by us instead of: "unfraudulent".

understand that our Christian confession and our teacher's doctrine, founded in God's words, should rather be condemned and condemned with his bull than his supposed concilium is begun.

(11) Which is clear from the fact that, among other things, he mentions this cause in such an indication, 1) namely, "the new heresies and errors that have arisen," 2c. Item, that he does not report anything further or different about any just Christian act of faith, but only that 2) the eradication of all heresies is to be dealt with in such his intended Concilio.

12. Now it is easy to think that he does not mean his and the churches' doctrine and customs at Rome, but he wants to condemn our Christian confession (as his leader, Pope Leo the Tenth, did by his bulls, and the following popes by the bull Oosnns Oornini), with the bull of his supposed Concilii 3) have condemned and ungodly condemned the eternal truth of God and of his only Son, the Gospel of our Lord JEsu Christ, and persist in his ancestral footsteps, and let nothing concerning doctrine, error, and abuses be dealt with in the Concilio, for how such doctrine is to be eradicated as a heresy.

13) And that this is his opinion is further confirmed and clearly shown by his bulla, which he had published almost three months later, when the supposed jndiction of the Concilii took place at Rome, for the pretence of reforming his Roman court, in which he declares publicly and with expressed words, 4) that he was moved to institute the Concilium, as a cause, for the extermination of half the poisonous Lutherans (so that he may mean nothing but our Christian confession), as well as other heresies.

(14) Above this he clearly shows his condemnation of our confession, and proves it in fact by the fact that he kills, murders, slaughters, and chases away the confessors and followers of our [doctrine] and of the same our confession, before such a supposed council has ever been written out, or before some Christian, acceptable act has been done or performed in it with divine Scripture, and also lets others kill, murder, chase away, and slaughter them, and procures, approves, and sanctions such things.

1) No. 1224, § 1 in this volume.
2) Here we have erased "us." See No. 1224, § 5.
3) In the old edition, only here is the parenthetical closed.
4) No. 1225, § 2 in this volume.
5) Added by us.

(15) May His Imperial Majesty, as a most praiseworthy, virtuous Emperor, and the whole world, consider it dangerous for him, as if it were his opinion and mind, to reform his and his bishops' [and] clergy's unchristian abominations, errors, and abuses (of which many excellent, God-fearing, and learned people have long complained, and have cried and screamed about) in a Christian manner and to have them acted upon.

(16) Cunningly moves the Catholic Majesty. Majesty, who considers his mind and earnestness to be there, as reported, that her Majesty graciously admonishes us and other estates to such concilio, since undoubtedly her Majesty would not have allowed herself to be moved to promote Pabst's Pauli Concilium, if her Majesty had knowledge of such danger and deceit.

17. For this purpose he sends his messengers to other Christian kings and potentates, and also to us, this part of the states, on pretended appearance, and yet with concealed deceit, to induce reported kings and potentates and us by trickery to such a concilio, and to make them and us subject to the same, and also thereupon to execute and enforce his unjust and ungodly actions, and to hold our confession condemned and condemned beside and with him before the Concilio, and to help to ratify his void Damnation. However, the high imperial, royal, princely, and noble minds, as those inclined to virtuous and upright actions, will undoubtedly not participate in any fraud, nor will they allow themselves to be induced to do so.

(18) But, which is still more dangerous, he supposes by such requests of his nuncii to obtain and bring about unnoticed that we, as the Emperor Julianus Apostata did against the Christian men of war, should condemn our Christian confession by grant of the Concilii itself, and like him, and help to conclude its extinction against us and our doctrine, without any act of truth. This, however, is such a wicked deception and abuse that it cannot be excused by Pope Paul, either according to divine commandments or the respectability of the world.

019 For this purpose, although the above-mentioned pope and his ecclesiastical followers (because our confession, and also the doctrine of ours, is most opposed to the abominable errors and abuses of papal and episcopal authority and statutes) are the most prominent opponents, yet he will (in spite of natural equity, and the fact that it is not due to him as a part) maintain the same confession and doctrine.

and to condemn them. In this, his clergy have never been repugnant to him, and this dispute affects them just as much as the pope, moreover, that they are bound to him with hard oaths, also to preserve his statutes or his position, and otherwise.

(20) Such their acts, intentions, and undertakings will undoubtedly be regarded by the imperial majesty, as well as by other Christian kings, potentates, and estates, not as Christian or just, but as contrary to God's and natural rights, that the pope and his clergy should have jus äsllriitziuli or eoneluäsriäi in such matters in which they find the highest, most, and noblest opponents, and should also be judges and arbiters themselves.

21. For that the pope publicly introduces, upholds, and defends false doctrine, abuses, and idolatries (which are not only contrary to the clear words of God, but also to the proven holy councils, and to the old Christian teachers, that the popes have also made traditions and statutes contrary to God's commandment, by which, certainly and without all doubt, true and truthful knowledge is obscured and suppressed), our teachers have, by the grace of God, proved superfluous up to this point. For this reason, together with them and others, we intend to accuse the pope and his attached clergy of this in a right, free, Christian, common assembly and concilium by means of divine help, and to refer it to the public in case of need. That they also simoniues without proper profession, by evil practices, also by violent and dangerous means, subjugate themselves to their estates against God and their own statutes, lead an unchristian, dishonorable and annoying life, being and way of life, of the ecclesiastical, most noble offices with seriousness, The fact that the people of the Church do not wait on the most noble offices with the seriousness due to God, do not care for the poor and needy in a proper and fair manner, and practice other innumerable abuses, annoyances, and scandals, is not known to all of Christendom, and there is no need to make a wide-ranging report of it. Therefore the pope, by virtue of his own rights, cannot declare a lawful Christian council, much less consider himself head and president of such a council.

22 Because it is in the form of the pope himself, much less may his ecclesiastical associates, who are related to him in all the errors and abominations mentioned above, and who are bound by duties as mentioned above, be in such a council as co-judges, judges, and discerners, nor may they be in the same council as the pope himself.

The Roman Emperor and all Christian kings, princes, and potentates know and have undoubtedly sufficient evidence of this. All Christian kings, princes, and potentates know this, and have undoubtedly sufficient report of it.

(23) Finally, we have also noted that he wants the Council in Italy to be held against Mantua, since Imperial Majesty and her orators and commanders in its place have decided that it would be convenient to hold it in the German nation. Majesty and, in his stead, his orators and commanders, as well as princes, princes, and estates, have considered and decided that it would be fair and convenient to hold it in the German nation. And the pope thinks to change and overturn the decision of the empire, not without contempt of the imperial majesty and the empire of the German nation. Moreover, we are not yet certain that all other kings and potentates will consent or agree to hold a concilium in Mantua, and in Italy they have their most noble parties and followers, so that it would be dangerous and dangerous, and even unsafe, for us to come to the concilium in person and through messages sent by us.

024 For though we, the protesting estates, would have a sufficient and constant assurance, yet the pope's followers and party in Italy are particularly unbalanced, unpleasant, and repugnant to us and our teachers, on account of our Christian confession, so that we and our embassies cannot be well assured of the end of secret troubles, nor of practices, which the places have to attend to more than elsewhere.

25. In addition, because this is the most important trade under the sun at this time, concerning salvation and eternal damnation, it is necessary for us to have a large and good number, together with a considerable number of our teachers, preachers, and pastors (who confessed with us before the Emperor's Majesty at the Imperial Diet held in Augsburg, and who, like each of our estates, are also involved in and encountered by them), to be of our own person, and not to place such matters on embassies or procurators alone, so it would be quite burdensome and worrisome for us to dispose of ourselves outside of the Empire of the German Nation in Italy, together with the reported preachers and teachers who have confessed to us, and to leave our lands and people under our opponents in the Empire for these matters, as well as the people and subjects without preachers and teachers for a long time.

26 For these necessary concerns and causes, as well as others of the same kind, let His Imperial Roman Majesty graciously consider and consider what reasonable, brave, and powerful difficulties we have in entering into this matter. Majesty graciously consider and consider what reasonable, brave, and mighty difficulties we have to face in order to

Pope Pauli dangerously announced Concilium, and that the same outside the Empire of the German Nation in Italy should request and provide. We also ask your Imperial Majesty. Most humbly, that, as a noble, virtuous Emperor, we will not, in disgrace, be held responsible for the causes and difficulties indicated, and that, as the temporal supreme head, set and decreed by God primarily for the protection and protection of true and Christian worship, we will graciously promote these most important matters and actions, so that the eternal, imperishable truth of God may advance, and Christian constant unity may be planted, established, and carried out in the German nation on the right foundation, which is Christ, our Lord and Savior, and His holy Gospel, to His praise and glory, in a common, free, Christian concilio, without all dangerous, partial, suspicious, and unjust actions.

27 For we may testify from our hearts that we want to stand, live, and die with God's help in the faith which the true Christian church believes and holds, and that we do not think to differ from the unity of the true Christian church, and that in this matter we seek nothing but the honor and glory of God the Almighty and of His dear Son JESUS CHRIST, and besides this, the blessedness of all men, that they may be instructed by God's word and brought to the right worship of God.

28 We wish to report this to the Imperial Majesty's Oratori and Vice-Chancellor for an urgent report and answer; we also graciously request and kindly ask him to promote this most humble answer of ours to the Imperial Majesty in the most humble and best way. We also offer ourselves to Imperial Majesty for all obedience that is owed and possible according to God, and want to earn it for Her Imperial Majesty, as our most gracious Lord and Emperor, in all subservience always willingly, subserviently and gladly, and also graciously and favorably instruct and kindly earn it for the Imperial Orator. Date Schmalkalden, on Saturday on the day of St. Matthew [24 Feb], Anno Domini 1537.

Johannes Friederich, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.
Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. For ourselves and others our kinsmen.

1235: The Imperial Orator and Vice-Chancellor's Rejoinder and Further Indication of the Answer Given to the Christian Confession, 1537.

See No. 1233.

(1) As far as the answer of the indicated Council is concerned, Her Royal and Princely Graces and those who are attached to them, Their Imperial Majesties and those who are attached to them have clearly heard the Christian mind and intention of faithfully promoting and personally attending the same Council as before, and have undoubtedly felt it many times before. Majesty's Christian mind and intention to faithfully promote and personally attend the same Concilium as hitherto, have clearly and loudly heard, and no doubt felt and found before too many times that their Imperial Majesty's mind cannot be otherwise. Majesty's mind is no other than to promote and attend the Concilium, so that in the same Concilio the discord in religion may be peacefully and Christianly settled, and Christianity brought into a good reformation and being, especially to the glory and praise of Almighty God, and to the blessedness of all pious Christians. To this end, Her Imperial Majesty, as a Christian Her Majesty, as a Christian head and authority, will not allow anything to be done to her in the future, and her Majesty would have liked to see a General Council long ago, as the same Council has been considered at all Imperial Conventions and elsewhere for the right, peaceful and united Christian way, and her Imperial Majesty does not yet know how to devise a more suitable or better means. Therefore Her Imperial Majesty Majesty has taken upon himself to promote such a council, at the request of the common estates of the Empire, and, as her Imperial Majesty has promised to God, he has taken it upon himself to do so. Majesty had hoped to God, as far as the tender is concerned, has now faithfully fulfilled her promise. Since such a General Council is therefore consoling and still in existence, and should be beneficial, Her Imperial Majesty would certainly not have had to make a decision. Majesty would certainly not have provided for any complaint in this case with her electoral and princely graces and their relatives. Her Imperial Majesty, if the answer given should remain the same, would not bear a little painful pity for this, considering what misfortune might follow from it. Since this article is important and great, and much good may result from it for common Christianity, especially as far as the salvation of souls is concerned, Their Imperial Majesties have not displeased me. Majesty has not unreasonably enjoined me to take up such an article with her electoral and princely graces and those who are turned towards her, and to receive a definite, clear, compliant answer to it, which I then partly agree with.

...with all humble and faithful diligence, as much as is in me, will willingly perform.

(2) And therefore I humbly, diligently, and kindly ask and request of your Supreme and Federal Governments and their allies that they compare themselves differently in this article, and especially with the Imperial Majesty's mind and opinion, and that they do not want her Majesty and other Christian potentates and members to do so. And in order that their sovereign and imperial Majesty's mind and Christian opinion may be compared to that of the Emperor. Majesty's mind and Christian opinion, I herewith further declare to your Majesty and the same that Imperial Majesty's mind and Christian opinion has never been the same. Majesty's mind has never been, and still is not, to defend or handle anything in the Concilio that would be unchristian and contrary to the word of God, and much less to protect and denigrate the abuses, vexatious life and scandala, they are found equal in heads and limbs, but want their Imperial Majesty to be completely satisfied in all this. Majesty to be wholly impartial in all this, and to promote the same faithfully in other Christian heads and members. And since it is divine and right that in the General Council no partisan and sacrilegious action should take place, but only equity, and especially the Word of God and proven Scripture, and all partisanship and practices be cut off, as then their Imperial Majesty fully respects that the opinion of the other Christian heads and members is also like this, their Imperial Majesty cannot think of what their churl and F. G. and those who are related to them have to say about this. G. and their relatives may indicate for a sufficient complaint, not to attend or have attended the same council. For if partiality, advantage, and such unjust practices should not and cannot take place in the General Council, it follows irrefutably that such a General Council must be regarded as nothing other than Christian, free, and unsuspicious, and that for this reason their chur- and F. G. and their relatives should not be allowed to attend the same Council. G. and those associated with them do not sufficiently excuse themselves from the indicated council by their given answer; such an excuse might also be considered somewhat suspicious not only by the Imperial Majesty, but also by other many nations.

(3) And, as their sovereign and imperial majesty, and their relatives, papal sanctity, interpret something so sharply that, if it were so, it would not be praised by any Christian, honor-loving person, nor would it bring benefit and promotion to the disputed religious matters for a Christian settlement. But the Emperor's Majesty has decreed such a thing.

They have no knowledge of this in their minds, nor can they assume it from the papal holiness, nor can they be sure of it, but rather of the contradiction that the pope, as the most distinguished ecclesiastical head before others, would keep himself Christian and unprovable, as befits his rank and office. If, however, their ecclesiastical and federal authorities and their relatives ever want to find fault with the pope and other clergy, and consider them biased and suspicious, they may, as is proper, bring this before the Council, and act on it with Christian discipline, without envy and enmity.

(4) Likewise, whether they have a defect or deficiency in form (how and in what manner things and actions are to be performed, acted upon, and decided at the concilium in question) or in other matters, they may with good reason bring up and discuss all this before the concilium in question. For that their Supreme and Supreme Highnesses and those associated with them should, for themselves, outside the Council, presume to set a form and measure for all the other nations of Christendom as to how and what should be acted upon and decided at the Council, would not be fair, and would also have to be regarded as more partial than Christian. Her Imperial Majesty would also have no authority or power to do so for herself and with all the estates of the Holy Roman Empire, but rather the matters concerning the General Council would have to be dealt with not by a few heads, but by the general assembly of the Council, to which many more Christian, God-fearing, learned, and pious men should appear, who are well versed in and grounded in the holy divine Scriptures, and who are of an honorable way of life and conduct. And let their C. and F. Gn. and those who are attached to them by no means think that the experience of the holy Scriptures and the Holy Spirit are only in their scholars, but also in many more learned, God-fearing, righteous people in Christendom.

(5) For as far as the venue of the Council of Mantua is concerned, it is not without reason that the imperial estates, and especially their sovereigns and federations and their relatives, would have liked to have the General Council in German lands, which their imperial majesty has not prevented. However, their sovereignty and federation and their relatives must consider that the other Christian nations should have been considered. And therefore perhaps the papal holiness has chosen such a place as is most convenient, which is nearest to the German nation, with sufficient lodgings, and to which the German people can be attached.

Provisions on water and land well provided and skilful. Moreover, it lies in the holy realm and in quite good air, and is the property of the same realm without means, since even the pope and the clergy will neither seek nor find any advantage, since the city of Mantua has its own duke, the feudal lord of the holy realm. And in sum, according to the occasion, the place may not be considered inconvenient. And if their sovereign and imperial sovereigns and their relatives should have any doubts, the imperial majesty, as a peaceful, gracious emperor, who would like to see such a work of the general concilii promoted, will duly see to it and give assurance, and will procure and maintain the same with others, that their sovereign and imperial sovereigns shall come to the concilio in question, and from there again to their custody, peacefully, safely, and unoffended. For this reason, their Electoral and Princely Graces and their relatives, insofar as they deem it necessary, may make and request reasonable proposals, whereupon they will also decide that nothing reasonable should be done to the Imperial Majesty, and that their Imperial Majesty should grant their Electoral and Princely Graces the right of accession to the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty does not intend to mislead her Highness and F. G. and their relatives in any way.

(6) After all this, their electoral and princely graces and their relatives will finally discuss this further report and decide on an explicit, clear, compliant answer to their imperial majesty's request, as equity and great necessity require, and show themselves in this way, as their imperial majesty graciously consoled their electoral and princely graces and their relatives. Therefore, their electoral and princely graces and their relatives will receive the eternal reward from the Almighty God, and special grace from their Majesty.

1236 The Augsburg Confession relatives' refutation of the imperial orator and vice-chancellor's other claims. Date Schmalkalden, February 28, 1537.

See No. 1233.

(1) As for the last Concilium indicated by Pope Paul, we have heard from the Emperor's Majesty's orator that the Emperor's Majesty's mind is to promote and attend the same. Majesty's mind to promote and attend the same is no other than that in it the discord in religion may be peacefully resolved.

The church is to be brought into good reformation and character, and first of all to the praise of the Almighty and to the blessedness of all pious Christians. It is also not in the opinion of Her Imperial Majesty to defend or to do anything in the Concilio that would be unchristian and contrary to the word of God, and much less to protect and glorify the abuses, annoying life and scandal. Also, that Her Majesty considers it divine and proper that in the General Council no partisan and sacrilegious action, but only equity, and especially the Word of God and proven Scripture take place, and all partisanship and practices be cut off. 2c.

(2) That now Imperial Maj. We are pleased to hear that Your Majesty's mind on the above-mentioned Concilii stands as touched, especially that Her Majesty herself considers it divine and right that in a Concilio no partisan and beneficial actions, but only fairness, and especially the Word of God and the Holy Scriptures, should take place. Just as such matters concern the Most High and His eternal, everlasting Word, and the glory and honor of the same.

(3) But that her Imperial Maj. Maj. Pabst Pauli's mind does not have knowledge, as we have truly and thoroughly indicated in our next answer after the length, that we (in moderation, as her Maj. Orator has indicated) hold well for it, also carry no doubt, where her Maj. would have noted such and would have had knowledge, her Maj. would not at all have ordered the same Orator to promote Pabst Pauli's Concilium with us or other estates.

(4) We also humbly leave in its value what Imperial Maj. to the pope provides cheap and good about this.

(5) But because his dangerous plan is publicly inappropriate to Imperial Majesty's gracious and Christian opinion. Maj.'s most gracious and Christian opinion is publicly improper and unequal, and with his Bulla of the Indicted Concilii it is clearly evident that his opinion and will is quite repugnant, and directed to danger, also to partisan and beneficial actions, that [it] Imperial Maj. Maj. Orator himself does not know how to approve it; nor does he intend anything else with his indiction of the Concilii than to introduce us and other estates of the German nation, which are not of our confession and of this time in place, to his advantage and opinion (where we should consent to such Concilium), then we respect that Imperial Majesty will not blame us for this. Majesty will not blame us for not having placed our minds on any uncertain delusion in this matter.

but to fathom our unavoidable need of it, which by Pabst's Pauli Bull, and other certain true circumstances, is clear and before our eyes.

6th To wit, that he has already condemned, and intends to condemn, our Confession and that of ours, and other Christian doctrines, by means of the bulls reported above and others, before the beginning of the Council, by word and deed; nor can we think that he would contradict such things if he were himself personally present. And even if he would submit to it, or anyone, the contradiction is so bright and public in the day that he must be found untrue before the world with adverse reports.

(7) Thus it is also known how for some time past (although many acts in matters of faith and religion have been done and performed with kindness in conciliis, but he and his clergy have not been subjected to their will, even though they have had God's Word and all Scripture against them) he has finally reserved to him and his clergy the right to judge and *jus definiendi in* such matters of religion and faith as spiritual matters. Therefore we cannot think nor may we think, whether we have the whole Holy Scripture and the Holy Gospel of our Lord Christ for us, if we did not want to give way to the pope and his clergy on such and such sophistry, as was compiled at Augsburg against our Christian confession founded in the Word of God, and yet was not allowed to be given to the light by the masters in writing: If the said pope and fine clergy, as the most distinguished opponent (whom we intend to accuse with the said clergy in a righteous, common, free, Christian concilio for false doctrine, heresy, anti-Christianity, idolatry, un-Christian abominations, abuses and other things, and to overcome them with the truth by means of divine help), would at last, together with the same clergy, want to be recognized in the matters, judges and arbiters.

008 For that such is his opinion, his presumed bull of circumstantial evidence carries with it in itself, even though according to fine laws it may not be understood otherwise, nor any other understanding be taken from it.

009 Now if we should consent to attend or attend such a council, upon the understanding which its bull gives and clearly brings, we might well consider and accept, if we had once consented to it according to the reported bull's understanding, that after that we would have little service or fruitfulness of form, measure, and

For the time being, we do not know how these great matters should be handled impartially, without suspicion, Christianly, and evenly, with the pope and his clergy, and with their followers, as well as with those who are themselves opponents. Especially because we have already granted them (if we should save our need for it) all their unjust advantage and will with the approval of the Concilii.

(10) Whether such a council (in which the pope and fine clergy have already condemned our and ours' Christian confession and doctrine before the matters have ever been spoken of or acted upon, and since the pope and his clergy, as the highest opponents, finally want to be judge and arbiter) can or may be created for such a common, free, Christian council, on which Imperial Majesty, through her Majesty's governors and orators, also princes, princes and estates of the Empire of the German Nation, has decided beforehand, and her Majesty, in the Peace of Nuremberg, has given us the right of appeal. Her Majesty, through Her Majesty's Governors and Orators, as well as the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Empire of the German Nation, have hitherto resolved, and Her Majesty has graciously promised us in the Nuremberg Peace and Standstill Assurance, Her Majesty, as well as the Orator and all men, shall graciously and sufficiently hear from this, as well as what shall thereupon be given in case of necessity in the course of time.

11. For although we note that the Emperor's Majesty's Orator may not approve nor praise such a threat of the Pope, we nevertheless believe that he knows and understands why in the reported and other decrees and acts of the Empire, also in our Appeal and Protestation, and especially in the answers which we have given to the papal nuncios, the words "general, free, Christian concilium" are used, and that with them and the like of the popes and ecclesiastics dangerous and unreasonable opinions and actions should be cut off and occur. As is undoubtedly proper according to all rights, such words and the like are to be interpreted in such a way that they are not set in vain, and stand on paper in vain, but are to have a further effect and indicate something.

(12) For what else would it have been to use the word "free" so often in imperial acts and decrees, if only it had been understood that every state should be permitted and at liberty to advance its own opinion and needs in the Council? For liberty was formerly granted to the estates of Christendom, and also at times to private individuals; nor would it be otherwise, first of all for those who are called upon to come to the Council. But in order that the word "free" may have its effect, it is

and must undoubtedly be meant that the pope and his clergy, who are bound to each other by oaths in their matters, should not, nor must they, as they have previously subjected themselves to in some conciliis, themselves be judges and arbiters in such their matters, but that other, impartial means and ways should and must be used therein. Likewise, the word "Christian" must also have a broader meaning, for it alone should be meant that Turks, unbaptized persons, and unbelievers should not be in such a council. For such a thing, without further addition of the word "Christian," would have brought the word Concilium in itself, since it is to mean an assembly of Christians; but must bathe the mind, and bring irrefutably that it is to be such a Concilium, in which procedures are to be carried out without entanglement, without suspicion, and in a Christian manner, and that only the Word of God is to be acted upon, and the doctrines are to be tried. Otherwise, the words mentioned would be completely in vain and in vain in the decisions and actions taken, without any effect, which may not be, nor should it be.

(13) Thus we also know well of the graces of God, and faith tells us that the true, right Christians who have God's Spirit are not scattered in one place, nor in one country alone, but in the whole world. This also pleases us not a little, that we hope to God, and bear no doubt, if only the pope and his spiritual followers have their beneficial ways and opinions broken, so that they do not have the game in their hands and power, the almighty God will grant the grace that not only our scholars, but many more pious, God-fearing, scholarly people from all nations (who undoubtedly want nothing better than to see the papal and spiritual abominations, according to the judgment of God's word, changed into a Christian change and Christianity united) come together, but who have now been conscripted, and some of whom are not yet allowed to confess the divine truth for the time being out of human fear.

(14) Why even Pope Benedict's proclamation and indicative council do not compare with the Emperor's Majesty, the Electors, and the Estates of the former imperial and approving opinions, has been sufficiently explained to Her Majesty. Orator from our next answer with excellent causes and circumstances. Nor can we again judge that a common, free, Christian council would be cheaper and more convenient in some nations.

and be held, by virtue of the above-mentioned imperial and imperial agreements, in the German nation. For although other nations are also concerned with such a council, no nation is more important than the German nation, and especially us, and many others in the German nation who belong to our confession, whose unavoidable need requires them to be present in person, together with our and their preachers and teachers in large numbers, when other kings and potentates, princes and states can decay their place through their embassies, oratores and procuratores; As also the common use hath been for some time past in Conciliis.

015 And how it is with the city of Mantua, for its convenience, we leave to its value; but it is ever true that now and then there is war in Jtalia. And although the same cause does not hinder us so much, the same city of Mantua is suspicious to us for the indicated reasons, and, which misleads us more, the Duke of Mantua is not particularly known. In addition, we are credibly informed that his biological brother is one of the most distinguished cardinals. For this reason, it is not our place to trust in this; we also hope to God that if other nations hear these complaints and concerns of ours because of the place we occupy and the Christian actions we desire, they will not blame us for this, but will be much more cautious because of our part in another Christian nation that we grant this.

16 Thus also the Imperial Majesty knows that there are many cities in the German nation that are no less comfortable than Mantua. Maj. knows that there are many cities in the German nation that are no less comfortable than Mantua, that have their own authorities high and low, and where security, honor, loyalty, and faith are found. And praise God! so far the secret practices of killing people have been heard little in our German nation, which one hears and hears at times in others.

(17) Her Imperial Majesty shall also not take such a request from us. Majesty should not take such a request from us that we stand so hard on the imperial decrees and not let ourselves be led out of them, since such a thing was previously considered fair and right at imperial congresses. Moreover, this is not new at this time, but we find that in the same case Liberius, the bishop of Rome, as a Christian supporter and patron of Athanasius, requested the same from the emperor Constantine, that Athanasius be given a concilium in Alexandria, where the defendant and the plaintiff and the promisee were. And although such a place is far removed from the Occidentals.

and Constantine said that the whole world condemned Athanasius, and decided that whoever had fellowship with him should be deprived of Christian fellowship, but Liberius alone was the one who supported breaking up the peace of the whole world, (For what had long been in one being should not be abandoned, and the very arguments now used against us were needed, even by the emperor, his bishops, and chamberlains against Liberius), Liberius nevertheless stood on his opinion, and considered it just; And because the emperor Constantine rejected this, the world was kept in such error for a long time. But afterward it was finally found that Athanasius' opinion was just in the sight of God, and so will remain the truth of God forever. How many have nevertheless had to die and suffer innocently because of it! Thus, our well-known doctrine shall and will (whether God wills it) also be invented, whether we are allowed a comfortable place or not. For the same reason, the entire OormUiuin Ua8i1i6N86 refused to hold the Concilium in the city of Ferrara.

(18) In this case there are many more reasons why the place of Mantua is suspicious to us; for Pope Clement the Fifth had a grievance against the Emperor Henry on account of the place of Pisa, and yet considered it unreasonable that Robertus, king of Sicily, should have been cited thither.

(19) Since we do not wish to consent to or attend the much-reported council of Pope Paul at his request, and to the extent that he has done so, and his opinion and intentions are as they are, and since we have not expressly consented to it for the sake of our consciences, we hope that Her Imperial Majesty will blame the Pope and not us. Maj. will assign the blame and cause to the pope, and not to us. Since nothing else has ever been understood or heard by us, as often as we have been drawn to a council, except that we expressly and clearly want a common, free, Christian council, by virtue of Imperial Majesty, Electors of the Holy Roman Empire. Majesty, Electors, Princes, and Estates [in] the Empire. For we have always considered that if the popes were to prescribe a council of their own liking, they would not refrain from instituting it for their own benefit, so that God's word would subsequently, just as before, have to remain condemned and give way to the pope and his errors, abominations, and abuses.

(20) It may also be that the Pope Imperial Maj. Maj. nor us, that we do not have such a written Concilium.
We do not wish to impose anything, since we have not only informed his ancestor, Pope Clement Nuncio, Petro Paulo Vergerio, but also his envoys of our opinion in writing beforehand in this form: Although we desire a concilium as highly as anyone else, for the sake of the unity of the Church, we would not consent to anything else, except that a common, free, Christian concilium be held in the German nation, in which, according to God's Word, the divisions that have occurred are to be dealt with, compared, and the errors eradicated. However, this is not to be found in the aforementioned Pabst's bulls and the supposed indication of his council, that he is willing to put down his and his clergy's introduced errors, abominations, and abuses by God's word and to have them recognized, as yet, Imperial Majesty the Holy Roman Emperor has done. Majest. Orator state that Imperial Maj. Maj.'s opinion and mind are to that effect.

(21) For even if the pope's will and intention were such, he should not have condemned our and ours' true Christian confession and the very Word of God, which is to judge, judge, and put down his errors, abominations, and abuses in the concilium, as Christ, the mouth of truth, Himself says that "the Word will judge" 2c. The pope wants to take from us our arms and weapons, even the true judge, God's Word, with such an unchristian damnation, before we ever come to his Council and the matters are heard there. What good and Christian, righteous and impartial action would we have to provide for ourselves in his council with him and his clergy and other of his followers, if we had submitted to his will and judgment through the approval of his council?

22 For this reason, although we have little care or doubt on the part of His Imperial Majesty, we do not believe that Her Majesty's mind is entirely sincere. Majesty take little precaution or doubt, for that her Majesty's mind, as touched upon above, is quite sincere, right, and Christian in this, therefore it grieves us all the more that we have to give her Imperial Majesty the same reason. Majesty's Majesty's will, let us nevertheless with Imperial. Majesty. Majesty's good opinion against such dangers of the pope. For as much as His Majesty would be at the Concilio in person, no one is ignorant of the power and authority that they allow their Majesty and other Christian kings, princes, potentates, and secular states in religious and spiritual matters, as they give them names, to have in their Conciliis. For if the pope and his ecclesiastics do so much as to give them the power and authority in their conciliates

They allow them to consult *voces consultativas*, but they reserve *decisivas for* them alone, whether Imperial Majesty and the secular estates want to go too far with their counsels against them. Majesty and the secular estates want to go too far against them with their counsels, that they nevertheless have the reins in their hands, and may finally conclude and decide as they please. Therefore, Imperial Majesty will not blame us. Majesty will not blame us for not consenting to such a public danger to Pabst Pauli. For nature shows in unreasonable creatures that they avoid the traps that have been laid and recognized. It is more convenient for us, as Christians, who have been commanded by God to be cautious in the matters of His divine Word, to shun and avoid the obvious danger of Pabst Paul.

23 Thus it is also evident how the Council of Constance acted with Emperor Siegmund, this time in the Roman dignities: which pious emperor (as is said) is said to have given escort and security to John Hussein; but the Council weakened his imperial majesty in this, and declared to him to great displeasure that in cases of emperors, kings, and others, he was not obliged to keep escort. Majesty, and declared to his great displeasure that the ecclesiastics were not obliged to keep escort in the cases of emperors, kings, and others. And that therefore the pious king has had to tolerate his escort being broken, which has undoubtedly been a hearty burden to him.

24 But nevertheless this did not help the complainant. From which act of the Constance Concilii it may well be inferred what Imperial Majesty is able to do in such a case. Majesty would be able to do in such a case, even if she would like to, against the proceeding of the papal Concilii. Therefore, it behooves us to be cautious in this, as God's honor requires it most of all.

(25) But so that there is no lack of us in this, which is due before God and the world, we do not only want to offer ourselves once again for a righteous, impartial, Christian and reasonable action, but also have asked and reminded the Imperial Majesty most humbly to consider this most excellent matter and this occasion. Majesty most humbly requested and reminded that Her Majesty would graciously consider this most excellent matter and the occasion thereof, and would undertake and promote a true, right, common, Christian concilium in the German nation, in which the Pope and his clergy would not be judges over and against God and His Word and us. For we may not help to take away the honor and power that God Himself gives to His Word by the desired, our approval of the Papal Concilii, as we would otherwise do with the deed, nor would we be able to answer for it in God's court.

26) But if Pope Paul will want to show his imperial majesty in such a work, he will do so. Majesty want to be involved in this imperial work?

If we are unable to prevent the holding of a common, free, Christian council in the German nation, or if we oppose it, we hereby testify before God and all of Christendom that we have not been unjustly lacking in doing, promoting, and approving everything that faith and love require for Christian unity. Whatever disruptions, unrest, and temporal and eternal harm will occur and result from this, we will be excused, and let Pope Paul and his spiritual followers bear the blame and cause, which the Almighty will not leave unsmelled in his time.

27 And have not wished to leave all this undisclosed to Imperial Majesty Orator and Vice-Chancellor. Majesty's Oratori and Vice-Chancellor, upon other submissions made by him, for a true counter-report; also graciously request, and kindly and obligingly ask him, that he may favorably transmit the same to our further report to the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, in accordance with his request, and that he may bestow our most humble report to her Majesty. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, in accordance with his request, and to promote our most humble report to Her Majesty to the best, and to inform us Imperial Majesty as our most gracious Lord. Maj., as our most gracious Lord, in all subservience, with the offer of our most humble services. This we are graciously inclined to acknowledge and kindly and willingly earn for the sake of her Majesty's reported orators. Date Schmalkalden, Wednesday after D,6miiii806r6 [28 Feb], Anno Domini 1537.

1237 Philipp Melanchthon's letter to Joachim Camerarius, about the deliberations at Schmalkalden concerning the Concilii. March 1, 1537.

In Melanchthon's epist. , lib. IV, No. 196 and in the Oorx.

Rec, vol. ill, 291.

Translated from the Latin.

To the high and excellent, learned man, Joachim Camerarius in Tübingen, his highly esteemed friend, (Philipp Melanchthon) sends his greetings!

(1) When I learned that the meeting had been announced so that the princes might consult about a council and that we might discuss doctrine together, I came here with an extraordinarily troubled mind. For I saw beforehand what counsel the princes would have, and that, if a heated dispute arose among the theologians, more frightening things would happen.

...that discord should come of it... For I know what the mind of certain men is set on, and to whom every man intends his play to please.

(2) Luther, Pomeranus, Spalatin, Osiander, Veit, Urban Regius, and Amsdorf came here. For it is not necessary to name the others. Of those who should not be of the same opinion with ours, as one thinks, none was there but Blarer and Bucer.

(3) Now there are two reasons why a theological assembly was appointed: the first, that there might not be a vain but an exact comparison of doctrine, that the disagreement might be removed, and that there might be a right unanimous and clear doctrine in our churches. The other, that it should be decided which articles should be held fast, and such asserted to the utmost, with restraint from common tranquillity and all human things, and which, on the other hand, should be left to the pope and ecclesiastical police, in order to restore the peace and common harmony of the church, if the matter should be put to the point that anything should be yielded.

004 Now this was very good counsel, that there should be a disputation on both sides, upon our frequent complaining and speaking of it. But it has not proceeded with any part of it; for as to the things in which we ought to give way, none of the unlearned and violent minds have been of a mind to think of it. They say that it will not do us good, now that the game is to begin, to be thought unstable, not only among foreigners, but also among our own. They say that the Emperor, too, will want more and more when we once give way. All kinds of anxious thoughts come to the mind of the pious and the pious. After this, it was expressly demanded that the doctrine not be dealt with harshly, lest some dispute should increase the dissension and break the covenant. Before we came here, I saw that these dangers were hanging over us, and I warned our people in advance, but they still had good hopes.

(5) Now, lest we should lie here quite still, and be as it were dumb images, we have been commanded to set forth something of the primacy of Peter, or of the Roman pope, and of the power and jurisdiction of the bishops. This I have composed and delivered in some measure. 1)

1) From this it follows, on the one hand, that Melanchthon is the author of the writing "von der Gewalt und Obrigkeit des Pabsts" (No. 1227), and on the other hand, the time of writing, namely before March 1, 1537.

(6) We have also been commanded to go through the articles of the confession a little, and to hear whoever disagrees with any article, or rejects anything of it. And the princes expressly assured us that they wanted to stick to the formula of the Concord. The conversation was very brief. Bucer spoke clearly about the Holy Sacrament and affirmed the presence of Christ, with which all of us, even those who are otherwise somewhat hard, were satisfied. Blarer taught in a rather general way: Christ is present. But afterwards he added some ambiguous things. Osiander went after him somewhat violently. But because we did not want to excite too heated a quarrel, I fell into his speech. We got on so well together that, since the others were all in agreement, this one didn't seem to contradict much either. I know well that this is not yet quite certain, but more could not be done at the time, especially in the absence of Luther, who was plagued with terrible stone pains. This is what happened with the conversation of the clergy.

(7) The princes have taken this up in consultation: whether we should refuse to go to the Concilii altogether, or promise that we would let our delegation go there, but with the reservation that the papal part would not be left to judge at all, but would be asked that, on the part of the kings and monarchs, capable people be chosen by their command to judge these disputes. This was a great and difficult consultation.

(8) It has always been our opinion not to refuse the concilii altogether, because the pope, though he cannot be judge, yet has power to declare a concilium. After that, the council must appoint judges.

(9) But some astute minds insisted that these reasons of mine were well thought out and right, but in vain, because the tyranny of the pope would be so great that if we had once consented to come to the council, they would accept it for that, as if the pope also had power from us to speak as judges. I have well seen that my opinion, though honestly meant and fair, would be somewhat dangerous. But the other opinion has prevailed, after having been violently argued now and then, so that it seems to me questionable. I see that the danger of an exceedingly great disturbance is there, if God does not avert it, although I have often said that they would be in fair need of this refusal alone, if they did nothing.

nor wanted to give in to the church police. It is most distressing to me to see that such discord will continue to our descendants, and perhaps cause a terrible barbarism and devastation of all arts and secular offices among our people. Behold, how even now some have such an appetite for this barbarism, who ought to defend themselves against it the most! We can at last console ourselves with the good cause. So the Emperor's envoy was answered: the concilium scheduled at Mantua would be rejected, and he asked that the Emperor would have a free concilium announced. The imperial envoy replied that the emperor would see to it that a proper court was appointed at the same concilium. But such speeches, which are so common, do not move ours.

There you have everything that has happened here so far. Veit left here quickly because of my suspicions. I will write accordingly if anything further happens. Luther has hardly been able to pass urine, either because of the stone in the urinary tract, or otherwise because he is prevented from doing so by viscous and stagnant mucus. Since he had been ill for eight whole days and had given up life, he wanted to leave here, even though he was very weak. Nevertheless, we let him have his way, and the very next night, when he left, he was able to pass urine again well and abundantly, praise God! Many things had been done rudely in the Cur here, the consequences of which one still has to fear. Now, however, he has a skilful and understanding physician, Sturtiades; if he had had him from the beginning, he would probably not have got into such danger. Farewell. Schmalkalden, March 1, 1537, Philipp.

1238 Causes, so the princes and sovereigns, also estates and cities of the confession of true, divine and evangelical doctrine to all kings, sovereignties and potentates of Christendom by their letter to recognize, why they Pabst Pauli, the name of the third, advertised Concilium, that on the 23rd day of May, next, at Mantua, set, justly suspicious, also to common Christian unity do not respect and hold serviceable.

March 5, 1537.

This writing came out in 1537 in Wittenberg by Georg Rau (Rhaw) in quarto under the above title. After that it was printed by Hortleder, toru. I, lib. I, enx. 29,

P. 29 in German, but Latin Lünig in spleil. 6661st, tom. I, x. 445, and in the Oorp. reads. Vol. ill, 314. seckendorf, list. I.utü., lib. Ill, x. 147, ^ckck. II, says that the writing is published both in German and Latin, afterwards translated also into French and Italian.

(1) The pope of Rome, Paul the Third, has recently issued a bull in which he has announced a common council to be held in Italy at Mantua, to begin next spring, on the 23rd day of May; he also reports some of the reasons for his approval in the reported Roman bull, why and for what reasons such a common council is to be held. In addition, the reported pope has dispatched his orators and messages to the Christian kings, princes, princes, and potentates in Germany and other nations and kingdoms, who are to further inform them of the appointed, announced 1) council, and to request them everywhere in the name of the pope, and remind and admonish them everywhere in the name of the pope to attend such council in person, or to dispatch and send their authorized attorneys, commanders, and orators to the place and time indicated with sufficient mandates and orders to appear at such council. When the recently reported message of the pope, with the above-mentioned order of his lord, also requested and similarly admonished us to appear at the council, or to send our lawyers or commanders, as the most noble and powerful prince and lord, Mr. Carolus the Fifth, Roman emperor, our most gracious lord, has graciously requested of us, has graciously sought and sought with us, our necessity requires that we manfully indicate and remind what danger, trouble, and harm, not only to us, but to common Christendom and divine truth, should be involved in the Concilium of this form, as the Pope of Rome, Paul the Third, has proclaimed and intends to hold it.

002 And although we give this answer of ours with a good conscience, after having considered and considered it with the greatest diligence, ultimately for our own and the common Christianity's need, faithful and Christian good opinion, we can nevertheless well observe that the adversaries (as we know them) make a great clamor about it to revile us, and do not interpret and interpret all this to us in any other way than to the most unpleasant and evil.

1) So put by us instead of: "exposed inscribed". In Latin: Ooneilii inäletionein.

will be. Nor can they make a greater pretence than this, to the detriment of our whole cause and known doctrine, and to the bitterness of the potentates, if they interpret our answer as if we did not want to suffer an interrogation, a judge, and a concilium. And they will only pretend that we despise all Christian nations, which have often done great deeds for the preservation of the Christian religion, and have had many famous teachers of the Christian church, and there are still praiseworthy schools among them, in which great care is taken for the Christian religion. This time, too, they will make a show of it, as if it were unchristian and contrary to all Christian ordinances, refusing to recognize the common concilii, since concilia are the highest and most proper courts in the Christian church, and should be considered by all Christians as such.

(3) Further, they shall invent, as if we were ashamed of this doctrine, and flee and shun the light. Or else, as if we had a desire for unnecessary separation and division, and could not bear that these things should be dealt with, and that Christianity should be brought to unity, and so wilfully hindered the common peace and unity of Christianity.

(4) If this were to be reported or presented by us with reason and substance (as, whether God wills it, shall never happen), it would not only be burdensome, but also quite terrible for Christians to hear. For this reason, our need and that of all Christendom, for the preservation of pure, divine truth, requires that such blasphemies and complaints be countered in a timely manner by means of this public notice to all Christian estates, and therein to all Christian kings, princes, rulers, and potentates our concern, Princes and potentates our concern, opinion and mind of the Concilio, the comforting hope, if the above-mentioned Christian kings, princes and potentates, also all learned, God-fearing, honest, honour-loving people, and German or other foreign nations in all the world, and Christian concerns, they will not only know and have us completely innocent of all fictitious charges, but will also, as is especially due to the high estates, themselves seek and encourage such things, so that in these most important, high matters of the most holy religion, they may be common to all, and high matters of the most holy religion of common Christendom, and at last to guard against so innumerable abuses, and that the pope and his followers may not be permitted, under the deceitful, coloured, and made appearance of a concilii, to violate the public divine truth by force and typhoon.

to dampen and suppress rancour. For with God's help we want to show and make true that not only our teaching is right and Christian, but also that in this matter we ourselves seek nothing but God's glory and the salvation of common Christianity, so that no wilful stubbornness or contempt may be justly attributed to us.

005 And first of all, that we do not despise the judgment of other and foreign nations, and of the common Christian church, is to be inferred from the fact that we work to see that the pope with his followers does not make himself a judge, but that this matter is moved and examined by competent, impartial people, as no doubt all God-fearing people in all countries and kingdoms desire and ask of God with heartfelt sighs.

(6) For since there are some ancient writings written in foreign nations long before this time of false doctrine, abuses, and other false worship and idolatry, so torn down, we hope there are still to this day in those same nations some such learned godly men who rightly understand the Christian doctrine, though they are oppressed by the tyranny of the pope and must keep silence. These should also be admitted to a council, so that they may safely and unabashedly present their opinions as necessary for the salvation of divine truth.

(7) For we Christian Concilium do not shun or shun at all, but, as is right, just, and necessary, encourage and ask for a free, common, Christian Concilium, in which, by impartial, God-fearing, learned men, false doctrine may be distinguished from the right, and rooted out of the church, and in which, on the other hand, right doctrine and the Word of God may be planted and preserved.

(8) On the other hand, this is not called a true Christian council, in which the pope and his followers, who forcibly protect and administer false doctrine and idolatry in the church, want to be judges themselves, and conclude and judge against God's word out of habit or self-confessed human statutes. For when our Lord Christ, the Supreme Judge of the Church, ordains and establishes who is to be judge of the infirmities of doctrine, conduct, or life, he says, Matt. 18:17: "Tell the Church." With these words he closes the hands of the tyrant and wants the church, that is, the Christian assembly, to be the judge, so that understanding, God-fearing members are not excluded from it, and especially that they judge according to God's word, not by their own human power or discretion.

009 Wherefore we beseech all Christian kings, princes, and potentates of all nations, that they will not suffer them to imagine that we hold in low esteem other learned men and godly minds that are in foreign nations, or that we hold the Christian concilia in contempt, and will not give credence to our adversaries, who, with such fancied speeches, presume to subdue Christian doctrine, and to embitter and incite princes and rulers against us.

010 Much less can it be laid to our charge that we shun the light, and are ashamed to bring our doctrine before men of understanding. For we have publicly read and presented our confession to the Roman Emperor's Majesty, our most gracious Lord, and to other sovereigns and princes 2c. in the Diet of Augsburg.

011 Thus the known doctrine of the gospel is publicly preached in our land, and diligently labored daily, that men may hear it, and learn it to the glory of God, and to the salvation of souls; even the scriptures and books of ours are in the day.

012 And many wise men among the adversaries confess that therein many high and necessary articles of Christian doctrine are again brought to light, which before had been for a long time very darkened with divers darknesses, namely, with false worship and idolatry, with monasticism, with sophistry, with divers statutes of men, and cords of conscience, as is to be seen in the theologians and canonists.

13. Now therefore, if God the Lord, out of His great mercy, grants grace to poor Christendom for the betterment of it, so that pure Christian doctrine may once again shine in the world, it is public that the abuses and errors denounced by our known doctrine have been punished, and that right doctrine has been planted against them, namely, of right repentance, of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, how to instruct and comfort the conscience, of the grace of Christ, how to obtain forgiveness of sins, how man becomes righteous and pleasing to God, which are good works and right worship, of the right use of the sacraments, of the authority of the church and keys, of worldly authority and difference and custom of human statutes, and of other many necessary articles. Of these and such things, concerning the glory of God and the salvation of Christians, we are not at all afraid to speak before all the world, and to make a long report. And as St. Paul says: he is not ashamed of the gospel, so we also must not be ashamed of the gospel, and wish that we may speak in a free and open manner.

The Holy Father said that he would be pleased to present this doctrine, which is of the greatest need to all Christendom, to all kings, princes, potentates, and nations at the Christian Council, and that he would speak of it as necessary. Nor do we doubt that, because it is such an important and useful article, all intelligent and godly people, if they were sufficiently informed, would take great pleasure in it.

014 For this reason we heartily desire and ask for such a council, in which we and other God-fearers may be free to speak and conclude about these things according to God's word.

015 For that it should be laid to our charge, as if they had revived old and damned heresies, that therefore it should not be necessary to dispute our doctrine, or to bring it to trial: this is a public falsehood, and is soon answerable to all those who read our Confession and Apologiam. For the doctrine which we have adopted and preached is not new, but is actually and certainly the right unanimous doctrine and opinion of the Christian catholic church, as can be clearly proved by the ancient pure church testimony and the holy fathers' writings.

(16) And may say with truth, that we neither accept nor hold any heretical doctrine, nor any opinion, which disputes with the unanimous catholic old church doctrine, but in many articles the old conciliar and fathers' doctrine is again negated by ours, which had been exterminated by the pope and monks, and other, new, unchristian opinions and services are introduced instead, in which they unashamedly despise the old conciliar and fathers.

017 Finally, that it should be said against us in bitterness, as if we had a desire for separation and dissension; this is laid upon us quite unreasonably. For God is our witness that we are heartily sorry that the nations of the Christian name should be torn and separated from one another. Therefore, by the grace of God, we never want to be separated from the true unity of the Christian Catholic Church, and for this reason we desire a righteous council, so that a common, Christian and constant unity may be established and made according to God's Word.

(18) But if the pope with his own condemns the true, Christian and necessary doctrine, and for the sake of the gospel persecutes devout, learned people, and gives authority to persecute and kill them in all kingdoms and lands, God's commandment compels us and all God-fearers not to consent to such unchristian condemnation. For it is God's commandment and the highest commandment of God.

to confess and keep the word of God, as our Lord Christ says: "Whoever confesses me before men, him will I also confess before my heavenly Father; but whoever denies me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father. Thus it is also against God that anyone should make himself a partaker of the tyranny and blood which the pope, in order to extinguish right doctrine, cruelly sheds, and gives others to shed.

(19) In addition, it is public that we have always compared ourselves with other princes, rulers, and estates in the Roman Empire and in common matters of the Empire, and that we have helped to maintain peace; from this it is to be assumed that in religion, if it is possible with God, we also prefer to see and keep unity.

020 Then we also understand well what great burden and danger we have to expect because of these things. For the popes have often let themselves be heard now for many years that they are practicing and working to the utmost to arouse the kings against us and to exterminate us. We would not burden ourselves and our countries and people with such great danger if we did not recognize our guilt as Christians to be obedient to God's commandments and to put and dare everything in danger for the sake of the Gospel, for the salvation of divine truth. God is also our witness that we do not protect and manage this religious trade with such great daily danger and expense out of any other request, but solely out of the recognition of our Christian duty before God; for this reason, we ask all kings, princes, rulers and potentates not to let our adversaries imagine otherwise.

21st Now that we have rejected this unfounded suspicion, in order that the adversaries may be pleased to accuse us, we hope that all those to whom this writing comes will listen the more willingly and take note of what we will report from the written Concilio, through Pope Paul the Third.

(22) Perhaps some in foreign nations, who are not sufficiently informed of these affairs, think that we have, out of presumption, contested some minor defects which, in order to prevent discord, might have been concealed and tolerated, especially because it is found that this human nature and life is still so weak everywhere that abuses and defects always remain in governments and elsewhere, so that, for the sake of peace, one must have patience.

023 But these things are much different: therefore we pray thee, let no man deceive us so.

think. For first, to false doctrine and error we must not be silent, as our Lord Christ earnestly commanded, "Beware of false prophets." Secondly, this controversy is not of little abuse. For in this part the doctrine of faith and right knowledge of Christ is chiefly dealt with, which is the chief part of a Christian being and right worship. Therefore this article cannot be concealed, but it is most necessary that it be kept pure in the church, and preached with earnestness. Now it is undeniable that this article has been entirely eradicated in the papal doctrine of the monks, and that false doctrine has been introduced in its place to the shame of Christ. We also punish others for much error and idolatry. For this reason, long before this time, many learned, God-fearing, Christian people cried out for a common, free, Christian council, in which they would all consider and advise how to help the whole of Christendom, and at the same time put an end to error and idolatry, so that unity and uniformity would nevertheless be maintained among the nation.

(24) Now in our time a free Christian council is much more necessary, because the same old infirmities still remain for and for in foreign countries, and at the same time a discord has arisen, because of which in many places many pious, God-fearing people are tyrannically persecuted and executed solely for the sake of Christian doctrine.

25. For these highly important reasons, not only we, but also the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, princes, princes, and bishops of the German nation, after much deliberation at many imperial congresses, have considered and decided that the church's highest, unavoidable need requires that a common, free, Christian council be assembled, in which the pure Christian doctrine of God's Word should be preserved, and false doctrine, abuses, and idolatry, on the other hand, should be done away with. For the imperial majesty and the estates have well considered that a council would bring more discord and disruption if it were not conducted in this manner and form, namely, that it should be free and Christian, that is, in which one should speak according to God's word, and not according to custom or human statutes that are contrary to God's word; since also the pope and his followers should not be judges, but the matters in dispute should be considered and examined by impartial, competent people.

026 Such a concilium have we desired, and

We have appealed to such a common, free, Christian council. And if we are in need of such a council, the pope recently issued a call for a council that is quite inappropriate for the aforementioned imperial and imperial concerns and decisions, and has no form of free, Christian council.

27. Now that this matter of religion concerns all of common Christendom, and not only to indicate what danger we, but rather common Christendom, have to fear on account of the aforementioned announced council, we have deemed it necessary to send this letter to all kings, princes, and potentates, indicating why we do not consider this council, which the pope has announced and intends to hold with this measure and form, to be equal, nor useful to Christendom, and therefore to ask that all Christian kings and potentates, in order to promote God's honor and the salvation and blessedness of Christendom, will use diligence so that a free, Christian concilium may be held, in which not the pope with his own may be judges, but in which learned, God-fearing people may be heard according to need and confess God's word without hindrance, and the matters in dispute may be ordered to be examined by impartial, competent people. For where the matters in dispute are not heard and held in a right and Christian manner, Christianity is not helped, and the council will bring about more disruption than peace.

(28) The supreme judgment in the Christian church belongs not to the pope and bishops alone, but to the Christian church. That is, not only to the bishops, but also to all kings, princes, and estates, which are all members of the Christian church. Therefore, even if the pope were not so publicly involved in this present religious matter, he is not to be allowed to be the sole judge with his own, and to deprive the other members of the Christian church and estates of their right, but the whole church should justly use and retain its power.

(29) Much less should the pope and his followers be permitted to be judges in this matter of religion, in which he and his followers are publicly involved. For not only written laws, but much more the immutable divine and natural laws, so also formed by God in all men's hearts and reason, teach that no one should be permitted to be judge in his own matters. Now we accuse the pope and his own, and the dispute is not of small matters. For we dispute not only about his splendor and glory, or about the temporal

But we punish his doctrines, statutes, and false services, which he devises, administers, and protects by force against the word of God; this is as much as accusing the pope of idolatry and heresy. In these most important cases, the ancient canons themselves state that not the pope, but the common Christian church should be the judge.

030 Moreover, the pope is not only a part, but has made himself quite suspect by having previously condemned our doctrine in many ways. For the pope Oso äselrniis has issued a bull in which the doctrine, as we know it, is also condemned, and is condemned annually in the dulln Coeurs. Thus also the pope gives to hold all those for heretics and to exterminate them who accept our known doctrine. Since the pope has so often condemned us and our doctrine before the concilium was announced, it is not probable that such a papal concilium should speak differently or less harshly against his own bulls.

(31) There is no way to hope that the pope will allow anyone else, except according to his custom, to speak and have voesur äsoisivurn. For the pope in his proclamation suffers no other understanding of the Concilio, than that these alone have the Concilium, and to conclude and voesrn ckseisivnrn, namely, the pope, cardinals, and bishops, and that no one else shall have any voice. Wherefore also the council is thus written, that it alone requires those who are attached to it.

For this reason, we consider this announced concilium to be suspicious, because in the announcement the pope allows nothing to be said about the trial, and does not deign to have this most important matter interrogated before unsuspected, impartial persons, but instead calls for such a concilium with clear, expressed words only his own, and those who are bound to him with terrible oaths and curses. From this it is easy to see what kind of trial he intends to hold, and that he wants to be a judge in his own cause, even if he is a party.

033 If then we consented to his concilium thus appointed, the pope would afterwards interpret it as if we had consented to him as judge and president of the concilii, and granted to him and his associates that they should order, judge, and conclude the proceedings as they pleased.

34 Thirdly, the Bulla, wherein the Concilium is written, gives sufficient cause for refusing and recusing the Concilium. For in this same writing we are immediately condemned. For since the pope has shown cause why he should refuse the

If the pope has called for a concilium, there is no request that the matters in dispute be heard by impartial, competent people according to necessity, but it is only reported that he is causing this concilium to be assembled in order to eradicate the heresy that has recently arisen. And even though these are common words, set up for the sake of appearances, there is no doubt that the Pope's opinion touches our well-known doctrine. For it is to be taken into account that he does not want to call his abuses and errors heresy, and that he will not offer to eradicate them in a public proclamation.

(35) And so that there should be no doubt as to who is meant, he issued another Bulla of the Reformation of the Court after the Concilii had been proclaimed, wherein the cause of the proclaimed Concilii was raised. In the same bulla the pope states our doctrine in clear words, and says: the Concilium was appointed for the eradication of the poisonous Lutheran doctrine: ^6 sxsUrxutionerri pestikerus OutUtzrunue Uusrssis. Thus the pope has cunningly concealed the name in the previous bulla, so that the writing would nevertheless have quite a semblance, and yet has given his mind and prejudice to be understood, and has expressed this afterwards in the other bulla. Therefore, it is undoubtedly the pope's final opinion that he appointed this council not to allow any disputation of the doctrine, or to hear anyone, but to act alone to eradicate our known doctrine as a heresy, previously condemned by him. Therefore, we would not be in our right mind if we consented to such a dangerous proclamation. For in so doing we confirmed this falsehood to the pope, and confessed that the Christian doctrine which we accepted should be heresy, and undertook to eradicate and exterminate the same. For this is the essence of the Bulla, which is quite dangerous.

036 First, it is the opinion of the pope that all those who accept the Bulla confess by such acceptance that our known doctrine is heresy, as the Bulla in principle means and gives to be understood.

(37) The pope has also committed the kings, princes, and potentates with such acceptance that they will help to eradicate such doctrine. If one wishes to speak the truth freely and without all sophistry, one must confess that this, and no other, is the bulla of sound opinion and right understanding. Therefore, if we would consent to this expulsion, we would condemn our doctrine ourselves before we would enter into it.

would come to the interrogation. Because these matters affect the common Christianity, we ask all kings, princes, and potentates to take good note of the pope's cunning and dangerous actions.

(38) It is also reasonable to wonder why the form of the Bull is not made the same, but is made so dangerous, whether it is perhaps meant to deter us from the Conciliar, or to see us secretly, that we might be reproached for having confessed, by accepting the Bull, that our doctrine is unjust and heretical. But we consider that the pope sought this in particular, so that he obliged and entrapped the Christian kings, princes, potentates, and nations, that they should have confessed with the acceptance of the bull that our doctrine was heretical, and [they] consented to destroy it.

(39) There is no doubt in our minds that the Emperor's Majesty, our most gracious Lord, is of serious opinion and mind, that she would like in these great matters that God's glory be glorified and common Christendom be blessedly and rightly helped, and that constant peace and unity be established. Therefore we take care that His Imperial Majesty has no pleasure in this. Therefore, we take care that His Imperial Majesty has no pleasure in this unequal and dangerous form of the written Concilii, in which the Pope has previously condemned us and cunningly dared to entrap us.

40 Fourthly, in this bull there is no thought at all as to how the proceedings are to be conducted. If, then, it should be proceeded with, that those who come to the council should take the judgment from the writ, namely, that this doctrine is heretical, and that no further mention of it should be made according to necessity, but that it should be concluded at once that they all want to exterminate and destroy this doctrine of ours by force, then it is public that we have just cause not to consent to such a tyrannical council, that we have just and necessary reasons not to consent to such a tyrannical concilium, which is quite unlike an ecclesiastical court and proper concilium, in which one should hear the doctrine and judge according to the Word of God, not according to custom or the laws of men, as we have always desired such a hearing in a free, Christian concilium.

41 And because we fully believe that Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, will be pleased to help and advise Christianity. Majesty, our most gracious Lord, that Christianity be rightly and constantly helped and counseled, and that these important matters be explained and right salutary doctrine be planted, Her Imperial Majesty will no doubt take no pleasure in this unequal and unjust form of the Concilii that has been written out.

have. For the pope, as far as we are concerned, has not proclaimed a council, but has rather issued a judgment against us, in which he condemns us and condemns us terribly. After this, he has also spread out the other bull about the reformation of the court, in which he condemns our known doctrine by name, so that the opinion of his previous bull may be thoroughly understood. For this reason, he asks us to agree to this challenge of his. If we did so, we would have condemned ourselves with our own consent. However, we do not want to speak any further about these weak lists used by the pope, but we ask all kings and potentates, and all those who have an understanding, to let them know how unequal, deceitful, and dangerous this letter is.

(42) Fifthly, it is certain that the pope will not suffer these disputed matters of religion to be judged according to the word of God and the writings of the apostles, but will judge them from papal statutes, custom, the doctrine of men, and some recent conciliarities, and will not allow him to dispute the papal statutes in any way. Now in this controversy the main thing is that human statutes which are contrary to God's commandment are to be rejected as erroneous and ungodly and are not to be valid. We also accept and faithfully hold the unanimous doctrine of the Christian Catholic Church, but the Pabst's error and tyranny should not be adorned with the holy church's name. The common Christian church of the holy fathers did not accept the statutes that are contrary to God's word, nor did it give the pope such intemperate power as he himself ascribes to him. In addition, the mob that condemns the pure doctrine of the Gospel and cruelly persecutes and murders innocent people on account of Christian doctrine is not called the oatliolioa 6ool68ia Oliristi, but is the bloodthirsty and accursed Cain's mob and descendants.

(43) Thus, we have not introduced any new doctrine into the Church, but we have renewed and brought to light the old unanimous doctrine of the common Christian Church by the grace of God. On the other hand, the pope and the monks have invented and introduced new doctrine and new worship contrary to God's word and the common doctrine of the old, common Christian Church. For this reason, Christianity needs a council, so that it may be judged not by custom or the statutes of men, but by the Word of God, which is light and transfigured by the united confession of the common Christian church.

44 Such things also have often happened in the church before, that pious and Christian bishops have not wished to attend the concilia, ordinarily and properly appointed, when they noted that these concilia were not intended to save the truth, but to strengthen unchristian doctrine, or the tyranny of the bishops. As namely:

(45) The emperor Constantius assembled a great and noble council at Antioch; Maximus, the bishop of Jerusalem, would not come to it, though Antioch was not far from Jerusalem. For he knew what the emperor's mind was inclined to do, even what some of the bishops, companions of Arii, practiced, who had brought the benevolent emperor to their side.

046 Athanasius, though he came to Tyro to the Concilium, departed from it again soon to the emperor, because he saw that the nobles of the Concilio wished to be judges and accusers, and had themselves secretly appointed men to accuse him, Athanasius, falsely.

47 At Sirmio in Hungary a great council was held against Photinum, for the matter was important. Although the emperor commanded the bishops to come there, the bishops in the Occident stayed away when they noticed that the Arian group had arrived there strong and large, and they suspected that they would want to conclude something to the detriment of the true doctrine. Now there was a bishop in Hispania, Osius Oordubeusis, who had a great reputation; therefore the Arians labored, that the emperor especially required him. So Osius came, even though he otherwise intended to remain outside, and this did not turn out well. For he also consented to the fraudulent K^rudoluiu 8irmi6N86, from which much disruption followed, and for this reason Osius is severely scolded by Hilario, who was not there.

48 Cyril, a bishop of Jerusalem, also would not come into the Concilia of those who disputed it, and is said to have been the first to do so.
who appealed in writing from Concilien.

49 A council was also begun at Medio lan, and the bishops were required by the emperor. Nevertheless, when Paulinus, bishop of Trier, and a few others noticed that Auxentius, bishop of Mediola, and his companions were not holding out anything good, they soon broke out and gave cause for the concilium to be broken up. So these high people fled suspicious concilia, so that they would not be held responsible if something had been done against God's honor.

050 Therefore we beseech all those who have understanding, that we also not be reproached for shying away from the suspicious papal council, since the pope lets himself be heard clearly that such a council is to be held to strengthen his power and his abuses.

51) Sixthly, the time when the Council is to be held is difficult for us for many important reasons.

52 For it is appointed in Italy, where the pope can easily gather together many of his followers, to overrule or deter the others, that they may not freely speak their opinion. If the Concilium were set in Germany, all nations would have more liberty and security to speak and confess the truth.

Moreover, our adversaries have blasphemed us atrociously in foreign nations, and have forbidden the reading of our Scriptures, so that many people in foreign nations have drawn much evil suspicion of us from such poison poured in by the adversaries, as if all religion and discipline had been done away with in our country. Now such suspicion brings no small danger in interrogation and action, therefore it would also be very useful for this reason that the Concilium be held in Germany, that the foreigners themselves see our church order, regiment and order in churches and cities, so that they do not show themselves more violently against the truth and right doctrine through false suspicion.

54. In these great matters, which concern the honor of God and the salvation of souls, it is necessary that we, the princes and rulers of a good part, and also some of our kinsmen, counts, and lords, be present in person in the council, if proper interrogations or actions are to be taken: If we were to go so far from our lands and principalities and leave them open to danger and adversaries, it would be a great hardship for us.

Finally, for many great and important reasons, it has been considered in the Empire for the best and most beneficial improvement and peace of common Christianity that a free Christian council should be established and held in the German country. Now we do not yet know the reason why such a concilium should have been proposed by Imperial Maj. Maj. and the common misgivings of the princes and chieftains.

056 We have shown cause why we think this concilium, as the pope hath written it out, to be justly suspect; for though the pope be part, and hath oftentimes condemned us before, before the matter came to trial, yet will he, with his

In his own cause he will be judge in the Concilio. Moreover, he does not let it be known at all that he wants to have the matter heard in a Christian, proper way, but has already condemned us in his writ of unheard and unrecognized matter; therefore we cannot consent to such a writ of conciliation.

57 For this reason we beseech all kings, princes, and potentates of all nations not to give credence to our adversaries, if they will interpret and interpret our answer given by the Council in an evil and hateful way, but to consider and judge the causes which we have now told, for we fully hope that from this they will sufficiently judge that our answer is just and Christian.

(58) For it is public that we cannot allow the pope and his followers to be both part and judge. Thus we cannot consent to a concilium before we understand how the proceedings are to be conducted, whether they are to be judged according to human statutes and customs, which are contrary to the word of God, or whether the word of God is to be preferred.

059 For if we should thus carelessly consent to this concilium, which the pope has written out in this form, we should afterwards suffer the pope and his own to be judges. For he would take this against us, that we had consented to this Concilium, when our appeal has been made to a common, free, Christian Concilium. And this is not a sought-after or colored cause, but a well-founded, Christian, and most necessary concern. For the reason is that we need to know beforehand how the interrogations are to be held, and whether God's word is to be preferred to human statutes and customs; we also hope that all God-fearing and understanding people will approve of this reason of ours. The form in which the Conciliar is written is so unequal that, if we had consented to it, we would already have condemned ourselves.

60. Since this high and most important matter concerns the salvation, blessedness, and peace of the common Christianity, and since God has seriously commanded the highest heads, kings, princes, and potentates, to protect and handle it, we ask that they take up this matter for the praise of God and for the benefit of the common Christianity, will take up this cause, and use all diligence and work for such a council to be held, thereby helping Christendom, doing away with unchristian doctrine and false worship, and establishing Christian unity, namely, a common, free, Christian council, in which, freely, according to the law, all Christians will be able to live in harmony.

God's word be concluded and spoken. This is the highest benefit that kings and princes can bestow upon the common Christian church and all its descendants. Moreover, it is the most sacred service that God has made most pleasing to Him.

61. For the pope seeks and thinks to maintain and strengthen his unjust power, abuses, and idolatry through the kings and potentates, and that the kings and potentates persecute and kill innocent and God-fearing people with unjust cruelty on account of Christian doctrine, Let all great lords be justly afraid of this, because they have been raised by God to such majesty that they should praise the divine name and honor, and promote the holy gospel, and protect and save the innocent people, and especially those who are in danger because of Christian doctrine and right faith.

(62) Where such a common, free, Christian concilium is held, and the doctrine according to God's Word is allowed to be examined by competent, impartial people, then, by God's grace, we want to give an account of our known doctrine, as we are obligated to do, and to show ourselves in all actions in such a way that it may be found that we seek nothing but God's glory and the common Christianity's salvation and lasting peace. To this end, may God grant His grace. Date Schmalkalden, on the 5th of March, in the year 1537.

1239 A question of the whole Order of the Card Players of the Spoon 1) to the Concilium of Mantua. Anno 1537.

This writing is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. II, p. 374; in the Altenburg edition, vol. VI, p. 1087 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXI, p. 162. That it was not to be attributed to Luther was already indicated by Walch through the writing chosen for printing.

1st Having learned, most holy Father, that your Holiness has already settled all matters concerning the Council, has already reformed the Roman Court (which is supposed to be impossible), has made the whole of Rome pious (this is to be believed), has well staffed all the Churches everywhere (as is evident), and has eradicated all heresies, especially the Lutheran, and thus has made vain saints among the people of Rome.

1) "Karnöffel" (or Carnöffel). This was the name of the "jack" in the card game. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 774, amn. 4.

We have considered, so that your Holiness would have something to do in the Council, and would not come together in vain, to present an important, excellent, and highly important question, since the whole world is in need of power. For many a great evil, murder, blood, violence, and injustice could be avoided in this, if one were to take a serious look at it. And this is the question:

(2) Why does the spoon sting the emperor and the pope, if he is, according to the interpretation of many highly intelligent people, a bad lansquenet, and the captain a traveler, the emperor an emperor, the pope a pope?

3rd Further, why the pope is called Sees 2) or Sixes, and also stabs the emperor with all the cavalry and lansquenets, except for the spoon, that is, the chosen lansquenet?

(4) Further, why is the devil devilless, that neither emperor nor pope nor spoon can sting him, when the pope is God's governor, a lord in hell?

5th Further, why the chosen thousand, the least and poorest piece on the map, is called the emperor.

006 Many think that the pope hath robbed and stolen too much from him, that he must be a beggar, and yet be called emperor, because a chosen six hath three times as much as a thousand; wherefore it is no wonder that the threefold crown doth overthrow the simple crown of the emperor.

007 Further, how is it that the pope, who is the most holy and an earthly god (where the lawyers do not lie), is so near the devil, and much more than the emperor? For if the Sees (the pope) still had an Ees, he would be the evil Seven, the wicked devil himself, very far from the Thousand, which is the emperor.

(8) Strange opinions arise here among the doctors of our church. Some think that the pope would like to be the devil himself. Others say that he was. The third (with whom more agree) believe that he is without means under the devil, that he rides him and rules according to his will. The fourth (and there are not many of them) say that it is all true that the pope was the devil, that he would like to become or remain the devil, and that he still lets himself be ridden by the devil, who sits above him as the egg sits above the devil.

2) Compare the saying: "Taus Eß hat nicht" 2c. St. Louis Edition, Vol. VIII, 1905 and the note, thereto.

Lake. The Lutherans hold such things, but they are now extinct in Mantua before the Council. Therefore their thing is nothing, neither are they of our church.

9th Further: And why, nevertheless, the lazy fritter stabs the ten or the paneer, about this many a heresy and error have arisen in the holy church of the card players (where one washes the glasses, and the dead men's legs run over the tables) 1).

(10) Some think that the lazy friar is the lazy monks who eat up the goods of the rich citizens and peasants.

011 Others say, They are the useless, damned canons, which shamefully devour and waste the goods of kings, princes, and lords.

(12) There are also great errors in the other leaves. For example, why the third stings the upper man, the fourth the lower man. This doctor holds this, that one holds that. And the little ship of our church is in great danger under such tides and waves that it would almost sink. For some hold that the third is the high cardinals and bishops, who like to hover over kings and princes. The fourth are the abbots and monastery saints, who like to ride above the other travellers, as counts, knights and nobles. For still none of them can get above the Taus, the emperor. They are not sorry for that, they know it well. Others interpret it differently, that we must suffer.

013 And there are many such dangerous questions in the aforesaid holy church of the brethren, called card-players, out of which come many an error, discord, and great mischief, even to brawling and fighting. And there is no other remedy here, except that a holy council at Mantua (because there is nothing else to be done) should take the matter seriously, and see to it that such errors are settled, and that they are put into certain main articles.

Given at Rome Ala Campana, by the Campflor, behind the Turre de nona, among the other Tabernas, in ckis Lullas Oosnas Domini, hard before the Eclypsi of the Concilii, by the German Pasquill, called Proteum. Anno 1537. inäiotiono nnlla, ^. nno? ontitioatn8 Dauli III. them.

The whole holy order of card players.

1) That is, with the dice players.

1240: Luther's "Articles of the Most Holy Papal Faith from the *Donatio Constantini*, to the Deferred Concilium at Mantua," published in German with his glosses. 1537.

The first edition of this writing appeared under the title: "One of the high articles of the Most Holy Episcopal Faith, called, Donatio Constantini, By D.. Marti. Luther Verdeudscht, jnn das auffgeschobene Concilium von Mantua. Wittemberg 1537." At the end: "Printed at Wittemberg by Hans Lufft. M.D.XXXVII." 6 quarto sheets. Another edition with the same title, but without indication of the place of printing. Furthermore, in 1540 an edition by Heinrich Steyner at Augsburg. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1553), vol. IV, p. 439; in the Jena (I568), vol. VI, p. 4815; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1088; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 164; in the Erlangen (I.), vol. 25, p. 176, and in the second edition, vol. 25, p. 207.

Doctor Martinus Luther.

If I were not so inclined and had no desire to do what is annoying to the devil and his papacy, before God's glory can come from it, I would not have undertaken to translate this piece from the holy spiritual law, because it is so disgraceful, desperate, evil Latin. But it should be so, that the shameful, desperate, evil lie would be described with no other than with such shameful, desperate, evil Latin. And it would also be fair to interpret it with shameful, desperate, evil German, as I might have done. But because it is useful for us Germans to know what shameful, desperate, evil abomination under the shameful, desperate, evil papacy we have worshipped and believed to be truth, I must do the best I can and translate the shameful, desperate, evil Latin and lies with good, understandable and clear German, intelligible and clear German, so that we may be the more certain that we are not acting against God, nor against his holy Church, where we attack the papal Church with lies and abominations, but against the devil himself, and his damned school of jacks, who advocate the truth.

He therefore that hath ears to hear, let him hear a womanly, fat, fat, well-fed, a right papal lie. For so it is in the spiritual law, *Dist. 96. c.* Constantinus.

The Emperor Constantine has given to the Apostles[a] the imperial crown and all imperial glory in Rome and in the French lands, and everything that is in the Emperor's evening. For in St. Sylvestri Legendis (which the holy pope Gelastus[b]) reports in the Concilio, where 70 bishops were in attendance, that it is read by the right Christians, and many other churches, according to ancient custom, also read it) it says thus:

a) Apostolic) So he calls himself, just as if the other churches were not apostolic, nor other bishops also apostolic; he alone is apostolic.
b) Gelasius) means a ridiculous one, whose name belongs here.

The emperor Constantinus, the fourth day after his baptism, he gave this liberty to the bishop of the Roman church, that all the bishops and priests throughout the Roman empire should hold him for the head [c]), as the judges do a king 2c. In the same liberty, among others, it is thus read:

c) Main) as Christ teaches: You shall be brothers and none shall be called the greatest, Matth. 18, 3.

We consider it good, together with our princes and all our council, lords, and all the people who are subject to the Empire of the Roman Church, that, just as St. Peter is considered to have been set up on earth as a governor of the Son of God, so also the following bishops of the prince of the apostles should have higher authority and rule on earth than our imperial gracious majesty is considered to have, and should have this from us and our empire. -

Choose us also the same prince of the apostles, or his governors [d]) to be certain [e]) patrons before God.

d) Governor) As one finds described in the smoke hole, at Babylon, under the fifth brick.
e) certain) How can it be uncertain, because Christ does not want to be a patron!

And as our earthly imperial power, so we will glorify his holy Roman church, and exalt the most holy see of St. Peter higher than our emperorship and earthly throne with all glory. Give him imperial power, honor, authority and dignity, and have commanded that he be the supreme prince, not only over the four sees of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Constantinople, but also over all the churches of God in the whole world on earth. And that the holy Roman Church, which shall be bishop at all times, shall be supreme 1) and prince over all the bishops in the whole world, and that all the

1) In the old editions: "high".

The judgement of the court shall decide on matters concerning the worship and faith of Christians, whether to provide for them or to confirm them.

f) Chairs) Which were not yet at that time. Also who would have commanded the emperor to do this, and could still command?

And further on:

We have given to the churches of the holy apostles Peter and Paul goods and outworks 2) for the preservation of the lights, and have richly endowed them with various goods for this purpose. For by our holy imperial command we have provided, both in the morning and in the evening, also from midnight and from noon, namely, in Judea, Graecia, Asia, Thrace, Africa, Italia, and all kinds of islands, that our gifts shall be given to him charitably, [g]) and in such a way that by the will of our most holy father Sylvestri, the most high bishop, and of his descendants [will] 3) everything shall be ordered.[h]

g) Also to sell indulgences, bulls, butterbills, and to plunder all monasteries and fiefs.
(h) ordered) To be wrecked, pillaged, and most shamefully wronged, by the vilest knaves that the earth hath borne.

And further on:

To St. Sylvestro and all his descendants we now presently give Lateran, our imperial palace, 4) [i]) then the imperial hat, namely the crown of our head, with the beautiful white bonnet and the scarf which an emperor is accustomed to wear on his neck, also the purple mantle and rosy skirt, and all imperial garments. We will also give him an imperial scepter, all kinds of flags and banners, and all kinds of imperial splendor, so that he may ride and march in all our imperial heights, power, and honors.

i) Also the golden breach, made of pure Arabian gold behind, of Jewish gold in front, with two rubies behind, like the jars of vinegar, and two emeralds in front, like the eggs of the ostrich, to be used for the holy of holies in the bath.

Also to the most venerable priests of all ranks, who serve the holy Roman church, [k]) we command that they shall have such height, special power, and glory, [l]) as our most noble council is adorned and honored, that they may be the noblest Romans and councilors.

2) In the old editions: "Vorwerg".
3) So put by us instead of: "that he by ... all things shall be ordered".
4) "Palatz" == palutium, palace.

And we command that they also be adorned with all other imperial dignities. And as the imperial majesty is adorned with men of war, so we will also adorn the clergy of the holy Roman church. The imperial majesty must also have appointed various offices, such as chamberlains, priests, and all kinds of assistants; so we will also have adorned the holy Roman church.

k) serve) Such lies help strengthen.
l) Here the Cardinals are conceived and born.

And that the beauty of the Roman supreme bishop may shine forth most exquisitely, we command that the clergy of the same Roman church ride horses adorned with the beautiful white cloths and deuces.

And as our council wears white furs on their boots, so shall they also shine in white, that the heavenly being may become like the earthly, to the praise of God.

Above all, however, we permit St. Sylvestro and his descendants by our commandment that whomever he wills to consecrate to the ecclesiastical state, or to have ordered among the monks in monasteries, this shall be at his pleasure, according to his own discretion[m] and no one everywhere shall presume to set himself proudly against it.

(m) discretion) Perhaps he means that no bishop, abbot, provost, or other spiritual person shall be elected or appointed by anyone, but the pope alone shall be God and creator. Or, where he would like to have a kingdom or large estates, he may depose kings and rich people, consecrate them as priests, and push them into the monasteries; no one should object.

We also command that he and his descendants, in honor of the most holy St. Peter, shall wear the imperial hat which we gave him from our head, made of pure gold and precious stones. Although he, the most holy pope, does not want to use the golden crown over the priestly crown, which he wears in honor of the most holy St. Peter.

n) Crown) plate St. Peter.

But the white bonnet, which glitters with great whiteness and signifies the resurrection of the Lord, we have placed on his most holy head with our own hands, and in honor of St. Peter we have kept the bridle of his horse and given him the office of a groom. And we order that all his descendants especially need such white bonnets when they ride out, as the emperors are wont to do, in order that the height of the papal
The kingdom shall not be held in low esteem, but shall be adorned with higher power and glory, neither of which is the dignity of the earthly emperor.

Now therefore we give and leave unto the most holy bishop and pope over all our palace, and the city of Rome, and all the countries, cities, and places in the which country, and that which lieth toward the west, and command with these things that they shall be governed by him and his posterity. And will that all things remain so of the holy Roman church.

For this reason, we have seen fit to turn our emperorship and the image of the empire toward the east, and in the country near Byzantium, in the best place, to build a city after our name, and there to establish our emperorship. For it is not right that an earthly emperor should have power in the place where the supreme bishopric and the head of Christendom, founded by the heavenly emperor, is located.

All these things, which we have commanded and confirmed by our holy imperial authority and other holy commandments, we will keep unchanged and unchanged until the end of the world.

Therefore we testify before the living God, who has commanded us to reign, and before a fine and terrible judgment, all our succeeding emperors, all princes and lords, also our noble council and all the people of the whole world, from now on until eternity, that no one shall dare to commit or disturb such a thing.[o]

o) That is sanctifying God's name!

But if anyone here (which we do not believe) should be a sacrilegious man or a despiser, he shall be bound and subjected to eternal[p] damnation, and shall have both here and there the saints of God, St. Peter and Paul, the princes of the apostles, for enemies, and shall burn and perish with the devil and all the ungodly in the lowest hell).

p) eternal) Behold, can the emperors also cast souls into hell?
Here stands (praise God!) no amen.

We have confirmed this imperial commandment with our own hand and placed it on the venerable body of St. Peter. Given at Rome, on the thirtieth day of March. r)

r) Martii) That is fifteen miles after St. Christopher's day, even in the fifth year after the last day.
1) Erlanger and Jenaer: "higher"; Wittenberger: "higher".

(1) This sacred article of the sacred spiritual law has been so enforced and administered by successive popes, that whoever would not believe, or doubt, such impudent devilish lies and blasphemies, must be one of the worst heretics. And whoever is still under the pope's power must worship such a manifest devil, or be burned to ashes, or at least keep silent, and speak nothing against it; for the most holy father pope is concerned, because he has always sought to become emperor and God, until he has finally fulfilled it, and brought this article into force. Some jurists of imperial law, who are called *Doctores legum,* have said so much about it, that such *Donatio Constantini* has no power, because it is detrimental to the coming emperors. But the lawyers of asses, or of papal law, who are called "Doctors" äscrstorum, must dance like the pope whistles.

(2) A learned, excellent man, called Laurentius Valla, a Roman, who still lived almost in man's time, opposed it, and [in] the first writing challenged it, although he did almost cleanly with the bride on the stone path, and did not attack the red murderous, damned whore of Rome as unwashed as Luther did; nor did the Roman devil and idol set his hellhounds on him, the preaching monks, so heretical masters, hot and hot. Nor did the Roman devil and idol set his infernal dogs on him, the preaching monks, who are called heretics, and would have burned him if he had not escaped and fled to King Alfonso at Naples, even though he was of a great and high family at Rome. For this holy papal lie (like all the devil's other lies) is too tender, will not be touched nor touched. For it is gladly worshipped as a god, and now accustomed to sit in the place of God, and to eat the food of the feet, and cannot bear to be called lies, and to be called by their right name.

(3) In St. Sylvester's Lying, which was invented by a lying master, it says, among other things, how the emperor Constantine was afflicted with an unusual leprosy, called Elephantia, which cannot be cured with any medicine but human blood; so he undertook to gather children from all the countries and to kill them, in order that a bath might be made of

human blood would be made. But he went back, but was baptized by Sylvestro, the bishop of Rome, where he was healed, and therefore gave such a *donation to* the see of Rome, as the text of the sacred law says. You may read this further in this lie, for it is very good, and is well established as a papal lie.

(4) The Historia *Tripartita* says that Constantine, out of special devotion, had intended to be baptized in the Jordan, since Christ himself had baptized him; for which reason he also delayed the baptism. However, he was prevented by the empire's business and wars, so that he finally fell ill, sailed from Constantinople across the sea, and was baptized and died at Nicomedia in the suburbs or village. Which part is right here, let me judge who can. For the two bishops, Rome and Constantinople, have always vied for authority, and each has wanted Constantine for himself, and through him to become emperor of the world and god.

(5) But because the pope and his, such impudent liars, lie otherwise and without all this, I believe them in this much less than the ^ripartite histories, which is otherwise considered true in all things. For he who is a public liar, whether God sometimes gives him a true word, is not believed, as the Greek proverb or "Cür^sippi LoMism" testifies: 81 mentiris, etiam Huoä verum ckieis, wsntiris: If you deny, it is also a lie, even if you tell the truth. For the devil also often saith true, and yet lieth in soothsaying. Again, he that is a true man, though he speak a false thing deceitfully, yet is it not counted a lie, because he spake it not as a liar.

006 Therefore, because the lie of Sylvester is a certain lie, and the whales themselves say that such leprosy did not exist in the French lands at that time, it is to be considered that Constantine was not baptized at Rome, nor delivered from such leprosy by baptism, nor perhaps did Sylvester ever see or hear of it; and therefore all that the Pope's hypocrites write of Constantine's baptism is falsehood.

007 Now therefore, to the lies of the sacred text, first of all, is it true that Constantinus

Why has he not publicly demanded and possessed it in so many hundreds, that is, twelve hundred years? (For it is almost so long that Constantine lived.) Why does he not, even to this day, issue letters that he is king in French, Hispanic, English, Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, and Danish lands, and over sea in Africa, Numidia, and in German lands, for such lands belong to the ancient Roman Empire or Occidental Empire? Are not these lies enough, which have been proven with twelve hundred years, and still with the work before their eyes?

8. In addition, our German emperors, when the dukes of Saxony, Ottones and Henrici, held Rome and Welsh five hundred years ago, deposed and installed popes, and conferred all the bishoprics, as all the histories testify, until the double archbishops, Pope Boniface Octavus, and afterwards John the Twenty-second, and Benedictus the Twelfth, came, and began to take the city of Rome, and deposed the council, and made it Rome, as now their brother doth in Halle, the infernal 1) cardinal.

9. For it is this Boniface, a chief rogue above all rogues, and a cunning knave above all knaves, who first began the golden year to Romans, and set up the indulgences, the shameful, cursed idolatry, so that hitherto the true indulgence or remission of sins, purchased for us by the blood of Christ, has been so miserably obscured and despised; And yet all succeeding popes have held fast to such lies and idolatry unto this day, and will not yet let it be a lie and idolatry. For it has borne money without measure; they do not like to lose it. They have also strengthened papal power, which they will not willingly leave, and are all good Bonifacists to this day, remaining even where God would not resist.

010 This Boniface it is that deposed king Philip of France, and let go a sentence, because the king would not obey him against the Columnes, whom the most holy king of the kingdom of France had sent to him.

1) Wittenberg and Jena: "infernal"; Walch and the Erlangen: "infernal".

If he had expelled Father Boniface out of great courage, but had kept and maintained them in disobedience to his holiness, he must have been banished; and not only banished, but his whole kingdom would have fallen to the Roman church, and to the most holy Boniface. So he wanted to be hereditary king of France through the ban. Just as if the bishop of Brandenburg had willfully exiled the Elector of Saxony, and thereby wanted to be hereditary Elector of Saxony. Or if the bishop of Meissen, out of pure malice, banished the Elector of Brandenburg, or Duke George of Saxony, and thereby wished to become Elector of Brandenburg, and Duke of Saxony. And the priest of Wittenberg would like to play such a game with the most daring 2) citizens or peasants who were rich or powerful. Truly, one could easily become lord and god of the world!

11. But King Philip was nevertheless quite a Lutheran in his time; he pursued the most holy father Bonifacio through the expelled Columnesians, until he caught him in his own father's house, in the chamber in which he was born, and threw him, in 3) the devil's name, into a dungeon, where he died of suffering in thirty days: So that God showed that he should not go higher than his birth could, and left behind him this title, which is written of him: lutravit ut vulpes, roZimvit ut leo, mortuus ost ut oanis, he became pope like a fox, ruled like a lion, died like a dog.

012 It is this Boniface, who, in that same golden year, which he first lied about and brought about, when all the world ran to Rome, that the city was too straitened, and many people were oppressed, sat one day in his papal pomp, crown, and robe, and let himself be seen as a pope. The next day he sat in imperial pomp, crown, and robe. On the other day he sat in his imperial pomp, crown, and robe, and let himself be seen as an emperor, and showed two bare swords before him, and proclaimed: Leos äuo Zlaäii them, behold here are the two swords! For this is certainly what Christ meant when he answered the disciples about their two swords.

2) In the old editions: "gewegenesten".
3) "in" is missing from Erlanger.

(13) It is this Boniface who has gathered together the filth (Sext Decretal, I would say) of the previous popes, in order to raise the papal throne above God's word, worldly dominion, body, soul, and goods of all men on earth, where it might be possible; and he has left many other praiseworthy papal virtues behind him as an example to his descendants, about which they are very fierce halls. For it is an article of faith with them: What a pope at Rome does or does, that has been done by the holy Christian church and God himself. Cause, a pope cannot err.

14. From this and similar histories (oh, God would that an idle and learned historian would compile such examples of how often the popes have grabbed for the imperial and royal crowns) one sees and grasps that nevertheless the most holy fathers at Rome considered this Donation of Constantine, the most diabolical lie of all, for the most important article of the Christian faith, and always thought how they could get it on its feet, God granting that the other articles and all of Christendom would have it their way, if they could only become God and lords of the world through such manifest idolatry. And they have truly gone far, and further, than he meant who first told such lies.

015 For he hath nevertheless brought it about, that he hath stolen from the emperors and kings, and from all the world, the investiture, or the fief of the bishoprics, and also benefices unto himself, if he hath not founded them, nor given them; and hath shed innumerable blood thereat, and laid all plagues upon the emperors and kings. For it was the time of divine wrath, which through the pope wanted to punish the world in this way. Otherwise it would not be right, even today, for a man to take and give his own pleasure, which is not his. For emperors and kings have not given it to the pope, but to the churches, to maintain preachers' chairs and schools; which the pope has usurped, and under the name of the church has most shamefully killed, even to war and rage against the founders.

016 For he hath made emperors and kings, and all the world, to worship him, and to kiss his feet; and the emperor hath given him an oath.

the Count Palatine had to carry the tail of his mule, and such unheard-of deference much, which should be kept by the Christians for the right true God alone. And the right God, on the other hand, gives good and honor. This devil's head lets him do such honors and gives nothing, but robs, steals, takes, and seizes everything that everyone has, in body, soul, goods, honor, and power. Therefore also at Rome they hold all the world for geese and ducks. Especially we Germans, and laugh that they can so finely ape and fool us under the name of God, of whom they otherwise speak less than of a cleaner.

(17) Item, he has brought it about that he writes and boasts of the kingdom of England, hereditary lord and feudal lord. I have seen such a writing with my eyes, which the pious man (God forgive me) Peter Paul Vergerius brought out to the Roman king Ferdinand and other German princes to incite them against the king of England. And as a sign he took annually from the whole kingdom the penny of St. Peter (so it is called) from every head that carried an incredible sum of money. For the St. Peter's penny is with us a half a coin or a mark: that I have had it said to me with truth from Anglicans that the pope had nine tons of gold annually from Anglican lands. Some say more. Truly, the greeks may make Constantine's heirs at Rome fat.

018 Should we not be justly astonished here, and ask, Where then cometh St. Peter, the poor fisherman of Bethsaida, that he is hereditary king of England, with his popes after him? They did not buy it, that is certain. They did not fight for it with the sword, that is certain. Nor did they receive it as a gift from God or from men; that is certain. Although they write that King Adolphus laid such St. Peter's pence on his kingdom out of devotion. He that believeth not shall not be damned.

019 And how often hath he banished and deposed the emperors, whether he might have become emperor thereby? And where he has not been able to depose them by banishment, he has nevertheless caused such division and discord among the princes.

that they had to depose one and choose another of his own liking, so that he might establish himself as ruler over the sovereigns and emperors; and he has succeeded on several occasions and failed on several occasions, as the histories testify, but not without much bloodshed. For this Donatio Constantini first made them drunk like sweet wine, and then mad, foolish, furious, and insane, until they became emperors and gods over the whole world, unable to digest such poison.

020 For he hath made it come to pass, that whosoever hath the kingdom of Neapolis and Sicily, shall yearly present unto the most holy father a goodly white horse, with a silver bridle, and harness most beautifully groomed; which he receiveth for a fief of such kingdoms. However, it is said that those who give it require that it be a bad gift and not a feudal right. Every pope gathers such horses as many years as he lives, and has them led before him alone, when he wants to be resplendent, with a special, splendid splendor, as a sign that he has sunk his claws into such kingdoms, and where fortune would have it, even such kingdoms, by virtue of this Donatiou Constantiui, would like to capture and take, because he lacks seals and letters. As then Pope Leo Decimus, my first Caiphas, did, who installed his cousin at Neapolis as king; But those at Neapolis were unfortunately at that time also anti-Papal, but much more vehemently and sharply than Luther, and gave the new papal king such strong poison that his body became grass-green, and so hard that one could not pierce the body with a spear, as a sign that they could not believe, and perhaps did not want to believe, the article of the papal faith, of the Donation of Constantine, because of the great weakness of their conscience.

021 For by his wickedness he hath gotten much more money out of the countries than the emperors of old had. What the emperors took from the lands, they needed to cultivate the lands and keep the peace. This wicked man took it and squandered it, leaving kings and countries to themselves to cultivate and keep the peace. Daniel says of the end of Christ in the eighth chapter: "Volus prosperuditur in manu.
ejus, the shalke will succeed in all his wickedness. Otherwise it would not have been possible for God's wrath to punish the sin of the world in such a way that it would have succeeded.

022 First, he hath devised the pallia over the archbishops, of which immeasurable money hath fallen to the Roman robber. For Mainz alone must give twenty thousand florins to Schalke for the pallium. Some say that, with the expenses, it amounts to thirty thousand. Other bishoprics give less, up and down. Yes, what devil has given him the power to plunder the foreign monasteries in this way, and to sell his four hanseatic threads at such a high price? But it is all to make him Constantine's heir, and to bring the world under him.

023 Item, after that he devised the annals, with an impudent public lie, but under such pretence (as he boasts), that he would gather a treasure to take against the Turk; that he never had any right thought, as the work is proved in the day. But everything was directed so that he would first bring the goods of the world under him, then become their lord and god through their own money and goods, and be called Emperor Constantine's heir. As it was said long ago, that the end of Christ shall lay up the treasures of the earth. And Daniel saith, He shall divide the lands unto his Mahusites in vain: 1) For he hath gotten it all in vain, like a thief, and by all manner of lies and deceit.

024 Item, he also invented the indulgence for money's sake against the Turk. Which was just as serious as that he now wants to reform the Roman court and city, and hold a concilium; nevertheless, it has carried great unspeakable money, and all the world has been cheated with it, without him also having strengthened his divinity and Constantinity a little by it. Now, of such robberies, stealing, lying, and deceiving, I have written in the beginning, to the German nobility. Whoever wants to, may read it further, for it is not necessary to repeat everything here. But this I have told, as they have told it up to our time.

1) "Mahusite"-followers of his god Mausim (Dan. 11, 39.). From this we can see that Luther wanted the word Mausim to be spoken in three syllables.

2) In 1520. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol.X, 266 ff.

that one might see how the papacy, founded on vain lies and idolatry, born and grown out of them, is a true, real devil's empire, not only to destroy the holy Christian Church (of which I will say more in the following writings, and paint you devil, if I can, with God's help, as you have painted me), but also the worldly empire, so that he might become a much greater Constantinus than the same great Constantinus ever was.

025 What doeth he in our days? Because he will not succeed in all things, though he has succeeded in all things, as Daniel saith [Cap. 8:24], yet he cannot rest nor celebrate, nor suffer offence. In former times the cardinals of Rome were under the pope, as canons under a bishop, and remained in the city. But that was too spiritual, and not imperial pomp. For the emperor of old sent into the countries Oousulss or? rü68iä68, thus invented by the pope 1,6Aato8 out of his cardinals, that he might resemble the imperial regiment in deed, yet not have the name Ooiwulum or ?rg,68iäuin, but be called legates, until he cunningly obtained the Donation Constantini, and mightily overcame.

Twenty-six: this is begun and accepted of all the world. The legates have brought to the countries letters of butter, seals, indulgences, liberty, graces, and such a fair as has almost sucked the countries dry.

27 After this he makes 8 votbo8, uato8 I should say, in countries, as the bishop of Salzburg, and now also Mainz; these are hereditary legates, or, as they stammer it, born legates, who sit to hold the bishoprics in the rat king of Rome, and yet are canons of the church at Rome, so that at last all bishoprics and cathedrals come to Rome. As he has eaten up all the rich monasteries and convents in French-speaking countries, especially in Rome, by means of his rats, cardinals, so that finally all the clerical goods in the whole of Christendom will come home to the pope's canons. In time he will certainly send a cardinal to Cologne, Trier, Bamberg, Würzburg, and what other excellent monasteries there are, and they will then also become Legatz natz, that is to say, the "cathedral" of the pope.

are rats, who help their rat king in Rome to take and devour the cathedrals. Just as the present ruler of Mainz has eaten up, drunk up, and sucked up his monasteries, especially Magdeburg, so that he may hold his Roman canonry in honor.

028 Item: What did Pope Clement Septimus, my third Caiphas, do? he had stolen all the money that Julius Secundus left behind him under his cousin Leo Decima, whose chamberlain he was; he is said to have known about the fifty tons of gold, as they say, and in addition he poisoned many cardinals whom he suspected of having great money. And when he became pope, he did such evil in Welsh land that [it] was unpleasant, and was again afflicted with poison the seventh time. For six times he overcame it; but so that all his teeth, 1) nails, and hair of the whole body came off, that he was to be regarded as a bad lump of flesh. For it is said that he was the highest, most skilful master of giving and driving out poison at that time on earth, without any one being so wicked at the end (as they say), a more wicked one coming upon him, was also dug up after his death by some, and nose, ears and privates cut off, found lying early in the morning before his grave, with the title: I^räuellio maximus, the greatest villain.

029 This Clement, while he was still master of Leonis, purposed to satisfy his avarice (which was impossible), and issued a bull, that the tenth penny should be taken from the ecclesiastics, the twentieth from the temporal, high, and rich, and the fiftieth from the common man, for a treasury against the Turk. O great earnestness was there against the Turk, that is, to make all the world clean. For there were men at that time that reckoned with him, and concluded: Where such an estimation should have stood three years, not a penny would have remained in German lands. But the ass began his song too high, and thought the Germans would not notice it. But it was cut off at the Diet of Augsburg, under Maximilian, 1518.

1) In the old editions: "zeen". Whether this is to be resolved by "teeth", as Walch has done, or by "toes" (with the Erlanger), we leave undecided.

030 But he did not cease, when he was pope; he devised another little thing, to exhaust the world's goods. Then came the bulla, which he called *Mons fidei,* in which he offered all kings to sell the interest of his own papal chamber, that he might raise a great sum of money against the Turk. The holy father was so earnest that he wanted to raise money against the Turk, that is, to raise money from the kings. But it would not do, for he could not, for his great mischievousness and wickedness, be fortunate enough to deliver the world from its money, although he was notorious for being a great whoremonger, his own sister's natural son, and yet the proverb says that whoremongers are blessed. They also say in Jtalia that he was never baptized in his life. Therefore he is most worthy of being pope at this time, since no pious man is to be pope or cardinal, but the most wicked boys on earth now belong to such ranks. As they themselves confess, that in Rome there is the basic soup of the most wicked boys on earth.

(31) In sum, there have always been enough learned, wise men, as the histories show, both in the secular and ecclesiastical classes, especially who have well judged the pope's mischievousness and tyranny, and have spoken and done against them. But the hour of the pope was not at hand, therefore they did not accomplish anything, but the saying of Daniel must be fulfilled, when he says [Cap. 8:24, 25], "The truth shall be put down in the streets (that is, publicly)." And again, "It shall succeed to the shalke, until the wrath be out." And Christ saith [Matt. 24:22.], "These days shall be cut short, or else none shall be saved." Such an hour will now be here, whether God wills it; but that they should not believe it, if they "felt" it so hard that their hearts fell into their shoes, and still deeper. For they try many strange plots and schemes, and yet nothing helps; they do not lack men, but the hour wants to overthrow this Troy.

32 Therefore, since all that has been under God has endured and resisted, the pope must be emperor, and through his god, the devil, bring this false Donatio Constantini into being. For he is

Certainly the Most High, above emperors and kings and all temporal rulers (I am not talking now about how he became the final Christian in the church, soon, God wills it), also has greater goods than all emperors, greater honor, greater power, and everything that is high in the world. It is he, next to God, altogether. As they also pretend to him, that he is king of kings, lord of lords, and an earthly god, and more of the abominable names that are painted on the forehead of the red, insolent harlot, Revelation 17:5. But nevertheless he preaches nothing, does no apostolic nor episcopal office to comfort souls, is nevertheless Ksrvus servorum vsi, and is true when vsi here is called äsns munäi. For he is the right and chief servant of the devil, and destroyeth all things, as Daniel saith, Nirabilitsr omnig, vastabit, he shall destroy all things abominably.

(33) Now further, in the Donation of Constantine there is this beautiful, tender lie, which has subsequently been the cause of many other decrees and great books, namely, that the four patriarchs, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, are to be under the pope of Rome. Such a lie is also an article of the holy papal church, and we do not want to let the text be seen here, as the Donatio Constantini hits itself in the cheeks. For, count it by the fingers, it says: Constantine gave such a donation on the fourth day after his baptism in Rome; at which time Constantinople was not yet built, much less a patriarch might have existed there; likewise also in Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem there were still bad bishops, as now the parish priests are, and the patriarch's name was invented long after. It is also evident that these four bishops, together with all the other bishops in all Greece or in the east, have never been under the pope, and are not yet. And so also the work in him himself makes such lies mightily disgraceful.

034 And that is more, neither Cyprian nor Augustine, the most illustrious bishops, together with other bishops in Africa, were under the bishop of Rome; Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, in particular, is like the bishop Cornelio of Rome, and calls him brother. And the Christians at that time

The bishops were all called *papa,* as is found in St. Cyprian, and St. Jerome also calls St. Augustine in his letters, until the devil then took such a name for the end-Christ in Rome alone. Just as he has robbed all bishops and churches of their power, goods, and honor, and has snatched them from him. And St. Ambrose of Milan, along with many other bishops in the French lands, has not been under the pope. And as a sign of this, the same diocese of Milan still keeps the ecclesiastical laws, or the way of singing and reading masses, as St. Ambrose kept them, much differently than Gregory of Rome and the Roman church kept them afterwards.

35 And what may there be many words? St. Jerome, one of the four teachers, whom they made a cardinal even after his death, writes thus: that the Roman bishop is nothing more than the bishop of another city, but that all are equal, and says: 8i ^uasritur autoritas, ma)or ost orbw urdo, which is said in German as much: And if the Romans held it differently, still the whole world must hold Christianity more than Rome. For the whole world held it at that time (as the truth is) that all bishops are equal. And further, the same man may say that at first there was no bishop at Alexandria, but the priests (which are now called preachers and chaplains) governed the churches in harmony and equally with one another. But afterwards, to prevent sectarianism, lest any one should seize the churches and divide the people, one was drawn out of the priests and called a bishop. For this reason he also writes about the epistle of St. Paul that priests and bishops are one thing, and proves it clearly from the text, as everyone can read for himself in the epistles of St. Paul, especially in Titum.

(36) Now Jerome lived about the same time, and after Constantine lived with ten emperors, as the histories testify, that he would have known well of such a donation by Constantine and the bishop of Rome, especially because he was a priest of the church at Rome, and the pope's scribe of Damascus, as he himself says. And it is a wonder that they do not still call such an arch-heretic today.

Burn the bishop of Rome, who speaks so dryly and freshly of the bishop of Rome, how he is equal to all other bishops and above none, so that he makes this Donation of Constantine such a shameful lie. And show how desperate, mendacious, shameful knaves and villains the following popes and papists have been, who not only invented such cursed lies (which would be a human folly), but also imposed them on all Christendom as an article of faith, thereby robbing and stealing all the world's goods, honor, and power; So that they also dare to kill, burn, and damn into the abyss of hell the people who do not worship such devil's filth for God. This is the devil himself with his mother.

37 What thinkest thou? If St. Jerome had lived to see such a time as this, when the Roman bishop would have exalted himself not only above all the bishops and ecclesiastics of Christendom, but also above the emperor and all the secular classes, as if he were God himself, oh, how he should have washed the pope! For if he will not let it be true that the Roman bishop is higher than any other bishop, how shall he let him be God and lord over all Christendom and over all the world? Yes, the pope ought to have let him. As he should have done in the days when the true bishops and fathers lived, as Cyprian, Martin, Hilarius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and their like, who were not the Roman bishops.

038 For we read in the *Ecclesiastica historia*, that the pope Victor would have put all Christendom to the east, with all the bishops of Greece, under ban, because they kept not the paschal feast on the same day with him, and with the church of Rome; (so even in time the bishops of Rome took hold of the high authority of the churches. For this happened two hundred years after the birth of Christ, when the pagan emperors still reigned at Rome.) Then a priest of Lyons in France, called Irenaeus, who was also one of the oldest teachers, came to Rome and punished Victor for wanting to cause such distress and confusion in the church.

Christianity for the sake of Easter Day, and he also refused that the pope should desist from his injurious presumption.

039 Then, behold, this Irenaeus is not a bishop, neither is he a priest of Rome, but of another church in another country: nevertheless he punished the bishop of Rome, and turned to his foolish banishment and iniquity. If he had considered the pope to be the highest bishop by divine right, and emperor, to whom no one could say, "What are you doing? He would certainly have spared such majesty, and would not have interfered with his office against the papal authority. But since the time that such Jrenaei and Hieronymi no longer existed, the devil has exalted his rat-king and hempen so high that he will hear no father or teacher, neither old nor new, nor concilium nor church, but wants to be above concilium and above everything, and one alone shall hear him. Neither does he want to hear emperor or imperial law, neither reason nor reality, but all rights shall be in the shrine of his heart, and shall spring forth, as he roars in his books, even shouting vehemently, as that all thrones and the highest judges shall be judged by him, and no one shall judge him, perhaps not even GOD himself. For how can God judge him, since he has all rights sitting in his heart's shrine, and cannot do wrong, even though he would like to, since everything he does flows from his heart's shrine, in which all rights must be, and all right must be, since it is the shrine of all right.

040 And this is yet more, that he also will be undirected from the holy scripture, which is the word of God (which is God himself); but here again he roareth in his book, that not the Roman throne hath power from the holy scripture, but the holy scripture from the Roman throne. That is, to exalt oneself above God and against God. God must disgrace you, you shameful, cursed liar and blasphemer! How insolently thou leadest on high! But thus it was written by the end of Christ through St. Paul, and thus it had to be fulfilled, for the plague and punishment of the unbelieving world, which always preferred to believe lies and did not accept the love of truth.

41 Now this is the sacred article of the papal faith, of the Donation of Constantine, that is, of the desperate, impudent lie; which I have set forth in the light, that all pious Christians may see how the desolate abomination of the papacy is based on vain lies, and that his church is the church of the devil. Whoever wishes to read further of this, may read the pope's law, especially in o. Eunota, item o. Solito, item c. kastorslis; then in the beginning, middle, and end of all and every decree. For in the beginning he always boasts that he is supreme in God's providence. In the middle, he judges and gives what and how he wants, as a god. In the end, he threatens the disobedient with God's wrath. So that all his writing, speaking, and doing says this much: "Behold, all of you, I alone am emperor, lord, and god; I cannot do wrong, but without me everyone is wrong. For the devil has poured these lies into him, when he became so full of them and so mad that he kicks and spits so horribly in his rights that his god, the devil, might even be afraid of them. But we have been his swine, and have eaten up all that the devil hath wrought in him above and below.

(42) But the most holy father and mother of all churches humbles himself, and calls himself Servus sorvorum Dei, after St. Gregory, who first used such a title, and never thought that it should be a hereditary title or Mtulu8 natus. Just as every Christian, the emperor also himself, should have, or rather fulfill, such a title. For Christ also called himself a servant of all the servants of God, and the least in the kingdom of heaven, according to which all Christians ought to wash one another's feet, and to be servants, and by humility to hold one another higher than themselves, as St. Paul teacheth everywhere, that one should precede another in reverence. This is called 8srvus 8orvorum Osi. And so Gregory also meant and held it.

043 But St. Pabstus puts on such sheep's clothing, and covers himself with such a title, that his wolfishness should not be noticed. For as he is a servant of the servants of God, his works prove that he wants to be of

Everybody must have served him, even against and above God, or whoever does not do so must be eternally damned. It has never been heard that the pope has kissed the feet of an emperor, king, or prince, as he has his feet kissed by emperors, even though the emperors were Christians and God's servants. And even if they were sometimes wicked, and thus not servants of God, the pope has never been pious, and yet he has remained famous as a servant of God, and has nevertheless allowed himself to be kissed. Therefore, as he allows himself to be kissed, the holiest servant of all servants of God, so he should also kiss the feet of all servants of God, at least of his chamber servants, if he considers them to be Christians, or should not suffer his feet to be kissed by anyone, since he wants to be the holiest among Christians.

(44) Such things, and the like of many other articles of the holy papal church, would be necessary to be acted upon in a free Christian council, if we were worthy in the sight of God, and if they deserved that God should give them this grace, that they might know themselves, and have to atone for and amend such unspeakable wickedness: then they would, as I do, judge of themselves, that all of them, pope, cardinals, bishops, etc., should be hanged on the gallows, drowned, beheaded, and burned, as the arch-thieves, robbers, seducers, murderers, and the beginners of all wickedness, should be hanged on the gallows, drowned, beheaded, and burned, as the arch-thieves, robbers, seducers, traitors, murderers, bloodhounds, and the beginners, mediators, and finishers of all wickedness. For I too, alas, have been among the blasphemous multitude of the papal church (I must confess, as St. Paul does, and do it cheerfully and gladly), helping to blaspheme and profane the holy blood of Christ and his power, by our own holiness and wisdom. But I knew it no better, and thought it was right and well done; but they know it now, and yet continue in this way, and defend it with all their power and persecution.

(45) Therefore they will not be worthy of the merciful punishment of being hanged, drowned, beheaded, burned; which would be to be wished for them, and I would well wish for them, if God's wrath would thereby be turned away or relieved, which otherwise they must bear eternally in hell. For St. Paul says [2 Thess. 2, 8]: that our Lord Christ himself will judge the end-Christ; first of all, he will kill with the Spirit of his
He will destroy it by his word and by his bright future. Therefore neither church nor council, neither emperor nor man's power, will punish the papacy and pay it according to its merits. They have it too high, too low, too thick, too coarse, too long, too far overpowering, with all mischievousness, superstition, lies, and blasphemies, that it cannot reach human punishment and wrath, but their sentence is [Matt. 25:41.], "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." For the angels of the devil are called not only the spirits or other devils, but also the popes, bishops, and cardinals, as the Revelation of John testifies; just as again the angels of Christ are not only the heavenly spirits, but also the pious, holy bishops, pastors, and preachers on earth in Christendom, as he himself says that St. John the Baptist is his angel.

046 But it is a good thing how it should be with such men, that they should not believe it, but also laugh at it, and mock it, as they did before the flood, and afterward Lot the oath. How ridiculous it was to them that Sodoma should perish! But soon after the laughter became a perpetual howling, and they must sing the fool's song: ^on puta886m, I would not have meant! So now the papists also laugh when they hear God's wrath, of which they know themselves guilty in their conscience, convinced by their own shameful, blasphemous, damned life. But they will also then have to sing with weeping and gnashing of teeth: ^on puta886m. But alas, too slow. The world wants it so, no Enoch, no Noah, no Abraham/ no David, no Elijah, 1) no prophet, no Christ, no apostle helps. So go on; it is valid whom the game repents of.

047 Forasmuch then as the papal abomination shall not receive its punishment here on earth, but is reserved unto Christ himself at the last judgment, even as the devils are all kept in chains of darkness unto the same judgment, as St Peter saith, We must let it go as it goes, and let it go as it goes; and

1) The words: "no Elijah" are missing in the Erlanger, but are in the Wittenberger and in the Jenaer.

And they shall be brought to the same judgment, since there is no hearing there, and no crying of their own conscience against them. But that we nevertheless always continue, hard against hard, and uncover the abomination's butt and shame (as the prophets use to speak), so that all the world, and they themselves, must see their own shame, so that we may serve God at least in the part where he kills his adversary by the spirit (or breath) of his mouth. For such breath and the spirit of his mouth proceedeth therefore mightily, and it is needful for the holy church to know such abomination, that she may beware thereof, and pray against it, amen.

1241. D. Martin Luther's writing, "The Lying of St. Chrysostom, to the Fathers of the Concilium at Mantua." Before May 20, 1537.

The first edition of this writing appeared under the title: "The Lie of S. Johanne Chrysostomo, to the Holy Prayers in the supposed Concilio of Mantua, by D. Marti. Marti. Luther. Wittemberg. M.D.XXXVII." At the end: "Printed at Wittemberg by Hans Lufft. M.D.XXXVII. " Thereafter in the collections: in the Wittenberg (1553), vol. IV, p. 438; in the Jena (1568), vol. VI, p. 499d; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1103; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 187; in the Erlanger (1st), vol. 25, p. 202, and in the second edition, vol. 25, p. 233. The closer determination of the time results from the words of the inscription, "now on future Pentecosts." - The legend itself is found in "Der Heiligen Leben," Nuremberg, 1488, col. 326; in the Strassburg edition of 1517, toi. 158, and from a manuscript in des Vulpius "Curiosities," vol. ill, p. 161.

To the holy and ecclesiastical lords, Pope Paul the Third, the cardinals, archbishops, along with other prelates of the church (to speak with Laube), who now think and are suspected of coming to the Concilium at Mantua on future Pentecost, Martinus Luther, unworthy preacher and doctor 2c.

1st My friendly greeting beforehand! Let not your holiness and clergy's ears or noses be surprised that I, a damned, accursed, unclean, stinking heretic, should venture to come before your holy purity with such a foul, stinking writing of mine. For your holiness know that

St. Paul saith, All things are clean unto the pure: as the brightness of the sun is not hurtful to uncleanness. And even if my stinking uncleanness were so great beyond measure that your pure holiness could not suffer it, but had to hold its nostrils against it, think that uaoossitas IsAsui üou llabat, and in German: Noth breaks iron 2c. How else one must suffer an accidental stink.

(2) For the bulla also came before me, wherein you, through your most holy head, the pope, have proclaimed a council to Mantua, truly (as no one else can easily think) with great earnestness and zeal, to counsel and help the poor consciences, as you have always done until now. And almost nineteen years ago I appealed from Pabst Leonis, iukaliois uiauioriaa, freventish, devilish ban and sentence to a common Concilium, never deserted such appeal, but always and always, as the right principal, adhered to it, and was and still am willing to follow it. For this reason, I have had to accept such a written Concilii, out of necessity, as is the case today. I had also resolved to appear personally and bodily myself, and to make you bonum vultum, as I promised orally to Petro Paulo Vergerio, Papal Holiness Oratori, here in Wittenberg; notwithstanding that your God is the consuming fire by which you are wont to overcome the heretics.

(3) But if I have fallen into great weakness this year, that it is not possible for me to make such a journey to the council bodily, nor have I the money and property of fortune, that I might order my handsome, needy procuration or legation. For of course there will be no one among you who would and could conduct my cause and word before your terrible, fiery God as well as I do, so I must come as I can; if it is not on foot, horse or chariot, then it will be on paper and ink. But I have been able to send this John Chrysostom (whom you no doubt know well) to your holiness for a preface and credence, because he is called Chrysostom, that is, the Golden Mouth; for your holiness likes to hear beautiful, sweet, golden words and prefaces.

2070 Srl. -L,-Z4--Z7. Cap. 15. negotiations for a concilii. «. xvi,Lii7-r5A>. **207l**
Besides this you 1) may also taste and smell what great things I have to do against the popes, cardinals, bishops, and other prelates of the church in the Concilio.

004 For such unswerving, desperate lies and idolatry have they not only taught, but also confirmed with grace and indulgence, and filled all the world therewith; yet now, praise God, all the world grasps, and ye yourselves also well understand and know that such are true lying, conceited, devilish lies, and vain seducing idolatry. Not only have they torn and devoured the sheep of Christ like wolves, but like the apostles and prophets of the infernal Satan they have destroyed and laid waste the holy church, made of it an abominable, infernal pit of murder, for which they have taken, robbed and stolen, as the most desperate evil-doers, the goods of all the world, in which they, and you also now, are resplendent and triumphant, as I will further indicate hereafter. For after this my preaching I will come, I will show God, and the golden mouth by the silver mouth, and what your golden and silver men have preached and earned; for it is not for nothing that the great Saint Chrysostom is called by such poets. Herewith be commanded to your dear God.

of St. Johanne Ehrhsostomo.

001 There was a pope at Rome, which rode[a] one day, and many rode with him. Now the pope had a tit that he often joined 2) and said his prayers; but he did so, 3) and when he was at the joining, he heard a voice cry out piteously. Then thought [b]he him, O woe, what is this?
What is the lamentation of the voice? and he rode on for bass, and there it cried 3) lamentation. Then thought he unto him, I must know what it is: and he turned back from the voice which he heard, until he was nigh unto it: and seeing nothing, he said against himself, How is it that I hear, and see nothing? That seemeth strange unto me: and he said, I command thee by GLtt, that thou tell me what thou art. Then said the voice most pitiful: I am a poor soul, O woe is me! for I am a poor soul.
1) "their" is missing from the Erlanger.
2) "united" retreated into solitude. Immediately following. "unification" solitude (Dietz).
3) but again, again.
...long been without pain, when one eyebrow would come to another. So great is my purgatory. [c])
(a) rode into the land of the sleeping monkeys.
b) And who could conceive such things if they were not true?
c) Purgatory" You must believe this or the devil will cheat you.

002 And when the pope heard it, he wept greatly, and said, Tell me, poor soul, if I may not help thee? And the soul said, Nay: and he said, I am heartily sorry for this. Now God hath given me much power, that I may bind[d] and loose sinners: tell me, therefore, if any man will help thee? Then said the soul, There is a thing made known unto me this day, wherein I have hope: for there is a blessed man in Rome, which hath a good wife, which is with child this day, which shall be blessed, and shall be called John, and shall be a priest; and when the priest shall have said his sixteenth mass, then shall I poor soul be done from my torment. And told him by what lane the man and the woman sat, and what their names were. And with that the priest departed from her: and the soul cried out as before.
(d) bind) Also in hell, and four weeks under hell.

003 After this the priest came to the servants, and durst not ask him where he was. Then he rode sadly again to Rome, and sent for the same man and for his wives, and received them amicably, and said to the women: Wife, thou must be blessed: it is told me of thee, that thou hast conceived a child this day, and that it shall be called John, and that the child shall be holy. Then said the woman, I cannot muck this up: let God's will be done for me. Then said the priest, I pray thee both, when the child is born, that ye may know me; and I will baptize him, and will submit myself to the child, and will be his father for ever[e]. They both thanked him, and he gave them his blessing, and they departed from him. And when the child was born, they delivered it to the priest, and he was very glad, and commanded his captain to ride with him to the baptism; and they baptized him, and called his name John, and took the nurse and the child.
to his court, and often visited the child. And when he was seven years old, he was sent to school, and he learned very badly, and the others often mocked him; and he was very much ashamed of himself, and went every day into a church before the image of our Lady, and earnestly besought her to help him that he might learn well.
e) Father) The mother may have been beautiful.

4[f]) One day St. John prayed before the image with devotion, that he might learn well, when Our Lady called unto him, and said, Kiss me at my mouth, and thou shalt learn all arts, and be taught better than any man on earth. Then he was very much afraid, and could not do it. But our Lady said, "Go safely to me with my escort. Then he went and kissed Our Lady at her mouth, and sucked therefrom all the heavenly arts, so that he interceded of God, and of all things, and spoke all things well, as no teacher can. And when he was gone out of the church, and came into the synagogue, and would have learned, he could do more than all the rest together. Then they all laughed, and said: How is it that thou art so well instructed, and that they could not put hard knocks into thee, and now thou canst do more than we all? Then they looked on him, and saw that he had a golden rice about his mouth, and that the gold shone as a bright star of right brightness. Then they asked him what had happened to him, and from whence had come the golden ring that was about his mouth? Then he told them what had happened to him. And they learned of him forsooth; for there was none that knew his art: and they called him John forsooth with the golden mouth, and said: Thou art called thus, because thou speakest golden words, which proceed out of thy mouth. So while he lived he wore the [g]ring, and his name remained so.

f) which wants to become it, there the lie goes pastidlich therefore.
(g) bore) But when he kissed the emperor's daughter afterwards, he was bent.

5th Now the pope was very fond of St. John, and where a benefice[h]) was vacant, he ordered it to be conferred on him. Then he became very rich, and lived virtuously and holy. Then the pope ordained him priest by the will of the poor soul, so that it might be comforted.) And when he was sixteen years old, they ordained him priest, and the pope commanded him to prepare for the first mass, saying, "You shall not wait any longer,") for he was sorry for the poor soul. Then St. John sang the first mass with great devotion, and thought to him during the mass: Lord, I am still too young, and it is very contrary to God, that I should be a priest now, and deal with God; and he said, Lord, I am sorry that they have consecrated me to the priesthood. For I am not worthy that I should deal with thee with my childish hands,

1) wait.
I shall always be sorry. And he said: I know well that temporal goods hurt the soul, [k]) therefore I will be poor through God. What is the good that is against God to me? As soon as we have eaten, I will go into the woods, and I will be there all the days of my life. And as he sang the mass, he thought unto him, Alas, if the mass were ended, and the mass seemed long to him. And when the mass was ended, they went with joy unto the table, and received the young priest beautifully, and had all that they should have.

h) See, were there already benefices at that time, when there was no pope?
i) Ei nun, taunt thee GOOD once more, thou sorrowful devil, with thy pabst.
k) harms! The pope wouldn't believe it if he knew.

006 And when they had eaten, Saint John did as he thought, and stole away from them secretly, and put on evil apparel, that he should not be known; and he took bread with him, and went into the wood, where he abode many a day, that he might have a good 2) rest. And when the pope was in, and the other lords that they had lost him, they were very sorry, and sought him everywhere, and wondered greatly where he was come. Then Saint John walked a long time in the forest, and asked God to be with him with his graces, and to provide for him. Then he saw a little spring, and went by the water, and was very glad, and came to a hollow stone, and under the stone the water went; and he thought unto it, Here shall thy dwelling be. And the little water was very merry. And he took grass and bark, and covered his cell therewith, and made a door [m]thereon for the beasts. And when he had eaten the bread, he sought the herb and the root, and fed himself therewith, and ate also the leaves and the grass, and looked up to God often, and lived very poorly, until he found out what root was good. He served God day and night with prayer, fasting, vigilance, and many other good practices.

l) Brod) This was a roll as big as Mount Sinai.
(m) Thur) of nettle seed.

007 In those days there was an emperor,") who loved God, and had a beautiful castle, wherein was his wife and his household; and the castle was before the forest, wherein was Saint John. And one day the emperor's daughter went before the

2) "lützel" - little. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 639, § 9. Col. 685, § 86.

Hag, in the summer, with many beautiful maidens, by pleasure, and wanted to look at the flowers and the green clover. And there came a great wind among all the maidens, and they were sore afraid: and the wind was so great, that it took the emperor's daughter, and carried her up from among the maidens into the air, that they knew not whither she was gone. o) Then they were very sorry, and said: What shall we answer the emperor? And when they were come home, the emperor asked them, Where is his daughter? And they said unto him, A wind-breed had led her away. And he was very sorry.

(n) Emperor) he had no name, as also the pope above.

o) Ever that must be true, who could conceive it?

008 Then the wind made the damsel lie down by the hollow stone, by the cell of St. John, that she should never be hurt. Then she stood before the stone well dressed, with a crown and a robe, and knew not where to go, and looked round about to see if any man saw her. Then she saw St. John's cell, and she looked in; and she saw him lying on the ground at his prayer, as he often did. Then she was glad, and cried with a loud voice, saying, Lord, let me in by God. And St. John was afraid, and rose up, and looked round about. And she called unto him, and besought him diligently that he would let her in: and he held his peace. And she looked in, and besought him the third time to let her in, and said: I see that thou art a Christian, therefore thou shalt help me. If I were to lose my life here, it would be your fault, and if the beasts devour me, I would complain about you on the last day, and you would have to repent before God on the last day.

009 And when the damsel had cried a long while, he went unto the door, and when he saw her, he opened unto her, and asked her who she was, and how she was dark. And she said, It is God's will; and tell thee no more. Then thought he unto him, If she lose her life here, I am guilty of it before God, and let her go into the cell, and made a stroke p) in the cell with his staff, and said unto her, If thou be in that part, I will be in the other part, and come not over the circle unto me, and pray with diligence. Then said she: I will gladly do so. And she slept very little, and had no chamber. And when the day was come, she thought unto her, What shall I eat to-day? Now my dear host hath nothing to give me; I must suffer grief here. Then St. John arose and prayed with great devotion. q) Then the dear maiden also arose, and learned his
good custom. Then said he, We shall go with one another for meat. So they did. But their food was nothing but cabbage, which they ate many a day for hunger, with great humility, praying and watching, and serving our Lord with great diligence. The enemy envied the exercises, and bore them both hatred, and rebuked them, and gave them evil counsel, and caused St. John to go over the circle to the virgins, into their half part, and embraced them sweetly, and won great love for r her, and made the virgin fall into great sin by his will. After this they both felt great remorse for their sin, and were sorry that they had sinned against God. St. John said against himself, "All the good I have ever done through God is now lost. Then said the virgin, Alas, I have lost my honour, O Lord, that I have ever committed sin, and have offended God my Lord with it, I am sorry with all my heart. s)

p) Stroke) That no fly would have crawled over it, let alone a young moth.

q) Devotion) That is believable, that one thought of the other in such proximity.

r) Love) That makes the great devotion, so they had in prayer.

s) sorry) yes, why do you eat herb and grass? that made you so horny.

010 One day after, St. John thought unto him, If the woman were longer with me, I would sin more with her: and he brought her up to a high stone, and cast her down, and went back into his cell, saying, Alas, I wicked man! Now have I done murder to the good women. Now she would never have thought of sin, if I had not brought it on her, and now I have taken her life. The unfaithfulness and the sin God will avenge on me forever. And he went out of the forest, and thought to himself that he would never serve God, that all would be lost, and said, O Lord God, thou hast forgotten me. But he gained a hope in God, and thought: I will confess. And he came to the pope to Rome, who was his dod t), and said unto him, Dear father, I am a great sinner; and he confessed all his sins with great contrition. Then the pope knew him not, and said unto him angrily, Get thee out of mine sight, for thou hast done evil to women, and it is all thine own fault. And he was sorry, and thought unto him, I will not despair of God. And he went again into the forest into his cell, and repented him, and thought unto him, God's mercy is greater than my sin. And he said, "Lord, receive repentance from me graciously. For I will

I will walk on my hands and feet until I have obtained thy mercy, [u]) and when I have atoned for my sin, let me be inward from thy bounty. And he crawled on all fours, as a beast in the forest, and when he would rest, he crawled into his cell, and crawled many a year after the food of his body, so that he never arose; and his garments almost rotted away from him, and became rough all over his body, that no man could know him.

(t) Dod) his pathe.
u) Fie your times on. 2)

011 And when he had been fifteen years in the forest, the empress had gotten a child, whom the wind had given a daughter: and when it was desired to baptize the same child, the emperor sent for the pope, and for many bishops: and when the pope, and the bishops, and a great company, were come to baptize the child, the pope took the child out of his hand, and the child said, I will not be baptized of thee. Then said the priest, Declare unto me thy will, whether I baptize thee? And the child said, I will not be baptized of thee. And the priest was sore afraid, and said, Hear, all ye people; for the child hath promised himself. What mean these things? And said unto the third time, Child, wilt thou receive baptism of me? And he said, I will not be baptized of thee: I will be baptized of St. John the Holy; God will send him forth out of his misery. Then the priest gave the child back to the nurse, and came home again to the women, and asked, "Who is St. John who is to baptize the child? No one knew anything about it.

012 Then the emperor commanded the huntsmen to ride into the forest, that they might catch him venison for the christening, and for the court. And when the huntsman had gone about a mile, he heard the hounds almost barking, and rode unto them, and saw a hideous beast before them, which he knew not. Then thought he unto him, Now art thou so hideous in form, that I may not punish thee, thou mayest easily tear me; I will go home before I am empty. Then thought he unto him, If I come home to my lord empty, he will be very wroth: and he took God for a helper, and he found the beast alone: it lay still before him, and he cast his mantle over him, and bound all his fours together, and was very glad when the beast was thus tamed; and he took his girdle, and bound him behind on the horse, and led him to his lord into the castle.

1) zuhand - asbald.
2) On this idiom, compare St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2397 8. v. "mal an."

013 And many people came, and desired to see the strange and dreadful beast; and it crawled under the bench. And the emperor's nurse came with the little child, and said, Show me the beast. And there were also many knights and women to see it. Then one came with a rod, and thrust it before the bench, and it ran down again. Then he thrust it down, and it ran down again. Then he pushed it down a third time, and it stopped. Then said the newborn babe, John, my lord, I am to receive baptism of thee. Then said he, If it be the will of God, and if thy words be true, speak it once more. And the child said, My lord, what wilt thou do? 3) I will be baptized of thee.

014 Then called St. John our Lord with devotion, and said, Lord, shew me out of the child's mouth, whether I have repented of my sin? Then said the child, John, thou shalt be glad, for God hath forgiven thee thy sin. Therefore arise, and baptize me in the name of God. And he arose from the earth, and the herb and the moss 4) that had grown in his body fell from him, and his body became as beautiful as that of a young child. Then they brought him garments, which St. John put on him. Then the pope and all the lords received him. And baptized the child with great devotion. Then the priest asked him to sit down with him. Then said St. John, Father, knowest thou me not? Then said the priest, No. Then said St. John, I am thy dodger, [x]whom thou baptizedst, and didst make me go to school, and gavest me many benefices, and didst ordain me to the priesthood very young; and when I sang my first mass, then thought I to myself, it were not fair that I should deal with God in my childish hands. And when I had sung the mass, and eaten, I went into the forest, where I suffered many mischiefs. And I told him all things that had befallen him, and how he had fared with the virgins, when he had confessed unto him.

(x) Dodt) Your 5) Pathe.

015 When the emperor heard it, his heart was heavy, and he thought, It may have been my daughter: and he said, If any man will direct me to the stone where the woman lost her life, that we may find her bones, and commit them to the ground. Then said St. John:

3) "betten" == to wait, to forgive.
4) In the Erlanger: "Müeß"; in the Wittenberger and in the Jenaer: "myess".
5) Erlanger: "Mine".

If the hunter could come to the place where he found me, I would certainly show him the stone. Then said the hunter, Yea, well. Then they rode together into the forest, and St. John rode first to the stone; and there they all saw with their eyes the woman alive and well. Then said he unto her, Why sittest thou here alone in the stone? And she said, Know ye me not? And he said, Nay; and she said: I am the woman that came to thy cell, and whom thou didst cast down from the stone. Then said he, Who helped thee that thou wast yet alive? And she said: Then God of his goodness kept me safe, that no harm came to me. And the woman was so beautiful when she was before, and her garments also. And he marvelled greatly at this, and bade her go with him, and brought her to her father and to her mother, to whom she was well known: and they received her joyfully, and thanked God that they had found their daughter.

016 And the emperor asked the daughter, saying, How is she alive? And she said, There is no thing impossible for God to do. Neither wind, nor rain, nor snow, nor heat, nor frost, nor thirst, neither did I hunger. I will tell you no more. After this the pope rode home again, and said to him, "Dear Dodt, I will send word to your father and mother that you are well. And he sent his servant to them: I tell you good news that your son John is well. And they were glad, and went unto him, and received him with great joy. After this the pope said to him, "My dear Dodt, how many masses have you said? Then said he, Only one. Then said the priest, O woe to that poor soul, which hath so long suffered great chastisement! Then said he, Father, what meanest thou by this speech? Then said the priest unto him, how piteously he heard the soul crying in the wood, and how it had said, A woman is with child this day, and her name shall be John; and when the child shall have sixteen masses, then shall I poor soul be consumed with torment. I am comforted, dear Dodt, that God has made it known to me. Therefore I called you immediately to the priesthood, that the poor soul might be helped. Therefore, come to her aid. Then said he, Father, I will do what thou wilt.

017 And he said, Thou shalt say mass every day, until they be sixteen: and the soul shall be saved. This he did earnestly for the soul. And she was delivered from all her torment. Then the pope made him a bishop and sent him to his diocese. There he was humble, and served God diligently, and preached such sweet words, that he was called John, with
The mouth of gold. After this he was driven out of his bishopric, and came into a wild wilderness; and there he wrote much of God, and when the inks ran out of his mouth, he wrote with letters of gold. Therefore he was called John with the golden mouth. And when God would take him out of this world, he became infirm and died blessedly. y) Now we pray the dear saint that he may grant us eternal life, amen.

y) And praise God! that the lies have an end here. One lie after another is a lie. But one has to believe it.

End of the Lying St. John Chrysostom.

D. Martinus Luther.

001 There are two kinds of lies in the world, though St. Augustine makes three: officio8uin, soLosum, poruieiosum. Some lie jestingly, to make people merry, and do it so grossly that it should be noticed and laughed at. These liars (shall mau call them so cruel) do not desire that men should be deceived or harmed, but their final opinion is shame and jest. The others are real liars, who lie in earnest, and knowingly want to deceive and harm people. Let there be no one (who has come to his years) who has not experienced such liars and known their harm, especially those who live in high places and offices. For they also, where it burns them, cry out and complain how the world is false and full of unfaithfulness, that even (as the prophet Micah says) married people, parents and children, housekeepers and servants, are unfaithful and false to one another. What then shall we think of neighbors and strangers?

002 Now such a lie is not to be so highly lamented, because it only does bodily harm, and the harm at last reveals and exposes the lies. But where it enters into spiritual matters, there it would be worth complaining about who might come to it. There are two kinds of lies: one is a human lie, which lies for the sake of temporal good; the other is a devilish lie, which lies in spiritual matters. For the latter remains covered and unrecognized (without God's word enlightening the hearts) until it is revealed to the eternal and unsurpassable God.

And there is no more consolation nor help for ever.

3 Now the holy papacy or papal church is full of all human lies, as they themselves confess at Rome, and is also publicly in the open, that [it] no one can deny. But this would not be the pity yet; but this is the lie that does the harm, that such a church and holy papacy is founded and established on devilish lies, which no one knows, nor notices its harm, until it brings all the world into eternal hellish fire, since there is no salvation nor return, and no one can atone for the harm, but that the pope, with his indulgences, purgatory, and holy service, has so shamefully deceived, lied to, and cheated the world out of its goods and money; this could be overcome, because money and goods are restored by God every day; but that he has deceived souls by such lies, and drawn them away from Christ to his and their own works, this is the devil, diabolical lies, and hellish fire with eternal death.

(4) One of these lies is the lie of John Chrysostom, which was invented by a desperate devil's head to pretend to the pope and to confirm his devil's church (as well as many others), and everything in it was directed so that the masses and purgatory (on which the papacy stands) would be kept high, and all goods would be given to them; as has happened and is happening. And although they themselves now know and perceive that they are such shameful lies, they not only do not want to mend their ways at all, but knowingly defend the lies they have recognized, force people by force to believe and worship such obvious lies, and kill, chase away, and burn them. Besides, with such lies they also do the harm that sensible people, when they notice such obvious lies, begin to doubt even the right main articles of the true Christian faith, and think: One is like the other; if this is a lie, then that is also not true. And become epicurei. Such miserable, unspeakable harm is done by the diabolical, accursed, lying papacy in the church with such wretched liars. But God knows how to preserve His own.

005 Though now they laugh at such lies, and will not believe them. But good be to you, dear-
Young people, you who now have the light, and have not been under the empire of the pope's lies, as I and my kind have been. If any man, twenty years ago, should have thought of this lying Chrysostom, that some part of it was a lie, he should have been burned to ashes, without all mercy. Neither emperor, king, prince, doctor, art, nor force could have helped. So sternly did the scoundrels, preaching monks, Ingui8itor68 baei-etieae pravitati8 deal with the matter; so earnestly did we have to believe the lies, and fear and worship their father, the devil, and celebrate his scoundrels and platitudes. Laugh now, and mock with confidence at these lies that are revealed, for ye do right and well in them; be glad also that ye now know them. But also be thankful for the grace of God, and pray that you may not again fall into temptation and be deceived.

006 For of this ye must be sure, that when there is a council, nothing shall be done therein, but that such lies shall be confirmed in all letters, and all they condemned to death and hell that will not believe them. For the holy fathers do not want to be deceived; you can be sure of that. And how should they revoke or change such little lies, which have a little appearance, when they boast in all their writings of the greatest, greatest, most impudent lie, which is so palpable without any appearance at all, and is an impudent lie even in their own conscience, and they insist on it to the whole world, namely, that the pope at Rome is the bishop over the whole Christian church in the whole world. Which they well know is a lie, never has been, never will be, nor ever can be. And such a name is not due to any man, but only to the one man, who is called Jesus Christ.

007 Now not only do they lie against their conscience, but they also falsely bring up the scripture, Matt. 16:18, "Thou art Peter," 2c. This is the greatest deception that has come upon the earth, and should and must be the last time before the last day. Of which I will speak further in writing (if God gives me time and strength) with the holy fathers at Mantua, where they also did not lie about the Concilium. For the plate

The kingdom of heaven is made of lies and built on lies; it must do nothing but lie with words and works and all its strength. Christ our Lord, the blessed truth, keep us in his faith and knowledge, amen.

1242. D. Martin Luther's preface to the writing: "Ein alt christlich Concilium zu Gangra in Paphlagonia, vor 1200 Jahren gehalten", published by Joh. Kymeus in German in 1537.

The text to which Luther wrote this preface is entitled: "An Old Christian Concilium, held for twelve hundred years at Gangra in Paphlagonia, against the high holiness of the monks and resistors. Item an old miraculous history and recollection of those who wanted to revenge Christ on the Jews and the Gentiles. And of many other things, most recently recorded. By M. Johannem Kymeum, pastor of Homberg in Hesse, explained and interpreted. With a preface by D. Mart. Lutheri." At the end: "Printed at Wittemberg by Joseph Klug. M.D.XXXVII." 9z sheets in quarto. In the editions: in the Wittenberger l 1559), vol.XII, p.364; in the Jenaer (1568), vol. VI, p. 495; in the Altenburger, vol. VI, p. 1098; in the Leipziger, vol. XXI, p. 174; and in the Erlanger, vol. 65, p. 56.

Preface by D. Mart. Luther.

Because I must now be a prefatory writer, I make this preface to this fine booklet: that I almost like to see it, and it is also useful and helpful to our Gospel, and as harmful and unpleasant to the shameful papacy, as a right Concilium, that one may draw forth the right old Concilia, and the right Fathers' Scriptures. For this Gangrense Concilium is the best of all. Although it was not a general, but rather a small, general council, it is nevertheless better in every respect than all the councils that the pope has ever held. For here you see how these right-minded bishops take hold of the right things. But in the pope's Conciliis, the most necessary trade is which cardinal shall be above the other, which bishop shall be the highest, and of the jugglery without number and measure.

(2) Yes, if these holy bishops should wish to act or conclude such things in the Pope's Conciliis as they act in this Concilio of theirs, when devils, how thin ashes they should become through the fire! But praise be to God,

Honour and thanks, who by such and their like holy bishops, so long before, hath condemned the shameful pope, with his false holiness, in food, clothing, unchastity, 2c. Therein it is seen how the papacy has embraced almost all the heresies that have raged against Christ, and has gathered a basic soup from them to deceive all the world, since they alone have deceived some parts of countries.

(3) But I praise the most holy papists, that they can rage so firmly and constantly against the Spirit of God, when such testimonies of the true churches and fathers are led, that they do not ask anything about them, but leave their strong argument against it: the pope is above all churches, and cannot err, and also above all holy Christendom in the whole world. And lest anything should be equal to him, but should also pass over God, he roars in his decrees, c. Ouneta, that is, All Christendom in the Wett knows that the holy Scriptures have their authority or power from the Roman See. Yea, yea, saith Luther, all Christendom in the world know the hellish fire upon thy head, chair, and idol, the devil. This little holy council at Gangra doth abundantly testify. And I would, if I had time, bring more of the kind to light. For what shall I say now of the secular estate, which is the pope's footstool and stableboy, and the pope's mules must wipe the back of their mouths? as it is in the day.

(4) This Concilium Gangrae is also referred to several times in the sacred ecclesiastical law, as are several other fine sayings of the fathers, but in such a way that the pope's mouth always retains the supreme power. For the most holy father does not want to rule according to such fine conciliarities and sayings, but he decrees and commands that the laws and letters of the Roman bishops should be kept as well as the holy Scriptures, all conciliarities, and all sayings of the fathers. And if this is not done, no one can be saved, even if three of them die for us. For the pope is the right saviour of all bets; Christ is nothing, except the cap. Cuncta and his like. Of this once more. May Christ, our dear Lord, accomplish the work he has begun, amen.

1243 D. Martin Luther's Preface and Postscript to Several Letters of John Hus, Written from the Prison at Costnitz to the Bohemians Anno 1415. Beginning of 1537.

A single print of this writing appeared under the title: "Etliche Brieue Johannis Huß des Heiligen Merterers, aus dem gefengnis zu Costentz, An die Behemen geschrieben. With a preface by Doct. Mart. Luther." At the end: "Printed at Wittemberg by Joseph klug. Anno. M. D. LXLVij." 5^ quarto sheets. In the editions: in the Wittenberg (1559), vol. XII, p. 277; in the Jena (1566), vol. VI, p. 496; in the Altenburg, vol. VI, p. 1099; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 175; and in the Erlangen, vol. 65, p. 59. - It should also be noted that in the Jena and Altenburg editions only Luther's preface and epilogue are printed, with the omission of everything in between. In the Wittenberg and Erlangen editions, Hussen's letters are given in a different translation than in the Leipzig edition and Walch. In the latter two editions, a "description of the last action taken with Hus" is inserted after Hussen's letters. - In the superscription of the editions the year 1416 is wrong. Hus was burned on July 6, 1415.

These letters of M. I have had them written in Latin from the Bohemian language so that I might have them printed, especially in this year, when the Concilium has been announced by our dear Lord, Emperor Carol; not so nearly that I aroused hostility and enmity to the Costenzer Concilio (which I otherwise gladly did, and from now on am ready to do with all my heart's desire, for the sake of his shameful, damned deed, also out of my and the whole holy church's need and right), but that I admonished, who should let themselves be reproached, if God wanted the said Concilium to proceed, to beware and beware of the example of the Costenzer Concilii, in which the truth was disputed and contested with great violence, and afterwards for a very long time. But now she has the victory, and carries the head upward, and leads the same Rottenconcilium to the spectacle publicly by herself, and has taken from it its power and tyranny with all joy.

It was the most important thing in the same Council, especially among the cardinals and the high estates, that they should stop the division of the church, and meanwhile let the things of faith be commanded to the desperate and shameful people, whom we call the monks.

and are called Sophists. From them, as the elders, went forth the wickedness of Babylon, as the prophet saith, and there followed in Germany and Bohemia lamentation, war, battle, bloodshed, and such hatred as can never be quenched.

Nevertheless, the papacy, then supplemented by the schism, did not celebrate, and filled all the churches in the whole world with mighty lies, indulgences, purchase fairs, and all kinds of fairs of good works, which priests and monks offered and had for sale. This was the fruit of the Most Holy Council.

Therefore, it will certainly not do to order such devil-heads to do the things of faith, but the kings, princes, and bishops must see to it themselves, lest the same or worse result from this Council. God has indeed demonstrated at the Costenzer Concilio how he resists the trustworthy, and scatters all those who are of a trustworthy mind, and asks no one how great he is and who he is.

This is the reason why I let these letters go out, namely this admonition: Whoever does not want to be burned so many times, let him always go to the devil, he corrupts without my fault. Our dear Lord JEsus Christ give us his spirit to pray, and to those who are to govern the Concilium, to seek what is God's, and to forget or [to] despise what is their own, Amen. 1)

1) This preface of Luther's is found in Latin according to the "Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen Theologischen Sachen, 1732," p. 997 f., in the Erlangen edition, opp. vur. urZ., torn. VII, x. 536, where the title of the book from which it is taken is thus given: Dros Lpistolae 8nn6ti88iini umrt^ris Ic>lmnrÜ8 Ilussü 6 enrosre Oou8tariti6N86 ucl Loernos 86riptu6. Ourn xruolutione Älurt. lmtüsri. ViiisniderMo 1536. at the end: vitexenciodut loMpüus HuZ. 1536. octav. (Ok. Schütze, Ungedruckte Briefe Luthers, III, p. 364.) To this is noted that, although the title says only of three letters of Hussens, but four letters of the same are included in it along with the letter of 57 nobles of Bohemia and Moravia to the Council of Constance on Sept. 2, 1416. The postscript of Luther is missing in this booklet. - That this is not an edition organized by Luther himself (for Luther had the Bohemian letters of Husfen translated into Latin in order to be able to publish them in German), can be assumed: partly from the false title of the booklet, partly from the absence of Luther's postscript. The printer Klug, who printed the German copy, will, while Luther had the postscript

M. Johann Hussen's letters.

Copy of the first letter of Joh. Hussen. 1)

1. I, Magister Johann Hus, in the hope that I am God's servant, wish the grace of God to all believing Bohemians who love God with all their hearts.

002 I have thought, my brethren in Christ, that it is needful to exhort you to consider how my books, which I have written in Bohemian, are condemned as heretical books in the Concilio of Costence, which is full of pride, avarice, and all manner of abominations, which have neither been seen nor read, and though they had been read, yet no man understood them. For at this Concilio there are all whales, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Spaniards, Germans, and people of other languages; unless Bishop John Litomistius 2) had understood it, who was in the same assembly, together with some other Bohemians and priests of Prague, who at the first desecrated and accused both God's truth and our Bohemian land; which I respect, and trust in God that it is full of pious Christians, since they hold God's word and all respectability dear and valuable in it. If you yourselves had been present at Costenz, you would have seen such a council (which is called holy, and wants to be considered as such, as if it could not be mistaken), an abomination and a shameful being. For even the Swabians themselves, as I have heard from them, say that their city of Costenz will not be able to atone for all such sins in thirty years, which were shamefully committed in this concilio; in sum, everyone is angry at such a concilio, and hurts the people that everything is done so shamefully.

003 When I first stood in such a council, to answer for myself against mine adversaries, and saw that it was so without any

The German manuscript of the Schmalkaldic Articles was published in a hurry, before the subsequent speech had come into his hands. From this we can infer that the German copy went out at the beginning of 1537, probably immediately after the production of the Schmalkaldic Articles.

1) The Erlangen edition has this Brie in the first place, but with the note to the second letter: "The date shows that this was the first letter and the first the other." The Wittenberg edition has accordingly rearranged the two letters. In fact, the third letter of June 10 is the first, the second of June 24 the second, the first of June 26 the third, the fourth of June 27 the fourth.

2) Instead of "Litomistius" it says in the Wittenberg and Erlangen editions: "zu Lytomiß".

I said, I had been mistaken; it ought to be more honest, better, and more orderly in this council. Then the chief cardinal came upon me, and said, Dost thou let thyself be heard here? in the castle thou spakest more modestly. But I said unto him, In the castle there was no such shouting about me, but now ye all shout at once.

004 Because therefore no order at all is kept in this Council, and more evil than good is done therein, let not the judgment which is pronounced against my books frighten you, my dear Christians and brethren. You will see and learn that they will be scattered like moths, and their doctrine and judgment will endure like cobwebs. They tried me to see if they could deter me from the truth of Christ, but they could not overcome God's strength in me. Thus, they never dared to contend with me in the Holy Scriptures, as many well-born gentlemen will testify, who were willing to suffer all disgrace for the sake of God's truth, and who stood with me; especially the well-born Lord Wenceslaus of Duben, and Lord John of Chlum 3); for Emperor Sigmund allowed these two into the Council. Afterwards, when I said: I wanted to be expelled, if I had erred, the aforementioned gentlemen heard that the highest Cardinal answered, and said: If you want to be expelled, then you must first recant all your doctrine, as fifty Doctores Theologiä (they were great sophists) will tell you. How think ye of him? Does not this mean finely instructed? In the same way we read of the holy virgin Catharine, that she was to deny the truth and the faith of Christ, because fifty masters stood against her; but the pious virgin would not, but held to the faith of Christ unto death, and still converted the same fifty masters to the faith; but I could not convert these.

005 All this, brethren, I have written unto you for this cause, that ye may know that it was not with holy writ, nor with any other due manner, but with terror and dread alone, that I was set before me to recant. But the merciful God, whose word I have esteemed glorious and great, has been with me, and still is, and will continue to be with me, as I have confidence in him, and keep me in his grace even unto death. Amen.

3) Wittenberger and Erlanger: "Clüm".

Given on Wednesday after St. John the Baptist [June 26, 1415], in prison, as I await death, although God keeps His judgment so secretly that I must not say that this is my last writing, for the Almighty God can still well save me. Amen.

Copy of the other letter.

1. I, Magister Johann Hus, in the hope that I am God's servant, wish all believers who love God and His Word the knowledge of the truth and the grace of God.

002 Brethren, I have sent you an admonition that ye should neither be dismayed nor alarmed at the fact that mine adversaries have determined to burn my books, but consider how the prophet Jeremiah was also met with by his people, and yet his preaching was not suppressed thereby, for when they had burned it, God commanded that it should be written again, and more fully, as it was done. For when the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he had his scribe Baruch with him, who recorded such sermons again from his mouth; as is shown in the prophecy of Jeremiah, either in the 35th or 45th chapter. So also it is written in the book of the Maccabees, how they burned the Bible, and slew them that were found with it.

(3) The like is also found in the histories, that the tyrants, after the birth of Christ, burned the saints together with the books. Some cardinals burned many books of St. Gregory, and would not have left any if God had not prevented it through Peter, the servant of Gregory. Item, two Concilia have condemned the holy teacher Chrysostom as a heretic, and yet their false judgment has finally come to light after the death of the holy man.

004 Let such histories be a warning unto you, that ye either read not my books for fear, or give them to my adversaries to burn; but remember the word of our Saviour, and strengthen yourselves with him that saith Matt. 24: "There shall be great tribulation before the last day, such as never was since the foundation of the world: neither shall it come to pass, that, if it were possible, even the elect should be deceived into error; but for the same those days shall be shortened." Remember this exhortation, brethren, and be ye

1) It is Jer. 36, 28.

I trust in God that the school of the Antichrist will fear you and leave you well satisfied, and the Concilium of Costence will hardly reach Bohemia; and I am sure there are many of them who will die before they take my books from you. Yes, they will be driven away from this Concilio now and then, like storks, and in winter they will learn what they have done this summer.

005 Behold, they have condemned their head, the pope, to death for some abominable sin. Where then are the pope's preachers? Let them answer to this, who cry out of the pulpit, that the pope is a god on earth, that he may not sell that which is holy; as the lawyers say, that he is the head of the holy Christian church, for he governs it; that he is the heart of the Christian church, for he makes it live spiritually; that he is the fountain from which all virtue and all good spring; that he is the sun of the holy Christian church; that he is the treasure in which all Christians should have a refuge. Behold, this head is cut off by the sword. The earthly god is bound, and his sins are manifest in the day. This fountain is dried up, this sun is gone out, the heart is torn out of the body and cast away, so that no one may have recourse to him.

006 They also condemned the pope in the council for selling indulgences, bishoprics, benefices, and the like, for money; but many have sat in such judgment, who themselves have bought such things of the pope, and sold them to others. For bishop John Litomistius (who was also present) twice wanted to buy the bishopric of Prague, but others beat him to it. Are these not naughty boys? They do not pull the beam out of their eye, but their own rights say: Whoever buys a prelacy with money, it shall be taken from him. Now buy, or sell, or deal in between, whoever will, they shall be publicly condemned. In this way Peter condemned and banished Simon, because he wanted to buy the Holy Spirit for money.

007 Therefore it came to pass in this council, that the pope was condemned and banished, because he did such merchandising; but they, who bought it of him, and caused such an act to be done, go free. Yes, even in the Concilio they have gone about with such ruthlessness; 3) for here in Costence there are two of them, one who has sold the bishopric, another who has sold the bishopric, and another who has sold the bishopric.

2) In the other relation: "desperate".

3) Gremplerei == hucksterism.

But the pope took money from both of them and confirmed the purchase. You know that such things also happen in Bohemia. But if God had willed that in such a council God would have said: He who is without sin among you, let him pass sentence against Pope John; without doubt one after the other would have turned out. Why did they bow down to him before this time, kiss his feet, and call him Most Holy, since they knew and saw that he was a heretic, a murderer, and a damned sinner, as they brought all these things upon him publicly? Yes, why did the cardinals choose such a one, since they knew that he had killed the previous pope? Why did they permit him, since he was already pope, to make and do such a bargain with the saint? For therefore they are his counsellors, that they should tell him what is best, and keep to it; but because they do not do so, are they not as guilty as he, and especially because they themselves have helped him to many things? Why was no one allowed to reproach him with this before the concilium began, but feared him as the holy of holies? But now, because the temporal government, by God's providence and decree, has imprisoned him, they are all helping one another to put him to death. I ever think that one can see in the Pope and others at this Concilio that the abominable, shameful nature of the Antichrist has come to light, and the pious Christians will no doubt now understand what Christ meant by this, since he says: "When you shall see the abomination of desolation; since Daniel said of" 2c. Matt. 24, "He that ran this, let him mark it." I mean ever, that the exceeding pride, avarice, and simony, is the right abomination in the wilderness, that is, among the prelates, where there is no sense of piety, humility, or other virtue.

8. I would have a good mind, if I had time enough, to write to you about all the wickedness and wickedness that I have now experienced among the people, so that the more pious Christians may beware of it; But I trust in God, that he will raise up others after me, who will do more nobly, as there are already some of them, and will bring the evil of the Antichrist clearly to light, and will gladly give their life to death for the truth of our Lord Christ, which Lord Christ will give me and you eternal life, amen. Given on the day of St. John the Baptist [June 24, 1415], in prison and in chains, with the thought that St. John was beheaded in prison for the sake of the word of God.

Copy of the third missive.

1. I, Magister Johann Hus, in the hope that I am God's servant, wish all believing Bohemians who love God that they may live and die in the grace of God, and finally become eternally blessed, Amen.

002 Ye mighty, rich, and poor, I beseech and exhort you to be obedient to God, to magnify his word, and to live according to it.

(3) I beseech you that ye abide in the truth of God, which I have preached unto you out of his word, and out of the holy teachers, and have written unto you.

004 I pray also, if any man among you shall have heard of me in public preaching, or otherwise, or have read any thing in my books, contrary to the truth of God, that he receive it not, though I know not that I have written or spoken any such thing.

005 I pray also, if any man have ever known any levity in my words, or in my doings, that he would not do so unto me, but pray God for me, that he would forbear such levity.

006 I beseech you that ye love and esteem above others the priests who are well kept in their profession, and especially those who labor in the word of God.

007 I beseech you, beware of the wicked, and especially of ungodly ministers; for the LORD hath said of them, that they walk in sheep's clothing, but within they are ravening wolves.

008 Gentlemen, I beseech you, take good care of your subjects, and keep good order.

009 I beseech you, ye citizens, that every man so live in his estate, that he may have a good conscience.

010 Ye workmen, I beseech you, work faithfully, and get your food with the fear of God.

011 Ye servants, I beseech you, serve your masters faithfully.

012 O schoolmasters, I beseech you, let the youth be commanded unto you, that ye lead an honourable life, and teach them diligently and faithfully: first, that they fear God, and have him before their eyes; then, that they study with all diligence, not for covetousness, or temporal honour, but for the honour of God, for the common good, and for their own salvation.

013 Ye students in the university, and all other students, I beseech you, be obedient to your masters in all that is honest and praiseworthy, and follow their good behavior, and study diligently, that God's glory may be increased by you, and that ye and other people may be improved thereby.

14. Finally, I ask all of you to thank diligently the well-born gentlemen, Mr. Bohuslaw of Duben, Mr. Johann of Chlum, 1) Mr. Heinrich Plumlau, Mr. Wilhelm Zagetz, 2) Mr. Niclasen, and other gentlemen from Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, and to put up with their diligence, for they have repeatedly set themselves against the whole council, and have defended the truth manfully, and with all their might have set upon them to make me free; Especially Mr. Wenceslaus of Duben and Mr. John of Chlum, whom you may well believe in all the report they will make of this action, for they have been present many days while I have been answering before the council, and know who the Bohemians are who have so unreasonably and grievously accused me, and how the whole assembly has cried out against me, and I have answered everything that has been asked.

(15) I also beseech you that you pray earnestly for the Roman king and your king, together with his spouse, your queen, that the merciful God may be with them and you here and there forever, amen.

(16) I have written this letter in prison and on the chains, and I await the judgment of the Council tomorrow that I am to be burned. But I have complete trust in God, that he will not abandon me, nor admit that I deny his truth, or confess the errors by conspiring, which have been attributed to me with falsehood by false witnesses. But how kindly God, my Lord, deals with me, and stands by me in wondrous temptations, you will learn when we see each other again in the joy of the life to come, through the help of Christ.

017 I hear nothing of my dear companion, Magistro Hieronymo, except that he is scarcely a prisoner, and awaits death, as I do, for the faith which he has honestly shown against the Bohemians; but they, the Bohemians, our worst enemies, have given us into other enemies' custody and prison; I beseech you, pray [to] God for them.

018 Above all these things I beseech you in Prague, that ye love the churches of Bethlehem 3) (so called), and be diligent, as long as God giveth grace that the word of God may be preached therein: for the devil is peculiarly in that church, and hath set the priests and the bishops against it.

1) Here also the Wittenberg and Erlangen editions: "Chlum".
2) In the external redaction: "von Zatz".
3) This is the name of the church where John Hus preached.

because he realizes that his kingdom will be greatly broken up by this. But I hope to God that He will keep the same church as long as He wills, and let His word increase in it through others more than has happened through me, a poor man.

(19) I also beseech you to love one another, and to keep the truth from none, and to take heed that the pious be not oppressed. Given on Monday night, before Saint Vitus' Day [10 June 1415], 4) by a righteous messenger.

Copy of the fourth missive.

God be with you, my dearest in God! I have had much cause to think that the letter I wrote next would be the last, because the goal of death was so near to me. But now, because I hear that it has passed, it is a joy to me that I should write to you more, and now I write once more that I may show myself to you as a grateful one. As much, however, concerns my death, God knows well what the cause is that I and my dear brother, Magister Jerome, are not yet judged; who, as I hope, will die holy and entirely innocent, and knows that he is now much more willing to suffer and die than I poor sinner. For this reason God has kept us in prison so long that we might the more carefully consider the sin we have committed and the more confidently repent of it, and has given us time enough for the long and difficult trial to eradicate the great sins, and for the consolation to be the more abundant. For this cause also he hath given us sufficient time, that we might consider the more fully the shameful infirmities, and the horrible death of our dear King the Lord Christ, and be the more confident of suffering, and so learn that eternal joy cannot be attained by the joy of this world, but that through much tribulation and anguish the saints have entered into the kingdom of heaven. For some of them were cut in pieces, some were speared, some were boiled, some were roasted, some were maltreated alive, some were buried alive, some were stoned, some were crucified, some were ground between millstones, and some were dragged to and fro until they died. Some have been drowned, burned, chained, torn to pieces, and before they were

4) The time of the other relation reads: "Monday on St. Vitus' evening. This is incorrect, for in 1415 St. Vitus (June 15) fell on a Saturday; the vigil therefore on Friday. - The words "by a righteous messenger" are given in the other redaction as "by a good angel."

have died shamefully and miserably in the dungeon. But who would dare to recount all the tortures and torments inflicted on the saints in the Old Testament and afterward, especially those that were inflicted on the clergy and revealed their wickedness? Therefore it would be a miracle if all misfortune were not now inflicted on those who punish evil, but especially on the clergy, who want to go unpunished. I am glad that they have read my books, in which I have painted their wickedness, and I know that they have read them more diligently than the holy gospel, but that they have found something to blame. Given on Thursday before St. Peter's evening 1) [27 June 1415].

True description of the last action, so with the holy man Johann Hus is made, hundred years ago by one recorded, who has been with and has seen everything himself.

When the sentence against Johann Hussen was read, he contradicted several points, and answered them, although he had been forbidden to answer before, and especially when it was read to him that he was stiff-necked in his error and heresy, he answered it with a loud voice, and said: I have never been stiff-necked, but I have always desired, and still desire to this day, better instruction from the holy Scriptures; yea, I say to this day, if I could destroy and overcome all error with one word, I would most gladly do so. And when all his books, both in the Bohemian, Latin, or German language, were condemned as suspected of heresy, and were recognized by the sentence to be burned, which then also some were burned afterwards, as the booklet of the church, and against the Paletz, 2) also against the Stanilaum: then Johann Hus answered their sentence and said: Why do you condemn my books? For I have always desired and asked that ye should show me better writings than I have set in mine, and I desire it to this day, but

1) Here we have been forced to accept the time given by the other redaction. Walch offers: "Thursday before St. Peter's chain celebration," that is, July 29, 1415. But Hus had already been burned on July 6. Therefore "St. Peter's evening" is to be taken as the vigil of St. Peter's and St. Paul's day; the day before that was a Thursday.

2) "Paletz" is the former friend and college of Husen, Stephan von Palecz. He had resigned from Hus out of fear.

You have never brought up a righteous scripture against him, or shown me a single word from mine to be erroneous; but my books, brought into the common Bohemian language or into other languages, how can you condemn them, when you have never seen them? But they would not hear his word, but continued to proceed against him with the sentence. And when they read this sentence against him, he lay on his knees, and looked up to heaven, and prayed, and especially prayed for his enemies, saying, O Lord JESUS CHRIST, I beseech thee, forgive all my enemies their iniquity for thy great mercy's sake; for thou knowest that they have falsely accused me, brought false witnesses against me, and fabricated false articles against me; these things thou wilt pardon them for thy immense mercy's sake. When John Hus had said this, the bishops and the others in the Concilio looked at him quite angrily, and laughed him to scorn. Then the seven bishops had the measuring instruments brought and had him dressed as if he were now to say mass. And when he had put on the vesture, he said thus with a loud voice, My Lord Jesus Christ, when he was led from Herod to Pilate, he was mocked in a white vesture. 2c. And when he was clothed, the seven bishops that should profane him stood by him, and exhorted him that he should yet recant and abjure. Then Master John Hus arose and stood on the table that was prepared before him, and he turned with great pain against the people and all those who stood by him: Behold, these bishops exhort me that I should recant and abjure, but I fear to do so, lest I be false in the sight of God, and lest I violate my conscience and God's truth, because I have never kept these articles, if they falsely testify against me, but rather have kept, taught, written, and preached the contrary in those which are false. For this cause also, that I should not give offence to such a multitude as I have preached, and also to others that faithfully preach the word of God. And when he had said this, the bishops, and the rest, their fellow members of the council, said, "We see and hear how stubborn he is in his wickedness and heresy; and they sent him away. And as soon as he came down from the table, the said bishops began to profane him, and first took the cup out of his hands, saying thus, "This is a curse; O cursed Judah, why hast thou forsaken the counsel of peace, and hast contended with the Jews?" we

take from you this cup of salvation. John Hus answered with a loud voice and said: I believe in GOD the LORD Almighty, for whose name's sake I will bear this shame patiently, so I know that he will never take the cup of his eternal redemption from me, but I hope continually that I shall drink the same today in his kingdom. After this they took from him also all the other garments of the mass, as casel, stol 2c. And to each of them they spoke the words of the curse, as aforesaid, after their manner. And John Hus also answered at all times, that he would willingly suffer such blasphemy and dishonor for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now that they had, as I said, taken all the chasuble from him, they also wanted to take the plate from him: so they quarreled among themselves, some wanting it to be cut off with a shearing knife; others said it would be enough to make him a scabbard with a pair of scissors. And when they could not agree on the matter, John Hus turned back toward the king, who was sitting on his chair, and said to the king, "Behold, most gracious lord, what is happening here, yet these poor people cannot agree in this blasphemy against me. At last they took a pair of scissors, and cut off all his hair, back and front, and said: Now the holy church hath taken away all her right from thee, and the church hath henceforth nothing more to do with thee, therefore we will now deliver thee into the secular hand. And they put a paper hat upon his head, and said unto him in other words, We now commit thy soul to the devil. But John Hus, with his hands fallen and his eyes lifted up to heaven, said, "I commend it to the most gracious Lord, Jesus Christ. And when they had put on him the crown of blasphemy, he said, My Lord Jesus Christ hath borne for me, a poor man, much, much harder and heavier crown of thorns, innocently unto his death; therefore I, a poor sinner, will willingly wear this crown of blasphemy for his name's sake, though it be lighter. But there was a round paper hat, near the height of an elbow, and on it were painted three horrible devils, and the title of his cause was written in Latin: Hie ost NuorosiaroUa. This is interpreted: This is the arch-heretic. And when they had done this, they cried aloud, saying: This holy assembly of Costence, considering that it has no more to do with John Hussein in the church of God, delivers him up here to the temporal court, and has recognized that such temporal court is henceforth.

And the king said to Duke Louis of Bavaria, standing before him, holding the apple of gold with the cross in his hands. Then the king said to Duke Louis of Bavaria, who stood before him holding the golden apple with the cross in his hands: Go, receive it. And he went and received it, and delivered it into the hands of the officers, and accompanied him also unto death. And when John Hus, thus crowned, was led out of the said church, at that very hour they burned his books in the churchyard. When John Hus saw this and was led past, he smiled, as it were, at their foolishness. And when he was thus led, he admonished all the bystanders that he had been guilty of death because of the errors that had been falsely attributed to him, and because of false witnesses who were also his mortal enemies. Nearly all the people of the city who lived there were in armor and escorted him to his death. And when he came to the place of torture, he fell on his knees, and lifted up his hands and his eyes to heaven, and began devoutly to pray some psalms, as Esororo iriei, Dons oto. and: In to Domino sporuvi. In the same prayers he said especially heartily and with a joyful countenance, so that it was heard by many bystanders: O Lord, today into your hands I commend my spirit. Now the place of his torture was in a meadow before the city, between the gardens, as one goes from Costenz to Gottlieben 1). Some laymen, however, who were standing around, said: This man may have done what he will, we know not; but yet we hear now of him holy words, which he speaketh and prayeth here. Some of them said, "It would be good for him to have a confessor. But a cowardly priest was sitting on a horse, dressed in green and lined with red silk, and he said to them: Let him not be heard, neither let him have a confessor, for he is a heretic. But he had previously confessed to a doctor and monk, who had also heard him kindly and absolved him, as he himself confessed in a note that he sent to his friends from prison. And now, as he lay on his knees praying, the blasphemous hat fell from his head, on which, as has been said, were painted three devils; and when he saw the hat lying before him, he smiled. But some of the mercenaries said to the others who were about: Put the crown back on his head, that it may be burned here with his lords whom he served. After this the executioner called him as-

1) In the old edition: "Gottleben". There Hus was imprisoned in the castle from March 24 to June 5, 1515. On the same day, the deposed Pope John XXIII took his dungeon.

Who arose from prayer. And when he arose, he said with a loud voice, so that all who were about might hear, O Lord Jesus, I will patiently suffer this shameful and horrible death with your help, for your name's sake and for the testimony of your saving word. Immediately he was led around to the bystanders, whom he begged and admonished to refrain from thinking and believing that he had taught or preached such articles as were thus laid upon him by false witnesses. Now when the executioner had stripped him of his clothes, they bound him with their hands behind them to a pillar which the beadles had dug into the ground beforehand and set firmly in place; and when they had taught him facing toward the morning, some of the most powerful men who were about said, Let him not be turned toward the morning, for he is a heretic; and they commanded him to be turned toward the evening. Then the executioner and his men did so. Then they put rusty chains around his neck. When he saw them, he smiled and said to the executioners, "My Lord Jesus Christ, our Savior and Redeemer, was also bound with a heavy chain; therefore I, a poor, meager, sinful man, will not be ashamed to wear these chains for his name's sake. And they had put under his feet several bundles of straw and wood; and when he was thus bound to the pillar, he still had his shoes on, and an iron fetter on his feet: and they put straw and wood of the lowest kind about him, even unto his knees. And before the executioner lit the fire, the emperor's marshal, who was called Pappenheim, and Duke Ludwig of Bavaria came to him and admonished him that he should spare his life and recant what he had preached and taught and renounce it. But Master John Hus looked up to heaven, and answered with a loud voice, saying, "O God, you are my witness that I have never taught or preached the things which are laid to my charge by false witnesses; but the chief part of my preaching and my mind has been directed to that end, that I alone might save men from sin. But in the truth of the gospel, which I have written, taught, and preached out of the sayings and interpretations of the holy teachers, I will gladly die today. And when they heard this, the marshal and the duke of Bavaria struck their hands together and rode away. Then the executioners lit the fire, and Johann Hus cried out with a loud voice
sung once: Christe, thou Son of the living God, have mercy on us. And once more, Christ, thou Son of the living God, have mercy on me. And when he began to sing the third time, the wind smote him in the face with the tan. So he prayed within himself, and bowed his head, as though one would pray three Our Fathers, and so passed away. Now when the wood and straw were all burned up, the body still hung by the neck on the pillar; then the executioners cut down the body with the pillar, and stirred up the fire, that the body should burn so much before; and when they found the head, they smote the same in pieces 1) with a club, and cast it again into the fire. And when they had found his heart also under his bowels, they sharpened a rod, and put it thereon like a roast, and roasted it, and brake it in pieces, and burned it. Finally, when they had burned the whole body to ashes, they took the ashes with all the fires, and put them on a cart, and led it into the river Rhine, which was flowing by.

Public writing of several lords of Bohemia and Moravia, addressed to the Concilium at Costenz, after the innocent death of the holy martyr Johann Hus.

September 2, 1415.

1) To the worthy Fathers in Christ, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Embassies, Magisters and Doctors, and to the whole Concilio at Costenz, the well-born Lords of the Christian Kingdom of Bohemia and Margraviate of Moravia wish grace and keeping of the commandments of our Lord JEsu Christ.

2. Because not only the word of God, but also the natural law, commandeth all men whatsoever any man would that it should be done unto him, that he should do it unto others also; and it is contrary to such a commandment of God and nature, to do unto others that which any man would gladly do unto himself (for Christ saith, "Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them: this is the law, and all the prophets;" and Paul: "Love fulfils the law," and again, "The whole law depends on your loving your neighbour as yourself."), we take our neighbour and dear brother, Magister Johann Hussen, of holy memory, who was a Christian preacher of the holy Gospel, with all right,

1) "On pieces" put by us instead of: "on sticks". For the expression compare No. 1247, § 81: "they tore the notes on pieces".

and was sentenced to death by you a few days ago 1) in your Concilio (from what spirit, we do not know) as a stiff-necked heretic, and after the verdict is judged with a cruel and ignominious death, our Kingdom of Bohemia and Margraviate of Moravia to eternal disgrace, because he did not want to confess the errors that were falsely laid on him, but yet could not be brought upon him. For his and our kingdom's and margraviate Moravia's enemies and traitors, with all untruth, have led nothing but vain fictitious and wanton false charges and accusations against him. Therefore we were caused to write from the aforementioned innocent man, Johann Hussen, and your ungodly judgment to Costence to our most noble prince and lord, Lord Siegmund, Roman and Hungarian king, our hereditary and future lord, which writing was publicly read and recited in your assembly, and then burned to our shame and disgrace, as we credibly report.

3. For this reason we have also now wished to send your Highness in general this public writing by the aforementioned Magistro, Johann Hussen, in which we confess and testify with heart and mouth before you and everyone that he, Johann Hus, was a pious, just and Christian man, and has kept himself honest and well in our kingdom, and with all diligence has faithfully taught the Old and New Testament to us and our subjects, and besides has preached with all seriousness against all heresies and heresies, and has warned us that we (as is due to all Christians) should flee and hate them. Item, to unity and Christian love he has directed everyone with all diligence by preaching, writings and his own conduct and character, so also that we cannot have noticed anything else about him (because we had great respect for it), but that he is Christian and right, and rightly, without all vexation, that he taught and lived among us, yes, that he also, by his godly and quiet conduct, incited everyone to keep God's commandment and to follow the holy life of the holy fathers, so that the Christian church might be increased and the people improved, by preaching and by his own examples.

4th Now you have not been content with this, that you have so unjustly condemned and miserably judged the same magistrate, Johann Hussen, to the shame of us and our kingdom and margraviate, but have also condemned the honorable Hiero-

1) This passage proves the time determination we have assumed.

nymum of Prague, a most learned man, a magistrate of the seven liberal arts, and a skilled philosopher, before you have seen him with your eyes or interrogated him, or convicted him of some error, solely on the ground of unfounded false accusation by his and all our enemies and traitors, imprisoned without all mercy, bound and miserably martyred, and perhaps 2) now also, like Johann Hussen, cruelly strangled.

5. About all this we are also informed, as we can see from your writings, and cannot write without pain, that some hostile people, enemies and traitors to our kingdom and margraviate, have grievously accused before you and before the whole Council the kingdom and margraviate you were thinking of, and have carried it within you, although without all truth, that in the said kingdom and margraviate many errors and sects arise, and grow daily, thereby poisoning many pious hearts; Therefore, unless severe punishments are taken against them in time, it is to be feared that in the said kingdom and margraviate irreparable harm will come to souls. We cannot suffer such horrible and burdensome injustices, which are imposed on our kingdom and margraviate unreasonably and without truth, especially because, by the grace of God, from the time our people first came to the Christian faith, we have kept ourselves so well and unrepentantly in our kingdom and margraviate, that the holy mother, the Christian church, has never had any complaint against us, and we have always diligently adhered to her through cheap obedience, since this has otherwise often happened in other kingdoms, that they have wavered in the faith, and have adhered to the parties of the unbelievers and the godless pope 3). But what pains and costs we have spent on this, and in what honor and adornment we have held the holy mother, the Christian church, and her shepherds and pastors, together with our princes and subjects, we hope it is as clear in the day as the dear sun, and indeed you yourselves, if you wish otherwise, must help to bear witness to this.

006 Now that we may keep our honour before God and man, not for our own sake alone, but for the honour of the said high-praised kingdom and margraviate, as we ought to do towards our neighbour, we have, out of a Christian and right trust in our neighbour, given him the right to our honour.

2) So Jerome of Prague had not yet been executed at the time of this writing.

3) In the other relation: "of the godless popes".

Dear Lord Jesus Christ, and of a pure good conscience and heart, with this writing we wish to denounce our opinion and mind to your Highness and to all believers in Christ, and speak freely to testify our innocence: that all and all men, whatever their rank, power and dignity, who say and claim for a truth that in the former kingdom and margraviate some kind of heresy or error has arisen, and that we or others have been tainted with it, that such mendacious and devious knaves are traitors and enemies to our kingdom and margraviate, yea, that they themselves are such heretics as they make us out to be, full of all evil, and children of the devil, who hath been a liar from the beginning, and is still a father of lies. And we do not want to exclude anyone from such accusations, except the most noble prince and lord, Lord Siegmund, Roman and Hungarian king, our hereditary and future lord, to whom we are sure that he will think much differently of us than to accuse such boys of lying to us. But we will keep to ourselves, and complain of such unfortunate disgrace to our righteous God, who has reserved for him all punishment, and can well pay all pride and hope. We also want to let this reach the future pope, whom God will decree to be the unanimous and right shepherd of His Church, and for God's sake, as it is the duty of pious children, honor and obey him in everything that is just, honest, and divine, with humble request that he help our kingdom and margraviate in all that we shall report in our letter, according to the gospel of our dear lord Jesus Christ, and according to the statutes of the holy fathers, where necessity shall require it; But so that this, which we now confess and have already committed ourselves to, may not be broken off. For we will not only lay up our goods, but also life and limb for our preachers, who faithfully preach the testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are godly, quiet, and constant, regardless of all deceitfulness, or other human statutes and rules that are not in accordance with the Holy Scriptures. By God's command. Date at Prague, in the year after Christ's birth 1415, 1) on the second of September, from a whole council of well-born lords.

1) In all editions: "1416". On May 30, 1416, Jerome of Prague was burned. At the time of the writing of this letter this had not yet happened. Moreover, 8 2 states that Hus was put to death "a few days ago." Therefore, this letter must be dated to the year 1415.

of the Crown of Bohemia and of the Margraviate of Moravia, with annexed to each our own seal.

The gentlemen who have signed themselves with names, have also sealed, have been 54, and the name has always been written with each seal, although one has not been able to read some names, because that the writing was quite faded. 2)

The first Sigil. Alsio kabat of Wyskowitz.
2. Ulricus of Lhota.
3. John of Kzymicz.
4. Joßko von Sczitowicz.
5. Perdus of Zwiranowicz.
6. John of Ziwla.
7. John of Reychenberg.
8. Wldko Skitzynye.
9. Drliko von Biela.
10th Kus of Doloplatz.
11. John of Simusin.
12. Dobeßius of Tyssa.
13. Drazko von Hradeck.
14. Stephen of Hmodorkat.
15. Johan. Dern from Gabonecz.
16. Barso, dictus Hloderde Zeinicz.
17. John Hmrsdorfar.
18. Psateska of Wikleck.
19. Peter Mg. of Sczitowicz.
20. N. Studenika.
21. N. Brischell.
22nd N. of Cromassona.
23rd Arannsick Donant of Polonie.
24th John Donant of Polonie.
25. John of Cziczow.
26. Wenceslaus of N.
27. N. v. N. (deest Sigillum.)
28. N.
29. Josseck of N.
30. Henricus of N.
31st Waczlals of Kuckh.
32nd Henricus of Zrenanowicz.
33rd Bacsko from Conuald.
34. Petrus, dictus Nienizck of Zaltoroldeck.

35th Czenko of Mossnow.
36. N.
37. Zibilutz by Kleczam.
38. Johann von Peterswald.
39. Parsifal by Namyescz.
40. Zodoni von Zwietzick.
41st Raczeck Zawskalp.
42nd Jon Von Tossawicz.

2) In the Wittenberg edition the list of names is missing, but to the preceding letter the marginal note is set: "The interpreter writes to me that the names are 57 who have signed and sealed themselves, but have willingly omitted them in Latin."

43rd Diwa of Spissnia.
44. Steffko of Draczdw.
45. Jessko of Draczdw.
46. Odich of Hlud.
47th Wosfart von Paulowitz.
48th Pirebbor by Tirczenicz.
49th Rynad by Ticzewicz.
50th Bohunko from Wratizdow.
51. Vlricus of Racdaw.
52. Deslaw of Nakli.
53rd Bonesb by Frabenicz.
54th Eybl by Roissowan.

Follow-up address by D. Martin Luther to Johannis Hussen's letters reported above.

To the clergy, who would like to come together at the advertised Concilio, to beware of the example of the Costenzer Concilii.

Mart. Luther.

1. There is no doubt in my mind that whoever reads or hears these letters, if he is otherwise of sound mind or has a conscience before God, must say that there was an excellent, great spirit in this man, John Hus, who writes and teaches so Christianly, who fights so chivalrously against the temptations of death, so patiently and humbly suffers all, and at last so manfully accepts the most shameful death for the truth's sake, among such mighty, great, many, high people, gathered from all over the world, and he stands alone among them, like a little sheep among many lions and wolves. If he is a heretic, no true Christian has ever come to earth. For by what fruits shall a true Christian be known, if these fruits of John Hus be not?

002 Yet hath he done no evil, save that he hath taught: If the pope be not pious, he is not a head of the holy church. He lets him be a head of the church, but not of the holy church. Just as a wicked pastor is a pastor, but not a member of the right saints in a fine parish. So John Hus also said, If the pope be a prankster, he is not pious, though he be the chief of the church. As if you or I said, If Judas be a thief and a traitor, he is not pious, though he be an apostle. But he should have said thus:
If the pope is a rogue and a villain, he is nevertheless holy, cannot err, and all that he does and says is holy, vain articles of faith, and right. This is what the gentlemen in the Costenzer Concilio wanted to hear. Notwithstanding that they themselves condemned and deposed three popes for husks, no one has yet to burn them. But since John Hus had said it, he had to suffer himself.

003 For there was a play upon it: The pope had given indulgences to the world, and had set aside a golden year to Rome to build the church of St. Peter 2c. And among other more Roman and Papal covenants, the pope had promised in his bull to all who died on the way to Rome that they would be led up to heaven by their mouths, and he had also commanded the angels (as an earthly god and God's governor) mightily that they should lead the souls of the dead to heaven without delay. Just as Tetzel, who led the Cardinal's indulgence in Mainz, also taught: When the penny is in the box, lead the soul out of purgatory to heaven. Which whistle they drew in at that time, and still draw in, until they can whistle such a dance again.

004 Now because no ass nor sow could suffer such abominable preaching, if they were men (let us not speak of Christians), John Hus sat down at Prague against it (for he was a preacher in the little church of Bethlehem), and punished them, as if the pope had no power to do such things, and did wrong in them and in other more things. And when he had gone so far as to preach that the pope might do wrong (which at that time must have been much worse heresy than if thou hadst denied Christ), he had to go away and defend this saying: If the pope be a prankster, he is not pious. Then all the swine cried out against him, bristling on their backs, sharpening their trunks, and running together, until they burned him treacherously and wickedly. For this was the highest article of one: the pope cannot err. As also the Jurisperditi from the smoke-hole at Rome say: Aon prassuinitur tantas eslsituckinw apsx srrars, one does not understand himself that such high head errs. With such non-understanding it is unfortunately all too provided.

5. but you have made him so bold with it and

For a heart that knows itself innocent of a deed before God and the world gives a man courage. But if it be done for God's sake, the Holy Spirit, the Comforter of the wicked, is there to help against all the world and devils, as the Lord Christ promised in Matt. 10:20: "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." And Luc. 21:15: "I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not prevail against."

(6) I have heard from trustworthy people that Emperor Maximilian used to say of Hus: Hey, hey, they have wronged the pious man. And Lraswcw kotsroäsmus in the first treatise, which I still have, publicly writes in print: JohannesHus is oxustus, HON Lvnvi6tu8, that is: Johannes Hus is burned, and never yet overcome. And it has always been said among honest people that violence and injustice were done to him. But I must tell you here that I have heard from Doctor Staupitz himself how his ancestor, Andreas Proles, an excellent, famous man in his time, once talked with him about the rose of Doctor Johann Zachariä. (For the same rose they painted now and then in our monasteries on Zachariä's parret,*) in honor of the order, and to the shame of Johannis Hus.) Now that Proles had looked at the picture: I would traun (said he) not gladly bear the rose with such honours. Whereupon Doctor Staupitz said: How so? Proles gave him this answer:

007 In the Concilio of Costence, when they had acted against Hus, that no man should nor could punish the pope, Zacharias uttered the saying Ezech. 34,10.: Leos, sZo ipss ouxsr ks,8tors8, st of populus, Behold, I will myself over the shepherds, and not the people. But John Hus denied that such word ,,non populug" was in the place; so Zachariä appealed to Husten's own Biblia, which he had brought with him from Bohemia. For Zacharias had come to him before (as many others had done to persuade him), and had read approximately the same

1) "Parret" -- beret.

Biblia read with him in the place. When such a Bible came, it was found to be as Zacharias had said. Here Johann Hussen did not help that he said: This Biblia is false, others have not so, but was overruled, and must have lost. But Zacharias brought the rose of honor from it, which the Concilium gave him for an everlasting remembrance. Proles said further: Now it is true that such a word is not found this day in any true Biblia, nor in printed nor written ones, but they all testify against Zacharias. Hatred ? rols8.

008 And it is true; it is found no other way, but as Hus said, in all the biblia, they are German, Latin, Greek, or Hebrew. But at Costence they would not look upon any of the other bibles, else they would not have given the rose to Zacharias, nor would he have borne it, but John Hus would have kept the victory. Although this would not have helped him, because he did not want to keep an evil pope pious, which they themselves did not keep, as John Hus testifies in these letters. But it can be seen from this that Psater Andreas Proles nevertheless also believed that John Hus had done wrong, and that Zacharias, if he had not atoned, had gone to the devil, even though he stood for a great saint; as D. Staupitz also believed, and I also.

(9) But this is evident everywhere, that even his opponents have confessed (whom I myself heard thirty years ago, of great standing in theology) that he was very highly learned, and more learned than all the doctors in the Concilio, which is also well proved by his books äs Lsolswa and Lsrwonss. And I once at Erfurt, a young theologian, fell in the monastery on the library into a book, where Johannis Hus' sermons were excellent and written therein, and out of curiosity longed to see what the arch-heretic had taught, because the book was kept unburned in the public library, then I truly found so much that I was appalled why such a man was burned, who could so Christianly and mightily lead the Scriptures. But because his name was so horribly condemned that I thought at the time that the walls would turn black and the sun would lose its glow, whoever had heard of him?

I closed the book and went away with a wounded heart. But I comforted myself with these thoughts: Perhaps he wrote such things before he became a heretic; for I did not yet know the history of the Concilii of Costence.

010 The last is the best: they themselves, his adversaries, bear witness most gloriously, though very carelessly, that they ought to be ashamed, if it were possible for them to see with blind eyes. For the scribe who wrote the German Acta of the Concilii with the many shields, who would gladly have made it evil against Hus, says: that John Hus smiled undauntedly when he was degraded; and when he was led to the fire, he always had in his mouth: O JESUS, thou Son of GOD, have mercy on me. And when he saw the tree whereon he was to be burned, he fell upon his knees, and cried out: O JEsu, thou Son of GOD, who hast suffered for us, have mercy on me. He also saw a poor peasant carrying wood, and with a gentle smile he spoke the word of St. Hieronymi: Lanota-simplioitas, Oh thou holy simplicity. And a priest came up to him and asked if he wanted to confess. Yes, said Hus, I will gladly confess. But the priest: You
but must first recant. No, said Hus, so I know that I am not guilty of any mortal sin.

(11) But now that he has been burned, the island, 1) made of paper, which was put on him for shame, on both sides of which devils painted with the name HaerekiLiella, still remain; the executioner had to take them especially and push them into the fire. They write this themselves, and may still read it, whoever wants to, the book recently went out of print again. They interpret it to mean that John Hus was such a poisonous heretic that the devil received the jnfel in the fire; just as the Jews attributed Christ's miraculous signs to Beelzebub.

012 But whosoever therefore shall earnestly suffer in death the Lord Jesus, the Son of God, for us, can call upon such things, and go into the fire with such faith and confession, if he be not a great martyr of Christ, no man shall be saved. For he saith:

1) "Island", inculs, headgear.

"Whosoever shall confess me before the world, him will I confess." Summa, the pope makes many saints, who knows whether they are in hell? This one he hath thrust into hell, that one must surely be in heaven. Be the devil thy saint, and thou the devil's saint, dear pope.

013 But these things have I said once more for a warning unto our wicked lords, which peradventure shall be in the council. For if they commit a Costence Concilium, it will be the same for them, that afterwards it will be said what they have done and forbidden to say.

014 For they also that were at Costence were sure that no man should ever speak or write against them, much less sanctify or glorify John Hus, or condemn them, as they also have so dreadfully forbidden. But John Hus prophesied otherwise, as has been done by many others, and by me in part. But if they think, "There is no need, we are the chiefs," then let this be true in the name of God, as it was true in the time of John Hus. He sitteth still who sat then; but they shall rise, and must vacate the throne. This is not lacking, amen.

1244 (Of Urban Rhegius) Scripture, why and how a Christian Concilium should be free, to which some oaths of the papists are attached with notes. 1537.

This writing first appeared in Latin under the title: Onr et; yuowoäo Obristianum Oonsilium (lebest 6886 liberum. Item äs soniurations kapistarum. Huss in tenebris äixistis, in lumine auäisntur, st yuoä in sursm losuti estis in oondsvibus, prasäisabitur in teetis. b-uo. 12. at the end: Ixsurxs, vomine, iuäisa ssussm tusm, Vinäiss sanZuinsm ssrvorum tuo rnm, hui eKusus est. ^.men. Imprint Vitebergae per losepbnw LIu^. 1537. octav. Darnach in the Latin Jena edition (1570), tom. IV, col. 580b, and in the Erlanger, opp. vsr. sr^., tom. VII, p. 434. German in the Leipziger, vol. XXI, p. 196, and in Walch. In all these editions this writing is ascribed to Luther, and only the Erlanger remarks that in its copy it is noted by an old hand: Ilujus libslli sustor est Urbanus Ns^ius. Köstlin, Martin Luther(3.), vol. II, p. 671 sä p. 407, *), says: One has no right to attribute this writing to Luther; it might rather be written by Urb. Rhegius, cf. Knaake a. a. O." sin der Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie, 18761. We, too, hold that this otherwise excellent writing does not have Luther's kind in it.

Translated from the Latin by bl. I. I. Greis.

001 Now that Paul, of this name the third, Roman Pontiff, has appointed a general council to be held at Mantua, in this year, which is the 1537th from the birth of our Lord Christ, I perceive that some simple-minded people have great hopes of a church reformation and restoration of the pure doctrine. However, I do not doubt in the least that these, according to their simplicity and insincerity, are miserably mistaken and dangerously deceived. For almost all everywhere, both teachers of law and of the Holy Scriptures, likewise notaries, abbots, vicars-general, servants and superiors of the orders, bishops, archbishops, primates, patriarchs, and all cardinals, are so utterly devoted to the Roman Pontiff, and to his obedience and slavery with illicit and the most appalling and obviously impious oaths, and obviously ungodly oaths, that there is no hope that any of them will make an effort with earnestness and zeal for Christ's honor, for the truth of the Gospel, for the purity of the Church, and for the salvation of souls; and that because of infinite danger, which they have to fear, if only a suspicion can be brought upon them, that they have broken their oath or have not kept it right.

002 Since they are afraid of such things for fear of papal tyranny (before which even the mightiest kings tremble), they pay more attention to what the pope shouts than to what is right in the sight of God, with the exception of a very few who have recently returned to Christ as if from error and from a foreign country, and have truly and sincerely repented of their errors and ungodly oaths. But since their hearts are weak in and of themselves, they are still more struck down by the shame of those who are of the same rank, order, and dignity with them; they reproach them with having broken the common oath, and thus compel them, that though they are safe in their conscience before God, yet they are put to shame before the world, turn pale, and must fear the stain of infidelity and perjury. The rest, however, who are learned, honest, and pious men, who could judge and pass judgment unadulteratedly and according to the word of God, when a statement is to be made about controversial matters and doctrine in the Christian religion, are by no means admitted to any council, since they alone would be worthy and skillful to be entrusted with such important matters.

003 Therefore, where the Concilium shall not be free, and therefore truly and purely free, that is, where there shall not be such unlawful, ungodly things as these
and abominable oaths in public, detests them from the heart, and abolishes them altogether, and admits several honest and pious men, who are not tainted and infected with such impious and abominable oaths, to judge and adjudicate: then it is impossible that the truth should prevail, and the church of God be advised and its best promoted. For who does not understand that a company of such people is not a Christian concilium, but an open nest of robbers of the most wicked servants of the pope, who have conspired together against Christ and his church? And this is clearly testified by the most shameful death sentence, which was quite innocently inflicted on John Hussein and Jerome of Prague, and since the public peace was broken with him, to the greatest shame of all descendants.

(4) But in order that you, my dear Christian reader, may understand that what has been said of me hitherto is true, and may be able to judge the matter from a sample, just as one recognizes a lion by its claws: behold, I herewith submit to you several formulas of such abominable oaths. The first formula is that oath which the teachers of almost all public, or, to be correct, papal schools, who wish to accept the title of doctor, must swear before they become licentiates, as they call it, that is, before they are permitted to accept the title of doctor. The other formula is that oath which all who become notarii publici by papal power and authority take. The third formula is the oath which all elected bishops must not only swear, but also make in writing and send to Rome before they are consecrated; and this oath is changed and made more difficult now and then, according to the pope's will and tyranny. If one goes through these and considers them diligently, one will easily be able to judge why the doctors, although they are the most unlearned, and the notaries, although they are nothing but clods and purely stupid asses, likewise the bishops, although they are useful to the church neither with their life nor with their teaching, nevertheless in the kingdom of the pope they are preferred to all other learned, honest, honorable, respected, and pious men for such a long time and are revered as gods. For in the short space of a single hour they have learned the art which brings them much profit, and is most agreeable to the Roman court, but most unpleasant to the poor, oppressed, and oppressed church.

harmful and detrimental to the whole commonwealth, namely, to serve the pope, to flatter, to do divine honor, to pervert justice and equity for his sake, and to betray all the secrets of all men when the pope's benefit requires it. I do not speak of the honest and upright men who are left among such people.

5. From this we can at the same time understand why only a few unlearned and washful doctors and sophists, of whom there are many, who are the stains of the present learned world, so brazenly defend the abuses, errors, lies, superstitions, heresies, and idolatries of the papal empire, and nonsensical (though in vain), or, more correctly, quarrel about it rather than argue and wage war, while otherwise so many learned and eloquent men either keep silent altogether, or at least act more sensibly and milderly. For who can doubt that the violence of some jurists against the Word of God and its servants, together with the bishops, who are otherwise the most cowardly sissies, flows from the very source of barbaric tyranny? But it is now time for us to draw out of obscurity, as Hercules drew Cacus out of his cave, the formulas of the most abominable oaths, which have hitherto been diligently concealed out of deceit enough, into the light of day. If, then, Christian reader, you find these oaths detestable and cursable (as they are), pray Christ our Saviour that he himself will see to the best of his church. For nothing good can be hoped from this pernicious conspiratorial group unless it is abolished.

Now follows the ordinary oath which those who wish to become Doctores of Laws or of Sacred Scripture in the Papal Schools must swear before they are given liberty to accept the title of Doctor, with notes.

I, N., Scholar at Ingolstadt, Eichstadt Diocese, will from this hour henceforth[a] be faithful and obedient to St. Peter,[b]) the Holy Apostolic[c] Roman Church, and our Lord, [d]) Mr. Paulo III, as well as his canonically elected successors. I will not be found in any such counsel, applause, action, or deed, by which they may lose life [e]) or limb, or which may be contrary to any of them, or to their

[f]) or the authority of the apostolic see, honor, privileges, or apostolic statutes, [g]) orders, reservations, institutions, or commands to the detriment, prejudice, practices, or congregations. [h]) And when or as often as I shall know [i]) that anything of the kind is being done, I will prevent it to the best of my ability, 1) and, if it can be done conveniently, report it to the named our Lord, or to another by whom it may come before him. I will not reveal to anyone, to their detriment, the counsel which they will entrust to me myself or by messengers or letters[k]: For the protection and preservation of the Roman papacy [l]) and the regalia of St. Peter I will be helpful against all men [m]) [n]The authority, privileges and rights, as much as is in me, I will rather increase [o]) and promote, keep such statutes, ordinances, reservations, decrees and orders) and be [p]eager to give heed thereto. The envoys [q]) of the apostolic see I will hold in honor, and help them in their needs. The heretics [r]) and schismatics, and those who oppose one of our lords or their said successors/) I will pursue and fight to the best of my ability. So help me God [u]) and this his holy gospel.

Notes.

I have placed this oath first because it is clearer and more explicit than all the others, since in it the pope recounts all his abominations with the greatest diligence, without any shame, and insists that they be approved, promoted, and defended. And it is, as it were, a picture in which the whole papal empire is most artificially depicted, in which one can recognize the temper and craftiness of the Romanists. For since there are far more doctors than bishops, and since they have the upper hand in the public schools, in the churches, and in the parishes, and since the bishops are officers and vicars of princes and councillors in free cities, they easily saw that if they had made them subservient, they would easily have subdued the whole Roman empire by their assistance. Which also happened. For this reason, in former times the title of doctor was so detested that when a nobleman became a doctor, nothing was thought of him, just as if

1) Also from the confession of the ears. For the seal of confession, since all that is confessed is to be kept secret, is a pure fraud, that the mouth of the laity may be smeared. - This remark is in the margin of the Latin.

whether he had lost his nobility, and even today in most towns no doctor is taken into the council.

a) The pope suspects him of having previously been faithful to Christ and obedient to his word; since this is flatly repugnant to the pope, he is forced to renounce it covertly and by circumlocution, and to conspire with the Roman beast.

(b) This he understands not of the apostle Peter, who for Christ's sake left all things, but of the fancied Pxtrus, or, that I may say rightly, of Simon, of whom it is said that he had a very great and important inheritance at Rome, which was brought together by lies, frauds, perjuries, murders, poisonings, and robberies, and was said to consist of nothing but thefts, robberies, and thefts from the church.

c) How the beast endeavors to make the Roman Church out of the apostolic Church, since the apostolic Church is scattered throughout the whole world and is not attached to any particular place!

(d) O you slaves, who are more wicked than your most wicked master! If ye were Christians, ye would know no lord in the spiritual kingdom but Christ, and all things would be yours, even Paul and Cephas; but ye would be Christ's. But now, what nonsense is this, that of your own free will you give yourselves over to Antichrist into his slavery, which is harder than death! By serving him, you make yourselves guilty of all the abominations that are committed in Rome.

e) Here you see how the Roman beast of Pabst loves and cares not only for himself, but also for the least part of his being, namely his flesh, more than for Christ, the gospel, and the church. For this reason he despises it, tramples it underfoot, and suppresses it, and is concerned first of all with his own stomach.

f) Mark this well: the pope invents and roars that the church is his, and not Christ's. O over the beautiful shepherd, yea rather the thief and murderer! The church saith of Christ her head, and not of the pope her persecutor and oppressor, in the Song of Songs, "My friend is mine, and I am his."

(g) Secondly, he is anxious how he may make money, and sets up nets and traps for this purpose. For therein consists the strength of his tyranny, out of which the means of indulgence are presented to the tender and feminine welfare of the papists.

(h) Thou wretched man, thou wilt prevent all that shall be done against the pope. Thou sayest, I will hinder it to the best of my ability. But, dear journeyman, tell me, will you also prevent it if something is done against the pope with the best of reason and according to divine right? even if it should be for the good of the whole church and Christianity? even if those who do such things were your superiors? and if you had sworn an oath of allegiance to them? and if you received an honest salary from them under this title? God have mercy, I hear that none of these things is exempt. Now, now, let yourselves be instructed, you kings, and chastened, you judges on earth, and let it be known what loyalty you can give to such rulers, who have received the title of doctor from the pope, and whom the pope, with such ungodly and frightening oaths, has made obligatory and trained to your ruin.

(i) O poisonous betrayers, and the accomplices of the betrayers, who are far more wicked than Judas the betrayer. For Judas, though it be so, hath openly and openly betrayed Christ; but ye have betrayed him most secretly, and hid it very deeply. He repented of his treachery, and immediately brought back the money, the reward of his treachery, and cast it into the temple. But you act as if you had done well; you rejoice in yourselves over it, and the reward of your treachery, namely, the high offices, prebendaries, and prelatures, you hold fast, and boast with it, and live on it in all pleasures. You, like Judas, are worthy to be hanged.

(k) Thirdly, he is preparing his secret and cunning plots. It should be noted, however, that if a papal doctor takes an oath of allegiance to a prince or republic that has something against the pope, then he will either betray his master or break this oath. Now what a "freak" is a papal doctor who cannot be faithful without malice, nor an honest man without perjury!

l) Fourth, he endeavors to fortify and establish his tyranny, for the preservation of which he contends no other than for life and limb, for house and court, and mixes, blends, and perverts all things divine and human at the same time. But he rightly calls it the Roman papacy, because in fact and truth it is nothing else than a papacy, not an apostleship. And therefore he calls it only the Roman papacy, but not also the Christian papacy. The regalia of Peter are to be taken in the same way, since they are not given by Christ, but the popes have taken them from the kings either by trickery or by force.

m) Is it also against Christ himself? For he also, as he is true God, so is he also true man. But why do we doubt this, since he excludes no one at all, and Christ has forbidden the papacy by name, saying, "Worldly kings reign, but you do not so reign." So now the papacy would be defended in vain, if it were not also to be defended against the man Christ. O abominable abominations! O wickedness! O infernal furies!

(n) How about lies, trickery, deceit? how about conspiracies, treacheries, and seditions? how about poisonings, murders, robberies, unjust wars? What dost thou long ask? Since the papacy is contrary to the word of Christ, it cannot be defended in a lawful way. Therefore it is necessary that by it be understood all unlawful and wicked kinds of help from its helpers and defenders. O this is a conspiracy, which has sprung up with the aid of the infernal Furies, in which Christ is not only denied, but a public war is also declared against him.

o) Fifth, he thinks of the growth of his tyranny. And note that no doctor can really and emphatically increase the authority, privileges, and rights of the pope. For no one can do this except by gifts or the granting of new rights. This only kings and emperors can do, but the doctors, because they are too weak and too few, are not in the habit of doing. Therefore, all that is left is that they can do this in no other way than by perverting the laws and sacred Scripture, and that they can do it only by means of gifts or the granting of new rights.

that they pronounce unjust sentences in courts and councils to please the pope.

p) Sixth, he was concerned about the tranquility and security of his tyranny. But since the statutes, ordinances, decrees, and commands of the pope are in part contrary to the word of God, it is certain that whoever walks according to them renounces the word of God. For no one can serve two masters.

(q) In the seventh place, he is provided for his satellites, as the helpers of his tyranny. And in time past he prescribed thus concerning the envoy: That envoy of whom I shall know for certain that he is an envoy of the apostolic see 2c. But now that licentiousness has increased infinitely, he compels that all envoys without exception should be helped. For he would rather that the false should be helped than that the true should be left in distress.

r) Last of all, he also pretends to his human statutes, lies, and seductions. For he does not respect the heretics who are truly heretics, if only they do no harm to his tyranny. But he alone persecutes as heretics those who undertake to confront his vices and errors, idolatries and blasphemies, and to deny them with the word of God. Just as he alone calls those soUisirmtioos who pay nothing and do not submit to subtle tyranny. But the others, who are truly schismatic, who say: I hold with Paul, I with Apollo, I with Cephas, I with Benedictus, I with Dominicas, I with Franciscus, I with Bernard, 2c., and moreover wretchedly disrupt the church with their dissensions and divisions, as the wretched so-called Dominicans of Bern have done, he accepts them as his beloved sons with great love, and encourages them all.

s) He calls those rebels who defend Christian liberty in spiritual matters against the papal ordinances of men, and in temporal matters seek to protect their right, though rightfully, against his tyranny. For those who truly oppose Christ and the church, that is, who trample on his commands with knowledge and will, are held in high esteem by him.

t) As far as I hear, the papal doctors are not to overcome the heretics, schismatics and rebels with disputes, not with explanations of the law, not with instruction from holy Scripture, not with the pronouncement of just judgments in courts and conciliis, and to bring them to better thoughts. For none of these things can be done against those whom the pope mendaciously reproaches for heretics, in that they have divine right and the word of God for themselves, but he holds that they must be persecuted and disputed by force, as you hear, by force, I say. But since such teachers are not permitted to wage a public and lawful war, I do not see how they can persecute anyone according to ability, unless they either put him out of the way with poison, or kill him by a secret and deceitful assassination. What wonder, then, that there should be so great a number of poisoners, assassins, and bandits in the Papal kingdom, since even the Papal teachers are nothing else (so much as appears from this oath) but poisoners, assassins, bandits, and highwaymen conspiring together?

u) O thou threefold and fourfold wretched and desperate wretch, who thus swearest. O wretched are thy Parents, who have turned their fortunes and expenses to the: End to thee, that thou shouldst so ungodly conspire and curse thy soul's blessedness. For if thou wilt keep this oath, thou shalt contend against Christ for the Antichrist, and become a betrayer of the sacrament by which thou wast brought and joined to Christ in holy baptism. But if thou wilt not keep the oath, then thou wilt consent that thou wilt have neither God for thy succor, nor his gospel for the means of thy salvation. Therefore, wake up once, and see what great danger you are in; repent, and ask God to set you free again through his power, and to revoke such an ungodly oath and bring it to eternal oblivion, so that you will not be eternally condemned, amen.

End of notes.

Here I wish to remind you, first of all, not only of those doctores who have received their doctorate at those schools where such oaths are not required (as at this time in Germany the universities of Wittenberg and Tübingen, in England all of them, and in Italy, if the rumor is otherwise true, one and the other are free of them, and are therefore truly blessed), but also those who, though they have been deceived and ensnared by the cunning and deceit of the papists, and have sworn this oath either unwillingly or without deliberation, yet now heartily abhor and forsake the same as something ungodly and accursed, and publicly manifest this by words and deeds. All these, I say, I will remind them that all this that is said here is none of their business.

I will now ask all other honest and pious men to despise none of such people for the sake of the title of doctor, or that he has taken such an oath in the past, but rather to love him, or at least to forgive him his error. For those are worthy of praise and love who have combined useful and necessary scholarship with public authority, if they use it only for the glory of God and the common good, and contribute nothing to the consolidation of the tyranny of the pope. Rather, let them direct the whole disfavor and curse of this frightful and abominable conspiracy on those doctors alone who, as they have sworn with good forethought and deliberation, so also persist in the resolution to maintain such an abominable oath, and pour out all their venom against the rising Gospel for their Roman idol.

Moreover, if anyone afterwards, having already been reminded of this abomination and made sure of it, swears with knowledge and deliberation

He will not be able to invent any reason why he should not be considered a most wicked, horrible, and accursed man by all honest and pious people. Therefore beware, for thou knowest not whether it may be changed before evening.

Now follows the formula of the oath, which the public notaries created by the pope must take, and which is for the most part the same as the preceding oath formula.

I, N., will henceforth be faithful to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord, Pope Julio the Other, as well as to his canonically elected successors. Nor will I allow myself to be found in any such counsel, help, applause, action, or deed, by which they may lose their lives or limbs, or be wickedly imprisoned. The counsel which they shall reveal to me myself, or by letters or messengers, I will not knowingly reveal to anyone to their harm. If, however, I should receive news or knowledge of anything that might be a danger to the Roman Pontiff or the Roman Church, or cause it great harm, I will do my utmost to prevent it. And if I cannot prevent it, then I will be faithful to see that our Lord Pope receives news of it. I will help to ensure that the Roman papacy and the regalia of St. Peter, and the rights of his church in particular, 1) if it has such in the church, in the city, or in the country from which I am born, are defended, maintained, and restored against all men. I will faithfully exercise the office of notary public; I will faithfully execute the contracts for which the consent of the contracting parties is required; I will not do anything in addition to this, nor will I do anything about this, that is to say, I will not do anything about this, that is to say, I will not do anything about this.

1) Note in the margin of the Latin edition: This oath, in addition to the other abominations that it has in common with the previous one, contains two new ones that are peculiar to it. The first is that he must swear in particular against his fatherland, which is a great impiety. The other is that, when the papacy or other vain things of the papacy are lost, he mentions the restoration of them, which is an incredible obstinacy against Christ and his word. For he alone wants to put an end to the papacy by his word and deed.

I do not want to change the essentials of the contract. If, however, the will of one part alone should be required for the execution of an instrument, I will execute the same; but such a contract, of which I know that something unlawful or fraudulent occurs therein, I will not execute. I will enter the contracts in the minutes, and when I have entered them, I will not maliciously delay, against the will of those who will be interested in setting up a public instrument about it, without prejudice to my ordinary fees. So help me God, and this his holy gospel.

The old oath of the bishops follows, and is written in Oeorstalidus äe furchurunäo 6th LZo.

I, N., bishop, will henceforth be faithful to St. Peter and the holy apostolic Roman church, and to my lord N., pope, as well as to his canonically elected successors. I will not be found in any such counsel, action, or deed, by which he may lose his life, or limb, or be taken captive in a wicked manner. His counsel, which he will make known to me either himself, or by letters, or by a messenger, I will not reveal to anyone to his detriment. I will help to ensure that the papacy of the Roman Church and the rules of the holy fathers are defended and maintained (but without harm to my order) against all men. If I am called to a synod, I will appear if I am not prevented by a hindrance permitted by canon law. To the envoys of the apostolic see, if I know for certain that one is such, I will do all honor in their journeys to and fro, and help them in their needs. I will visit the borders of the apostles every year either in my own person or through a certain deputy, unless I receive a dispensation in this. So help me God, and this his holy Gospel. 2)

2) Marginal note in the Latin edition: This oath formula also largely agrees with the first; and has a special clause of annual visitation of the borders of the apostles. Look for the understanding of this in the next oath formula.

Seeing that the doctors were forced to take such a terrible oath, I began to doubt whether the pope was satisfied at the present time with the oath taken by the bishops. This doubt of mine grew stronger as I read the gloss on the words: LiiiZnUs ruinis inäioto, E. NZo, where it was written: or more rarely, according to his handwriting. Therefore I looked into the korckikioinle and Hdruni esrsmoiiiarlim, where I certainly perceived that they were swearing according to the pope's prescription, but whose content was nevertheless not expressed in either of them. For this reason I asked pious and learned friends, even among foreign nations, to provide me with a credible copy of such a law. Which was done. But this I have found it good to append here from word to word.

The new oath of the bishops follows.

In the name of God, amen. I, N., elected Bishop N., will henceforth be faithful and obedient to St. Peter and the holy apostolic Roman Church, and to our Lord, Lord Hadriano the Sixth, Pope, as well as to his canonically elected successors. I will not be found in any such counsel, applause, action, or deed, by which they may lose life or limb, or be imprisoned, or have any violent hand laid upon them in any manner whatsoever, or be subjected to any injustice whatsoever, under any pretense whatsoever. But the advice and counsel which they will entrust to me, either themselves or by messengers or by letters, I will, to their detriment, reveal to no one with my knowledge. I will help them to preserve and protect the Roman papacy and the regalia of St. Peter against all men. I will show all honor to the envoy of the apostolic see on his journey back and forth, and assist him in his needs. The rights, honor, privileges, and authority of the Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and of his aforementioned successors, I will endeavor to preserve, defend, increase, and promote. I will not allow myself to be found in such a council, act or treatise, in which against our Lord himself, or against the said Roman Church, something adverse, or detrimental to persons, to her

If I learn that such a thing is being done or arranged by anyone, I will do my utmost to prevent it, and as soon as possible I will report it to our Lord, or to anyone else who can bring it to his attention. The rules of the holy fathers, decrees, ordinances, pronouncements, dispositions, reservations, events, and apostolic commands I will observe to the best of my ability, and I will urge others to observe them. The heretics, schismatics, and recalcitrants against our Lord or his foregoing successors I will persecute to the best of my ability and fight against them. If I am called to the synod, I will come, unless I am prevented from doing so by an obstacle permitted by the canon law. If the Roman court is on this side of the Alpine mountains, I will visit the borders of the apostles every year; but if it is on the other side of the Alpine mountains, I will visit them once every three years, either in person or through my deputy, unless the apostolic see dispenses me from doing so. The goods belonging to my table, however, I will not sell, nor give away, nor pledge, nor enfeoff anyone with them, nor dispose of them in any way, not even with the approval of the chapter of my church, without the prior knowledge of the Roman Pontiff. So help me God, and this his holy Gospel.

You see, Christian reader, that this oath of the bishops is even harsher and more atrocious than the oath of the doctors. Therefore it is no wonder that learned and prudent canons refuse a bishopric, even if it is offered to them of their own free will, or, if they accept it, after taking this oath, become beasts altogether. For how much is still lacking in the sin against the Holy Spirit, if one is nevertheless not unaware of the papal abominations, and yet he has no hesitation in taking such an oath with knowledge and deliberation?

But this oath (especially) contains the incomparable article of visiting the borders of the apostles, which first of all has its use in this, that if the bishops live too long, and thus prevent too long that the pallia are solved more often, one can grant them the dispensation of the bishops from the apostles.

so that they may either die on the journey, or be put out of the way with poison at Rome, or, if they do not come, then be deposed as perjurers.

First, they shall have the liberty to refrain from such journeys, on payment of an annual sum of money, so long as it shall seem convenient to those at the Roman court. And in order that they should not give anything certain for this freedom once and for all, but should pay a fine every year anew, they shall be permitted to visit the borders of the apostles through deputies. Afterwards, the boys at the court of Rome will find out everything they want to know about them, especially the best prebendaries, so that the pope, when they become open, can give them to his stable boys.

Finally, and most grievously, by this oath all bishops are deceived, imprisoned, and ensnared, and under the Antichrist, the most abominable tyrant of all, are drawn into the heaviest and such slavery that they cannot extricate themselves from it. For no bishop can fulfill this article, in that either important business, or weakness of body, or danger on account of travel and war, detain him. Therefore a bishop is compelled to seek remission of the oath from the pope. If he does so, he confesses, not only in word, but also in deed, that the pope has the power to issue all oaths. But this the Roman bishop eagerly seizes upon, when he has thought out this article to the end. And if afterwards a bishop contradicts the Roman tyranny by which he is oppressed, and wishes to set its end and measure, he is banished and deposed, and his subjects are absolved from the oaths of their obedience.

Furthermore, if a bishop asserts that his subjects cannot justifiably be absolved from the oath of their obedience, he contradicts himself, and makes himself a perjurer, as he himself also believed that he could be absolved from the obligation of his oath by the pope, and he also asked for it. And relying on this acquittal, he has broken his oath with knowledge and good deliberation. But if he were to pretend ignorance, it would follow that he would still be required to visit the apostles annually. If he does so, he will meet his certain death.

From this it now follows that I repeat everything briefly together: whoever invokes this Clausel is compelled to submit to the Papal tyranny and courageous will in all, even the most unjust and insufferable
If his subjects are disenrolled from obedience by the pope, he must lose his bishopric, or run the risk of committing perjury, and thereby render himself unfit for the bishopric; or, if he keeps the oath, present himself to the cruelest tyrant for an ignominious death penalty. O, are not these more than devilish deceits? O, are not these womanish bishops, who have suffered so cruel a tyranny for so many years, in so slavish a manner? They would rather have endured a thousand deaths than have so shamefully abandoned the church and left it to the Antichrist to destroy and oppress.

From this, then, the Christian reader should consider for himself what good one should hope from a papal concilio, in which such doctors will debate, in which such notaries will draw up public acts, and such bishops and cardinals will write the final judgments. For apart from such persons no one is admitted to a concilio, as is clearly written in the book of papal ceremonies in these words: "We do not read that anyone came to the conciliis, when something was to be concluded and agreed upon, except bishops and elders, and these alone signed the conclusions. Bishops, however, are also called the most distinguished among the bishops, for this is the highest office and authority in the Church of God. But the ecclesiastics of lower rank, and the secular princes, were only present for the reason that they gave good counsel and instruction, but not that they made a pronouncement, since, as the jurists say, they have at the Conciliis voosrn oonsultivurn, not (IstirülivnlN, but äsIiBsrutivnrn, that is, they only give good counsel, and help to consider the matter, but make no conclusion with their voice."

Accordingly, at the Conciliis, to make a conclusion, will appear: the Roman Pontiff, as the head and governor of the whole Church, the shepherd of the Lord's host and bishop over all the bishops, the holy College of Cardinals, the patriarchs, the primates, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to whom are also not unreasonably added the Untres Ksnernlss of the orders; Finally, all prelates who are required to come to the synod by virtue of the oath which they must take when they are promoted to their offices. Others, however, as I have said, may be present to give their opinion. They may be present to give instruction and good counsel, but they will not sit in the public sessions in their holy robes, nor will they speak.

1245 King Henry VIII's concerns in England and France, and of the whole realm of England, about the Mantuan Concilio which had been invented, written out and then postponed.

Pauli, the Roman bishop. Anno 1538.

The two following documents first came out separately in quarto in 1538 (von der Hardt, autoK. Dutü., Mrt. II, p. 213), then in Hortleder, torn. I, lib. I, eap. 30. 31, x>. 111.

(1) Since all the world is well aware that we have lain in this, that the holy Scriptures alone have been restored to their honor and dignity, we take it for granted that it is not only proper and due to us to restore the Christian religion, to use all diligence, but also to counter the cunning attempts of the bishops of Rome, who have not neglected any time to confuse the truth. To this we are driven by the love we bear for the truth, and the protection of religion, which we have long since accepted for ourselves here.

002 Forasmuch then as the Roman bishop Paul, in all places, for a great reward, doth set up learned men to suppress the truth, and maketh every man a cardinal, from whom he thinketh he hath comfort and help: we have been troubled, and have often thought what such a setting up of all things, and ordering of men, might mean? And what it is, we have guessed. Namely, since we are well accustomed to the popes' deceit and warfare, we could easily assume that a council of those who are attached to the pope and are his friends (which they, however erroneously, call a general, common council) would exist in the future before a council was thought of or mentioned.

3rd And what shall I say much? At last, when all things were prepared for deceit, a concilium is proclaimed, to which no Christian king could come, or even a little (as Pope Paul well knew), because the time when it should begin, and the place where it should be held, made it certain and sure that no king would come thither. The bull must have come to all places, and required all kings to do it, boldly enough for the kings to take upon themselves all the causes of deceit, and to promote the imaginary Concilium. For who knows not that Paulo and his Cardinals have never been in earnest to hold a General Concilium? Who is less desirous of a public, common assembly of Christians, than those who despair of their own affairs, unless they be judges, and pronounce a sentence upon their own opponents?

004 We indeed, because we are hardly required by our kingdom and government, cannot come to this council, nor send our embassy there for the sake of our affairs, and yet we do not want to be suspected of accusing ourselves. For who can accuse us of not appearing at the request of one who has no authority or right to demand us? And we suppose that he has power and right, and that no one can admit him, except he who is unlearned in the Scriptures: for what use is it to go to such a council, since no one has room and place, except he who condemns the truth and defends lies? Every man can see with what respectability, faith, and godliness they interpret the erroneous and controversial articles, which now in these perilous times they have promised to dispute.

005 Now that they have chosen Mantua for this council, it is evident that Christianity may not expect any benefit or piety from it. For what Christian prince outside of Italy, or even a whale himself, who does not immediately agree with the pope, may come there? for no one goes there who may give his voice to the suppressed truth, for that would be giving up his life. Thus it would be no wonder that the pope's patrons (since the pope is the judge, since no one may strive or speak against him) would obtain that the pope's prestige and power, which have long since fallen and almost perished, would again be established and replaced in such a council. Does this mean to counsel and help the afflicted hearts, the confused religion, and the shattered truth? And you, Pope Paule, or any of your own, have you ever dreamed (if in this way it should befit you to pronounce judgment in the erroneous and controversial articles, without any plea of your opposition) of advising and helping the church error or the spiritual infirmities which have crept into the church, by other ways than by false Concilia? It is verily to be believed, because ye seek nothing but your own profit, that ye will not willingly drop or make obsolete what your forefathers, some hundred years ago, have ordained and set against Christ and the holy Scriptures, for their own profit. For as often as one has wanted to act from their position, advantage, honor, authority, and primacy, they have always wanted to counsel and help them by suppressing divine commandments, by wickedness of their honor, and that I may rightly say, their unpleasant hope. Is it not yet certain that you are not naughty children, following in the footsteps of your fathers, and making new friends?

What is the matter with us, what you have done before, or what you will do hereafter, since England has given you leave and leave forever? But what is it to us what you have set before, or what you will set hereafter, since England has long since given you leave and the last forever? The pope has nothing to do nor to do with England, he shall certainly do no more to us, nor shower us with his goods or merchandise. But what he shall command or forbid, that we will not accept at all, and indeed nothing more, than what every bishop sets or gives.

006 And lest we be counted among the righteous, as if we were moved by the will and pleasure of our hearts, and not by reason with right understanding, we will bear witness before all the world, that we confess and accept the right faith, the Christian doctrine, and all that may adorn or promote it, and will confess it for ever. The whole Christian doctrine is so dear to our hearts that we would much rather put our kingdom in danger than let some article of the Christian faith suffer danger. We testify that we have not departed from the Christian faith, nor do we ever wish to depart from it, and would rather die before one article of this Christian faith should fall or perish among the English. And we testify to ourselves, since we regard nothing but Christ's honor and the world's benefit and peace, that we can no longer suffer their deceitfulness, and have been moved for several reasons to refuse and reject the Pope's authority, Sentence, Decreta, and Concilia.

(7) Finally, we testify that we have not refused to appear hereafter at a common, public, Christian assembly. Even now we promise and pledge all our diligence, effort, fidelity, and faith, that the broken religion may be restored to its dignity and state, and also that other discord, which for a time has troubled the world, may be changed; but we diligently remind all Christians that we can no longer suffer them to be thought to purge out and abolish all error, who are diligent that no one may overthrow error when he loses his neck.

008 We want to hold a council, we desire it and ask for it, but such a council as is proper and fitting to be held among Christians. Namely, a free one, in which each one may fearlessly speak the truth. A
Christian, in which all take pains to restore Christian godliness, not to suppress the truth. A common one, in the place and time where any who seek Christ's honor may appear without danger and speak his mind freely. Then it may be considered a common council, if none of the Christians who are at variance with the pope may remain outside, or if those who are present are not deterred from saying freely and without all timidity what they think is right. For who is it (the pope, cardinals, and some papal bishops excepted) who would not gladly come to such a council? And again, who would be so foolish as to come thither, who would see the pope's things act almost alone, and in a concilio the pope rule and reign as a single judge? Yea, he that can defend his cause nowhere before any judge but himself? who doth much rather execute ungodly errors, than decide strife and contention? What canst thou devise in Christendom more pernicious than common concilia?

009 And that I should say of their offence, Whence hath the pope power and right to require the kings to a concilio? And since in time past all concilia were held by the consent and command of emperors, kings, and princes, would it not be fair that it should be done even now? or that you should show cause why it should not be done? You say it is more probable that the popes will embrace the Christian religion more than the kings. But the world has seen, with great harm to Christendom, how faithfully and diligently the popes do this thing. We all see how honestly Pope Paul takes cause to defend his tyranny. We see the time that the holy man has chosen for a concilio.

(10) Can it be believed that he was in earnest to reestablish religion at a time when the emperor and the king of France, the two most powerful princes, are so embittered with wars against each other that neither they nor any Christian king have room or place for a council? Now then, Pabst, the cause which thou and thine so fervently desired many years ago is come. Now that it is come, suppress it, or use it in vice and deceit. Call to thee the cardinals, thy creatures, and show them that now in due time a strange thing hath happened, to ape and fool the princes and the Christian people. O fools! (that we hate to say) and ye desperate

Peel! (You have long been suspected by princes and the Christian people that you can suffer nothing less, and that you would much rather pray for anything than a Christian concilium, even though you pretend to be much different and are hypocritical in all things. Shall you also be so foolish, that you shall publicly declare, that you intend nothing with your Conciliabulo or Rotterei, but to cut off the Christians their hope, which they carry to a free, common, Christian Concilio? Have you then such a hatred against the truth that you do not cease from your presumption, unless it be cast out into a little misery? God still lives, and because he lives, the truth shall never again come to such shame, scorn, dishonor, and injustice.

011 Whom shall it not grieve that men are so impudent in the sight of Christ? Again, who would not rejoice greatly that they are at the same time so foolish in their ungodly nature? The world, Pabst Paule, has not so little suspicion now as it had before. Yes, it sees your deceit before its eyes, and it condemns your unquenchable hatred of truth. They all see well what tumult is introduced into Christendom from your pretended appearance of concord and unity. They perceive that your endeavors to make peace are nothing else than to stir up turmoil against the common good of peace. They see that you never attack the truth more fiercely than when you pretend to defend it. It grieves them that such wise men have so long suffered your hidden deceit. It grieves them that reason has given all its power to help wickedness, hope, and idolatry. It grieves them that virtue has served vices, a holy life hypocrisy, prudence guile, and justice tyranny with such diligence. They rejoice that God now does not oppose God, that Christ does not oppose Christ. They rejoice that in time past guile did not do so great violence to the truth as it now does, that hereafter iniquity against religion may do no more than constancy for the truth. They see that all conciliation is for the common good, that you have sought your own profit by suppressing the truth, and would much rather let the gospel perish than let something of your honor and dignity, that is, of your impudent iniquity, fall.

012 And verily Pope Paul doeth nothing else at this day, because he, as the princes are with
If a more convenient time and city should arise for him to act on religion, and he did not wish to come to it, he would deem it just to repay him in kind for not coming to it, because the kings do not now come to his council.

13. May God grant that we do not forever quarrel and bicker among ourselves with such insults, nor, when we are most vehemently divided, may we each boast on his own side that he has the best cause. May God grant that the immovable and confirmed truth may break the only pretensions of the deceivers. May God grant that once there is peace in the world, there will be time and time to act on the Christian religion. Unless the kings are at one among themselves, let go of the wars, and seek peace, we do not see what good it would do to set up a council, even if it is most desired, because effort and labor are lost. Yea, because they are troubled with wars and weapons, and think of nothing else but war, that the pope, nevertheless, should not turn and turn all things to his profit, and confirm all errors, if he were to hold a council in the absence of the kings; and no marvel; because they cannot be there that otherwise would come to it, and do not yield to the pope so much of our rights: would not the pope, for his profit and to manage the errors, arrange and set all things in order?

(14) How can any of us, if he were foolish, not refuse to go to Mantua? where one must travel with great danger, and it is convenient for us to do so, who are surrounded everywhere, O Paule, with your cousins, friends, brothers-in-law, who are related to you by country, by nature, for gain, or elsewhere? Is not he worthy of death that throws himself into the fire alive and sighted? Since your enemy (that is, a heretic, as the heretics say) is at this time putting his life in danger, who travels to Cremon, which is near Mantua, could any of ours be safe in Mantua in that city? How if Mantua were not large enough to accommodate so many guests, when otherwise they all come who belong to one Concilio? How that the way from hence to Mantua is full of danger? Know you not that

Is it the opinion of all laws that no man may travel by uncertain ways to a concilio? What, that he hath not hitherto obtained for us a safe conduct to travel now and then from those under whose power the cities lie? And even if he had obtained it, we should be presumptuous to set out on such a perilous journey ourselves (for we may and ought to be justly afraid). For indeed, as things now stand, he that travels from England to Mantua cannot be safe, for he would be foolish. It is evident that the popes have never held no faith in such matters. How often have they perished by the pope's cunning, deceit, and malice, who have journeyed with a safe conduct to a council? It is not new that the popes are faithless and do not keep their promise, but have defiled their hands in the innocent blood of pious people, contrary to their oath.

015 But we dwell too long on that which is common to us with other nations; we will speak no longer of it, but only say more of it, which shall especially move the king of England, all Englishmen. Is there anyone who does not know that Pope Paul is a servant of the king, and secretly seeks his life with all cunning, [because] he has cast out the tyrant? Likewise he seeketh to destroy the bishops and nobles, by whose diligence and counsel he is cast out. Who does not see that the pope is so completely inflamed with hatred, and that he can no longer hold his impetuous anger, nor can he longer contain his malice? He is a public enemy, do not hide it; he moves everyone against the king, and strengthens them to destroy the kingdom. All this year he hath provoked the English to rebellion with money and proffered honours. We will not say how with greater diligence and equal malice he hath subdued himself to incite the Christian princes against us. Without doubt, the governor of Christ proves by his life how he understands what Christ has said. He thinks that he is a governor of Christ, because it behooves him to say, "I am not come to send peace, but the sword," not that Christ would want his Christians to be armed, but that the cruel murderers should abuse to the death the blood of their neighbor. We are almost astonished that they often rage against others, because they show and prove us, who have received no small benefit from us, scorn and derision in return for gratitude, and violence with all their diligence in return for a good deed. We have no desire to recount here how many benefits we have shown to the popes.
are lost. They may go, the ungrateful people; they are not worthy to be called men, or to be called men; and verily such men, that one knoweth not whether God or men should hate them more fiercely, when we had not learnt to be kind even to our enemies. What evil shall we wish them, that we should not be esteemed for it, that we should wish too little for their wickedness shown to us? But this we wish for them, that God may give them a better mind.

016 Thanks be to God, we have brought to nought their rebelliousness, but so that we will beware of the enemy for ever: for though they be at enmity with us, we will not forsake the host, lest they tear the bloodthirsty wolves. Yea, all the holy list, because they do no harm to any but the deceivers themselves. Do harm, disappear, and indicate how they grudge us evil, and with great eagerness would like to harm us. But the enemy that is known can harm no one but a fool or an imprudent man. The judgment of Clem entis the Seventh and Paul the Third, which we have despised, remains and abides in our hearts. They are concerned that, if we escape without harm and punishment, the other princes of Christendom will no longer tolerate or suffer the Pope's power and authority, which is unjust. It grieves them that the way in England should be closed to their tyranny, their pride, and their avarice. They grieve that our ancestors' privilege, that is, the power to charm and rob our citizens, even ourselves, is taken from them. They think it is unreasonable that we want to demand cheap things from them, who do not want to be subject to any law. They think we do them injustice when we do not permit them to do injustice to other people. They can see that, since the indulgence fair has fallen, they have lost a large sum of gold. They can sell no more bulls. And no wonder, for England is come to her senses. Everybody knows that they do foolishly who give gold for lead, although St. Peter's and St. Paul's faces stand up to a fraud. It grieveth every man that they are so wicked and bold, and use the face of the saints for their own profit. Truly, if God would be ungracious to us and take away our reason and understanding, then the pope in England shall not only have no more authority or prestige, but also in a short time he shall no longer be remembered. Certainly he shall exercise his power against us and our citizens...

no longer use. Let us seek counsel from him, if we err, be deceived, and be deceived; whether thou canst expect anything else from him (because it may be supposed from the deceitfully laid foundation that the whole building must be deceitful), but that they will see the Christians, torture and burn them, and pervert the truth, yea, utterly destroy it? If anything else be ordered in the Mantuan assembly, remember with us that this is no small praise of the popes, that they always abuse the appearance of respectability for the extermination of respectability; if it please them, they will be seen to have indulged us a little, and yet are never more to be feared, than if they live to please us; They will be deceived, and will yield some of their doctrine; they will also moderate and drop some abuses; and even so, if they suffer such things to be done, they will require much greater and more grievous things of us. It cannot well happen that thou canst be sufficientlyware of them. Let whoever wants to go to the cunning and deceitful fair, we will not give in to our right; we will not come ourselves, nor send any of our people there.

(17) So far we have spoken of this matter as if the Concilium were going on in Mantua. Now we want to say a little about the Bulla, which the Concilium has scattered on the first of November, unnamed some Malstatt.

(18) It is to be believed that the Concilium will not be held anywhere, if the pope does not find a place where his relatives can go and attend, and that no decrees against the Christian religion will be made in it. It has happened as if God loved the pope and his own, and it is well that the Mantuan Concilium has been postponed to another time. Why then? For what reason, since there are now in the city of Mantua those who think that your will must be obeyed? Why, Paule, dost thou not keep thy promise? Why do you not assemble a council?

019 The Bulla answereth us well: We hear that Duke Frederick of Mantua, when he gave us answer, made himself hard for it, and said that there should be a great host and money for the pay of it; and the same is no other thing than that he hath denied us his city to the Concilio. What should great lords be at heart, if this great dishonour move not all their minds, nor make them bitter nor angry? Dost thou not mock and despise the emperor and the other kings of the world, that thou shouldest have made them angry with their great aftermath?

Do you call for a concilium in a city where you yourself are not allowed to hold a concilium? If kings have ever been mocked, thou mockest them, that thou summonest them, whither thou mayest not come, or that thou scatterest the concilium, and callest no place. If they had obeyed thee, and come to Mantua, whither thou hadst demanded them all, they would have returned home with scorn and derision.

020 Thou hast cause why thou shouldest accuse the princes, if they appear not afterward at thy demand, seeing thou now demandest them, and laughest at them so shamefully, and mockest them. Let it be that they all know thee for their lord to be obedient unto thee: would it not be fearful that they would depart from obedience, if thou wouldst so abuse thy power against them? Now that they are not to obey thee in any way, and that thou art commanded to obey not only the king, as the chief, but all his captains in order and command, how canst thou wonder that the kings afterward should be at thy will, whom thou so openly apeest and dissemble? Who ever was so impudent, bold, and insolent, as to require the kings to a concilio, and not to show a certain place there to counsel? But Pope Paul requires the kings to a concilio: whither? Nowhere. Is not this to ape and to deceive the kings, what then is to ape and to deceive?

(21) But at last he remembereth "how much he hath ravished them all, or laughed them to scorn, and mocked them," and pretendeth to be sorry. Truly, yes, it is a great art to him to pretend to be sorry, who can pretend to all things. He says he had hoped, but was deceived, that the Duke of Mantua would willingly and gladly have permitted his city of Mantua to a Concilio; now the Duke would not do it, for he would be sufficiently supplied with footmen and pay to maintain them. Therefore the pope is concerned that some may have set out on their journey to Mantua at his request, and that they will have to return home with their great loss. And so that all men may hear how the popes have nothing to fear, he says: "Such great injustices, done to all the world, because it is not his fault but someone else's, he must tolerate and bear all the more easily.

022 So is it not enough that thou mockest and revileth the absent ones; thou then troubleest Duke Frederick of Mantua also with thy fault? What wrong hath he done, that he hath brought so great a multitude of people without an addition of soldiers?

will not take him into his city? But thou banishest thy brethren and thy children, the patriarchs, the archbishops, the abbots, and others, the prelates of the churches and monasteries, that they come not into the place where they cannot be. Are then the shot arrows of thy thunderbolts, according to thy pleasure, as often as it pleaseth thee, [revoked by thee]? But thou mayest well excuse thyself, and easily discharge all blame, because thou sayest it is not fair, but a wicked example, to hold a concilium with men of war. Is not this a fine thing, well papal? If you do not order the duke's protection, he will not trust his city to you and yours; but if you order the men of war there, no one will come there except those who are bound to you by oaths; you will easily give away the lists, so that all the world will suspect you beforehand of not wanting to hold a general council.

023 Thou wilt have them all present with thee on the first day of November, and thou knowest not yet where thou wilt be. But what is the matter where thou dost bid us go, since it is the same thing: to be nowhere, and to be in the place where the council cannot be held. No city will serve thee as well as any city, because thou hast determined not to hold a council anywhere. Indeed, it is more useful to you, because you do not want to be there, not to appoint a city, but to indicate a certain place; you can also easily free your faith if you promise nothing. It is a great honor to the pope that he has not more than once mocked and made fun of the princes. And certainly, if he shall at last set up a place, there is no doubt that he will give us one in his cities (though they are not his, but are respected and held for his alone), which his ancestors brought to themselves by force and cunning, and which, contrary to law and all equity, he possesses and has with an evil conscience, (And if he shall demand that the right heirs thereof be driven out and cast out, and have them by force), or in another prince, subject to the kingdom, thither no man that is otherwise in reason and at variance with the pope shall go, and (if he shall demand us thither) thither he himself cannot, except he have an army with him. Would not these be great fools, who, having once been mocked or driven about, would at another time be led about and deceived? Is it not true that we are deceived, when we believe him that promised us, which, though he would, he cannot keep? Now he will not, though he might.

24. But we dwell too long on things,

...which are no concern of ours. For let him choose a city which he wills, which is safe, where every man may come without fear or danger, and we will never come to a council to which he calls us. Yes, we want to publicly declare to Pope Paul and his followers, which we have often said before, that they have no right nor authority in England; we do not give them any, nor do we want to grant them any, and all that they have valued and demanded from us before by force and cunning, we want to demand again by right, and by good right. We have in time past given you the primacy. If now your power over us has had a beginning with our consent, it shall now also have an end with our consent. Since we have given it, why should we not have taken it away again? In former times we wrote that we were less than the popes; and as long as we allowed ourselves to think that we were less, we were justly obedient to them. But now we write much differently. Therefore, if we are not obedient to their decrees and commandments, they have no reason to be very astonished; temporal and divine rights are for us. A freeman does not forsake his liberty, and even if one writes himself a servant, he has not violated the cause of his liberty. If they wish to impose custom upon us, let them answer Cypriano: Where the truth is not in the habit, the habit is nothing but an old error. What is it that Christ says, "I am the way, the life, and the truth?" He never said, "I am the habit. Will you quarrel with us, that you have custom for yourselves, and we have the Scriptures for us? How often doth Christ exhort you (if ye be otherwise his disciples, who are wiser than your Doctor, Christ, that ye reject his laws, and lift up your own traditions), that your one should not be chief, nor exalt and exalt himself above the other 2c. But in this public and bright matter we will no longer persist.

(25) By the command of the emperor and the Christian princes, we desire and wish for a safe and free council, so that truth and religion may be advised, which are no more oppressed by any other thing than by the conciliation of the Roman bishops, and even by rites. Now lately errors, abuses, and idolatries have increased unseemly. Therefore, be wise in the end, you princes who rule the world, and think out counsel and help against so many pestilences and errors of the sick church. For all wise men despair of a general council. We respect-

that it is best, however, because we rather desire a concilium than hope that each one will eradicate the errors in his kingdom by his commands. We have communicated this counsel of ours to all, and if we have given good counsel, we take it for granted that there is no need of an admonisher to require them to do so. I have a good hope that any king will help the kings' majesty, which is now exactly completed again, so that they will no longer raise wolves, and if they want to hear us, they will not subscribe to the popes' cunning suggestions. O princes, help the work begun! Your honor, dignity, and majesty have returned to their rightful place; remember that this one thing is most proper and due to your office, that you help and assist the truth and the Christian religion. Beware that the cunning of the enemy is no more powerful than your might; help us to wage an eternal war against the vices of the popes.

026 Be obedient to their decrees, inasmuch as now at Mantua, at this or any other council, they establish, ordain, or command anything that will help the Christian faith and declare the truth; this accept willingly, not for the sake of the pope and his cardinals, but that the Christian faith and the truth may be given such honor for good. The truth, and that which is honest, we gladly learn, even from a heathen; and in like manner, as we gladly will admit all things that shall be useful and serviceable to the Christian faith, so again, if they shall ordain, establish, or command any thing to the detriment of the truth, to the advancement of its primacy, and to confirm its power, or that the right, authority, and majesty of kings shall be diminished, insulted, or weakened, so we hereby proclaim to all the world that we have not accepted it, nor ever will accept it.

27 Therefore, you believers in Christ of the whole world have heard what we wanted to write about the general council; we also believe that it is known and evident to you that the pope, bishop, and cardinal do not desire a council for the sake of truth, but rather that truth and Christ may be suppressed. You understand that at this time it is not convenient to hold a council, that even Mantua, the city, is not convenient for it, indeed no city anywhere; you see that there is even a small hope of a general council. You see how you are admonished in what way every prince should restore peace to the broken and divided religion. If anyone among you
knows a better counsel, we will gladly follow it, and especially concerning religion. We do not want to use our advice if someone better will advise us. May God Almighty increase the desire of our hearts to pour out the same advice that He has given us according to His goodness, or a better one, not only in us, but also in all people. To him be glory and praise at all times, amen.

1246 Henry VIII, King of England and France, 2c., writing to the Emperor's Majesty, to all other Christian kings and potentates, in which the King shows cause why he will not come to Vicenza to the Concilio (which is called with a false title general), and how dangerous it is for all others who have accepted the Gospel of Christ to appear there. London, April 8, 1539.

See the previous number.

Translated from the Latin by Justus Jonas.

By the Grace of GOD, Henry the Eighth, King in England and France 2c., the Roman Emperor, all Kings, Princes, and all Christians 2c.

1. The other day a book was written and published in our name and in the name of all our subjects, in which sufficient and superfluous reasons were given why we rejected the concilium which the Roman bishop, boasting and pretending to his stolen and usurped power (which is neither commanded to him by God nor to be suffered any longer by other rulers), invented: first, as if it were to be held in Mantua; then, without expressing any place or certain place, he extended his favor to Oalsnae. Uovsmbris, as he has thereby sufficiently given to understand that all that would be decided in the same concilio and assembly of the people, who are all of one opinion and sworn into one sect, or also in any such synod, which the Roman bishop sets up by his false, arrogant, supposed power, may not bring harm or damage to our things.

(2) And we have deemed it unnecessary to protest so often anew with new work, and to refuse the Concilium, as often as the Roman bishop, and those whose art and understanding he always needs to adorn his deceit, invent their own way to ape the people by Romanist pieces.

(3) However, if at this time, due to both change of place and location, and also for other reasons, some misgivings have occurred to us, which it may be useful for all the world to know and hear, we have considered that we have not acted inappropriately to the inclination and love which we bear towards the Christian religion and faith, if by this writing of ours, as by an addition, we have confirmed our previous opinion and refusal of the Concilii.

4. And we want to confirm the same herewith, but still protest that we have let the reported book and its attached preface go out with the opinion that we are not as eager as any other Christian princes and potentates for a public common council, or that we do not want to appear willingly and gladly; For we hereby most diligently exhort and request all Christian princes and potentates, all cities of Christendom, that they will certainly consider it that we desire nothing more than that such a council may finally be held, which may truly be called a common, general, free, Christian council, as we have to some extent drafted in our previous protestation of the council at Mantua.

005 For verily, as our forefathers invented nothing more holy, more Christian, than that in important matters the Christian estates should thus come together, especially if the Concilia were so held, and finally directed, as it was meant at first: so also there is nothing that brings greater danger, more terrible harm, to Christendom, to the faith, to religion, than the Concilia, when they are misused for avarice, vain honour, self-interest, and confirmation of all errors.

(6) The concilia are called general and common from the beginning, and this word of his is sufficient that not only the bishops or the like, but all Christians who are in doubt about an article among themselves, may publicly, freely, and without all danger and fear, express their doubts and opinions. For if what is decided in a common council affects all those by whose consent it is done, it is also proper that every one whom it affects should speak his mind freely, without fear or hindrance.

007 And there is no doubt that such a council cannot or may not be called general, since only those are heard who have resolved among themselves to applaud the pope at all times, and by the pope also to hold publicly against the holy scriptures.

(8) It cannot be a general council, nor can it be called one, since the Pope's part is both advocate and adversary, both plaintiff and judge. Yes, it is contrary to all reason, contrary to all natural rights, that we should suffer ourselves to be burdened with such an unjust law and burden; if we were deprived of all protection and salvation, there would be no refuge or consolation left for us to flee to, if we were offended and afflicted to the highest degree by the pope. The pope and his followers are all ours, and would gladly destroy us and our kingdom to the ground and turn back, of which we have much public evidence, and which is before the eyes of almost the whole world.

009 Therefore we have done wrong to all reason and nature, if we have given authority to men alone to judge us. His, the pope's, honor and glory are first sought by false worship, by unrighteous violence and tyranny, and vain deceit, wicked trickery, and deceitfulness; his majesty is introduced by deceitful pretense of a spiritual appearance against God, against the old true religion, against the holy Scriptures, and thus established by and by. His primacy, that he alone wants to be the most superior before all our bishops and churches, has come to the time when all the world was ignorant, through the ambition of bishops and church shepherds, through ignorance and misunderstanding of some necessary sayings of the holy scriptures. All this, when the mists and vapors of such errors have been dispelled by the sun and light of the gospel, has not only fallen among us and in our countries, but it is to be expected that it will soon perish and fall everywhere.

010 But would not all these things be restored? Would not his majesty and honor be fully restored to him? Would not such papal Roman power, which has neither measure nor end, trouble great kings, all potentates? Would not the primacy everywhere want to have dominion? if such a wholly suspicious judge would or should take from our hands such a well-founded, public honor, divine and good cause, of his own bad will and pleasure. There is truly no one without wit or completely blind who cannot soon realize here what the outcome and end would be of this most important, most necessary matter of religion, of which all high disputations are, if such a bitter, harmful, public enemy of all truth were to pass judgment on it.

011 Wherefore, if it be once possible, and ever possible to obtain, let it be and be not.

We are holding such a council in the hope that the necessary things and articles may be reformed and made right, which are erroneous and have been perverted by the pope; without which reformation the whole Christian religion may finally perish.

12. As we heartily desire such a free, Christian council, and consider that every one should seek and ask for it through diligent prayer: Therefore, we consider that it is our royal office to prevent and avoid with all diligence that such cunning and various frauds of the Roman popes may not be detrimental to any of our subjects, and also to diligently warn and admonish the other Christian princes and potentates, that the pope of kings, princes, and great lords may not abuse his power to eradicate the beloved root of the implanted gospel, that he may not deprive the princes of their authority, the kings of their majesty and majesty, according to his pleasure.

(13) We have no doubt that any God-fearing, reverent reader will easily like what he reads in the following book, which we have not only written and sent out on our account, but that all the world may hear of the great infidelity, cunning, and deceit of the papists, and also understand how highly we desire and wish that the discord in the matter of religion may come to a good, blessed end. What was said about Mantua at the time when the local council was appointed may well be written and said about Vicentia now, for it all fits together. And it is not believable that more suitable persons should come together in Vicenza to speak of the great things of the Christian faith than were in Mantua last year. He is truly mocked and ridiculed who has been deceived twice, and has been deceived out of unfaithfulness, and comes back the third time. After some have first hurried to Mantua and only learned halfway that nothing would come of it, so that they had to turn back, we take care that they will not soon be so foolish again, if they have once traveled such a long way in vain, that they will again set out on the journey, or again let themselves be ridiculed. Such is the speed and all the hardships of the present time, and of all things, that the religious trade should be harmed, except it be done conveniently and easily.

014 Forasmuch as in all the world there are all manner of swift dealings with wars, and also the passage of the Turk. it must be an enemy of religion who would consider this a convenient time to assemble concilia. For, truly, the high and great affairs and matters that we have with and against the pope or bishop at Rome are much, and much more important to be respected than that they can be undertaken in these troubled times, or in our absence, even if it were quiet peace, without great trouble and danger, be ordered to lawyers.

(15) What the other princes and potentates intend to do, we do not really know. We, for our part, do not know at this time how to travel from our kingdom, or how to be absent, nor do we know our most important matters to anyone, except that we are in our own person to command and to trust; and unless other and more convenient judges are set down, also a more convenient place where our cause may be acted upon. If the other things were there, of which we complain, we do not intend to attend such a council; we do not want to make in any way the judge of these things of ours, who before, many years ago, in an unheard matter, had passed judgement against us. We desire and want that this doctrine, which we lead and confess, be heard according to all necessity and held against the holy Scriptures, as the right touchstone. What has not been discussed and considered we will not dismiss; we will not let this matter be suppressed unheard; we will not trample on the truth so publicly, and we will not admit it, suffer it, or tolerate it; and there shall not be one jot or one tittle of Christ's teaching, we will, with God's help, dare to preserve and protect it with our lives and kingdom, and all those who challenge or oppress this blessed doctrine we will eternally consider as our enemies. Just as we have eternally eradicated and abolished in our kingdom all the traditions and statutes of the popes of old, which strengthened their tyranny, exalted and increased their splendor and court, so we, by the grace of Christ, will eternally watch and diligently guard that no new traditions be made by our consent, which might bind us or our kingdom. And is it ever true, where there are men who are not themselves willingly blind, there is no doubt that the Spirit of Christ teaches the godly. And even a heathen can understand by common natural reason how the sovereignty and authority of the pope is not at all established nor to be respected.

(16) Of this also the laudable Prince Frederick, Duke of Mantua, has given a notable example;

and as he then had the good right to deny the pope the place and location for the concilium at Mantua, thus to a certain extent offered the pope checkmate 1). But if the pope was serious about holding a council in Mantua, and if he has the right and authority, power and authority to summon the princes wherever he pleases, then why did he not use his high authority here to choose a place that he wants? The pope chose Mantua, but the duke would not allow him to do so. Now if Paul the Third has such authority as he claims, why did he not compel Duke Frederick to grant the concilium at Mantua? The duke has not wished to permit it, and, what is more, he has forbidden no one to be admitted to Mantua. Where are here the thunderbolts of the pope, and terrible commandments and bulls? Why hath he not forced this of Mantua? How is it then that here plsnituäo potsstatis and sovereignty sehlschlägt? Does not the pope summon the kings and princes in vain and in vain, if they will not be admitted to the place where he has summoned them?

(17) Will not the kings, princes, and potentates also say that they have good reason and right not to come if the duke of Mantua refuses the place which the pope has chosen? If the other princes and potentates will do likewise with the pope, where will the pope finally find a place for his concilio? Again, if the princes grant the pope this power to assemble the council, they must of necessity also give him leave to choose a place where he cannot use such his power; or shall he thus have power to assemble the council, and yet always be uncertain of the place?

018 Truly the pope is not in the habit of using his own cities much in place of the council. The pious man is so faithful and kind to others that he is not in the habit of accommodating princes in his cities. And if he should require one of us in his cities, how could we be safe under such a great enemy's authority? We would not have much room or time there to deal with religion; we would have to seek how to avoid all sorts of secret treacheries; we could not deal much with articles of Christian doctrine; we would have to take care how to be safe in life.

Nineteen Therefore by this his own That shows,

1) In the old edition: "Schmachmatt".

The pope says enough that he has no sovereignty, power, or authority in places subject to foreign sovereigns; and therefore, if in the future he promises a council in such places, he promises that which is to be held with other people, and will deceive us again. But if he shall call us to him, we know not how to trust the host and his table; we would rather go hungry than dine with the host.

020 But if they say, There is now a place found in Venice, look for no other; as if the like might not be done in Venice, as it was done in Mantua; as if it were not to be believed that the Venetians, being wise, experienced, and highly understanding men, would not also spare and do that which the duke hath done in Mantua. And if we consider the present situation of the Venetians, we cannot believe that they should entrust their city of Vicenza to so many foreign nations without a single army and a goodly garrison, or at such great expense for a long time with an army. And although the Venetians wanted to bear the expenses with provisions and other things, Paul the Third himself confesses that it is an annoyance and a bad example to hold such a council that it is similar to a military camp.

21. Let it now be as it may, we desire, and have also requested of all of you, that you will not complain of reading and considering the proclamation which we made before the council to be assembled at Mantua: We have no doubt that you, as honorable and honest people, will easily applaud us against the adversaries' deceit and fraud, and will note here that in this matter we did not give in too much to our own feelings, did not seek anything self-serving, but for very important and urgent, frugal reasons, we suspiciously refused the concilium, coercion and decision.

022 But that this our letter may please every man and all, we take heed not too hard to urge or to entreat; if that which we have not unreasonably signified here. If what we have indicated here is not unreasonable, it is enough to please those who understand; evil and dangerous people's insults and false claims do not move us or move us only a little.

023 And if it be thought by any that we have written too hard against the ruse and deceit of the pope, let it be thought that we are of the great vices, and that we have not done this out of a bitter and evil spirit.

024 And that the pope and his might ver-

that we may not only fight against them, but against their great vice, we pray, and have exhorted all men to earnest prayer, to call upon God, that he may open their eyes, soften the great hardening and hardness of their hearts, that in the end they may also all join with us in promoting the praise and glory of the eternal true God, our Lord JEsu Christ, and forget their own vain glory.

(25) To the Roman Emperor, to all Christian kings, princes and potentates, and to all the people who desire to hear and spread the Gospel of Christ, we wish God's grace, salvation and all good things. Date at London in our palace, 6 läu8 Aprilis [8 April], of our realm in the 39th year.

1247 D. Mart. Luther's writing "of the Conciliis and Churches", in which he shows that the pope only mocks Christianity with the Concilio, which is scheduled here and there and so often postponed again. Completed in the first half of March, published in April 1539.

This writing belongs to the most learned and most carefully elaborated writings of Luther. He worked on it as early as 1538, and, as we learn from a letter of Luther to Melanchthon of March 14, 1539 (De Wette, Vol. V, p. 172), completed it in the first half of March 1539. On March 16, Spalatin, who was present in Wittenberg, wrote to Wenceslaus Link that the book was already in print and would go out at Easter Mass (in April). On May 7, Justus Jonas was already busy translating this book into Latin. The first edition appeared under the title: "Von den Concilijs vnd Kirchen. D. Mart. Luth. Wittemberg. 1539." At the end: "Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch Hans Lufft. M.D. XXXIX." 33 sheets in octavo. In the same year an edition in quarto appeared by the same; also a reprint in Strasbourg by "Crafft müller." In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1554), vol. VII, p. 501; in the Jena (1568), vol. VII, p. 218; in the Altenburg, vol. VII, p. 235; in the Leipzig, vol. XXI, p. 242; in the Erlanger (1st), vol. 25, p. 219, and in the second edition, vol. 25, p. 280. - We have left the superscriptions which Walch set according to the Wittenberg and Jena editions. - The third part of our work appeared in a single edition under the title: "Von der Kirchen, Was, wer vnd wo sie sey, vn wo bey man sie erkennen sol. D. Mar. Luther. 1540." No place given, 4 quarto sheets. A writing published under a very similar title is not to be confused with this, a large section from Luther's writing "Wider Hans Wurst," which in the Wittenberg edition (1554), vol. VII, pp. 553 d to 565, has the title: "Von der alten rechten Kirchen, Was, wo und wer sie sey, vnd wo bey man sie erkennen sol." The whole writing is then reprinted in the Wittenberg (1559), vol. XII, pp. 310 ff.

D. Mart. Luther's preface.

I. I have often laughed myself, where I have seen dogs offered a morsel of bread with a knife, and when they snatched at it, beaten on the muzzles with the handle, so that the poor dogs had not only to suffer the damage, but also the pain; and it is a fine laugh. But I did not think at that time that the devil would also have his laugh with us men, and take us for such poor dogs, until I learned it from the most holy father, the pope, both in his bulls, books, and daily practices, where he also does such a little doggerel with Christendom; but, O Lord God, how with great harm to souls, and mockery of the divine majesty. Just as he is doing now with the Concilio. All the world has cried out and waited for it, the good emperor and the whole empire have been working on it for twenty years, the pope has always put it off and put it off, and the emperor, as a dog, has always offered him a bite of bread until he has seen his time, and now he beats him over the muzzle and mocks him as his fool and juggler.

002 For he now sends forth the third time the council, but first sends his apostles into the countries, and bids kings and princes swear that they shall abide by the pope's doctrine. The bishops and their clergy agree to this, and do not want to give in to anything or allow anything to be reformed. And so the Council has already been decided before it begins. Namely, that nothing is to be reformed, but everything is to be kept as it has been customary until now. Is this not a fine concilium? It has not yet begun, and it has already determined what it should accomplish when it begins. That is, it hath beaten the Emperor on the snout, yea, it hath overtaken the Holy Ghost, and is far in advance of him. But I have been concerned about it, and I have often written and said that they would not and could not hold a council unless they had first captured and held the emperor, kings, and princes in their hands, so that they might be free to do whatever they wanted, to strengthen their tyranny, and to oppress Christianity with a much heavier burden than had ever been done before.

3. In the name of God, if you, lords, emperors, kings, princes, like it that such desperate, damned people trump you on the mouth and beat you on the snouts, then we must put up with it and think, They have done worse before, when they have deposed kings and emperors, cursed them, driven them out, betrayed them, murdered them, and played the devil's will with them, as the histories testify, and still intend to do so. Christ will nevertheless know how to find and preserve his Christianity, even against the gates of hell, even if emperors and kings could not and would not do anything about it. It is easier for him to help them, nor for them to help him. What should he have done before kings and emperors were born? And how should he do, if now there were no emperor nor king, though the world were full of devils raging against him? He is not unaccustomed to sour food, and he can cook much more sour food. Woe to those who must eat it!

4. But we poor, weak Christians, who must be called heretics by such saints, should be cheerful and of good cheer, praising and thanking God, the Father of all mercy, with all joy, that he takes care of us so warmly, and beats our murderers and bloodhounds with such Egyptian blindness and Jewish madness, that they must reproach them for not giving way to anything bad in any way, and want to let Christianity perish before they want to reform the least idolatry (of which they are full and overflowing). This they boast of, and do. Happy (I say) shall we be. For by this they make our cause better than we ever desired, and their cause worse than they may now think. They know and confess that they are wrong in many things, and that the Scriptures and God are against them, and yet they will go headlong against God, and knowingly defend wrong for right. Let a poor Christian go to the sacrament for such comfort, even unconfessed, and dare to touch a hundred necks where he would have them if he saw, or even had to grasp, that God reigns here and the devil there.

005 Thus we have now the final decision of the future Concilii at Vincent, and the

The strict judgment of the most recent Council (which is to be regarded as a good one), that all the world should despair of the reformation of the church, and that no interrogation can be permitted, but they want to let Christianity (as they boast) perish, that is, to have the devil himself as God and Lord, before they have Christ, and want to leave a small piece of their idolatry. Not content with this, they want to force us poor Christians with the sword, so that we also knowingly worship the devil with them and blaspheme Christ. No such defiance has ever been read or experienced in any history or time. Other tyrants have the poor honor of ignorantly crucifying the Lord of majesty, as the Turks, the Gentiles, and the Jews; but here are they who, under Christ's name, and as Christians, yea, the highest Christians, boast and arm themselves, speaking against Christ: We know that Christ's word and deed are against us: nevertheless we will not suffer his word, nor turn aside from it; but he shall turn aside from us, and suffer our idolatry: nevertheless we will be and be called Christians.

006 Forasmuch then as the pope with his own badly refuses to hold a council, and will not reform the church, nor do any counsel or help for it, but will defend his tyranny with iniquity, and let the church perish: so we cannot go further, and must, as the church so miserably forsaken by the pope, look elsewhere for counsel and help, and first seek and entreat a reformation from our Lord Christ. For the sake of such desperate tyrants' wickedness, which force us to despair of a concilio and reformation, we must not also despair of Christ, or leave the church without counsel and help, but do what we can, and let them go to the devil as they will.

007 And hereby they testify and cry out above their own necks, that they are the right antichrists and autocatacrites, who condemn themselves and want to be condemned stiff-necked. They thus exclude themselves from the church, and publicly boast that they want to be and remain the worst enemies of the church. For whoever says that he would let the church perish before he would let himself be corrected or give way in some measure, he is confessing that he is a man.

He has said clearly and publicly that he not only does not want to be a Christian, nor does he want to be in the church (which he would rather let perish, so that he remains and does not perish with the church), but also wants to do that the church should perish; as they then also prove all this, about such words, with the deed terribly, and let so many hundred parishes become desolate, and the churches perish without pastors, preaching and sacrament.

008 In time past the bishops, and every Christian, were martyred, and perished with thanksgiving and gladness for the dear church; and Christ himself perished for his church, that the same might remain and be preserved. But now the pope and his followers boast that the church should perish for them, so that they may remain in their tyranny, idolatry, evil, and all kinds of wickedness. How thinkest thou of these fellows? They will abide, and the church shall perish. Where shall we go in or out? But if the church is to perish, Christ must first perish, on whom it is built, as on a rock against the gates of hell. If Christ is to perish, then God himself must perish first, who has laid such a rock and foundation. Who could have imagined that such great power would be in the hands of such lords, that the church would so easily perish, along with Christ and God Himself, before their presence? They must be far, far more powerful than the gates of hell and all the devils, before whom the church has remained and must remain.

009 They cry (I say) herewith against themselves, that they would not be the church, nor in the church, but would be the worst enemies of the church, and help it to perish. For hitherto they have so plagued us with the words, "Church, church!" and there has been no end to their crying and spitting, that they should be halls for the church; and they have miserably heretical, cursed, and murdered us, that we do not want to hear them as the church. Now I think we are honestly and mightily absolved, that they no longer want to call us heretics, nor can they, because they no longer want to be praised as the church, but want to "let the church perish" as enemies, and also help to suppress it. For it

It does not compute that they could be the church at the same time, and yet let the church perish before they would perish, yea, let a hair's breadth of them perish. That is out, .and is called: Lx oro tuo ts ^uckieo, Lorvo uoguam.

(10) If the Last Day were not near, it would not be surprising that heaven and earth should fall upon such blasphemy. But because God can suffer such things, the Day must not be far off. But they laugh at it all, and do not think that God has made them blind, insane, mad, and foolish, but must think it great wisdom and manhood. I would also be safe with them if they were alone in their raving. But the great wrath of God, which is shown in them, terrifies me greatly, and it would be high time and need that we all meant and prayed earnestly, as Christ did over Jerusalem [Luke 23:28], and forbade the women not to weep over him, but over themselves and their children. For they believe not that the time of their visitation is come, neither will they believe it, though they see it, or hear it, or smell it, or taste it, or touch it, or feel it.

011 How then shall it be attacked, because the pope will not give us a true council, nor suffer some reformation, but will cause the church to perish with his own? And has therefore turned himself out of the church, that he may remain, and not perish in or with the church? He is gone, and hath given the valete to the church. How shall we now (I say) attack or take it, because we must be without a pope? For we are the church, or in the church, if the papists will let us go to the ground, that they may remain. Nevertheless, we would gladly remain, and with our Lord Christ and his Father, God of us all, we do not want to perish so miserably in the face of the papists' defiance; but we think that a council or reformation is necessary in the church, because we see such gross abuses that, even if we were oxen and asses, silent as men or Christians, and could not notice them with our eyes or ears, we would have to feel them with our paws and claws and stumble over them. How? if we be a subordinate church against the abiding lords, without the pope, and

and held a concilium themselves without their will, and brought about a reformation, which would be very inconvenient to the remaining nobles, and yet they would have to suffer the same? But we will take up the matter, because we have now lost the most holy head, the pope, and must counsel ourselves, as much as our Lord will give.

That the church cannot be reformed according to the fathers and the churches. 1)

001 For some years therefore many of the papists have laboured with the Conciliis and Fathers, until at last they have brought together all the Conciliis in one book: which labour I have not disliked, not having seen the Conciliis together before. And among them (in my opinion) are some good, pious hearts, who would like to see the church reformed according to the same manner and measure of the Conciliar and Fathers, but who are nevertheless also moved that the present state of the church in the papacy is in a very shameful way (as is evident) in harmony with the manner of the Conciliar and Fathers. But in that case their good opinion is all in vain. For they undoubtedly intend such an opinion, that the pope with his own would or should also enter into such a reformation. But this is in vain. For the pope stands with his abiding lords, and defiantly says, against them as well as against us, that they will let the church perish before they give way a little; that is, they will let Conciliæ and Fathers perish also before they give way a little. For where one should follow the conciliis and fathers, help God, where do the pope and present bishops want to stay? Truly, they must become the submerged church, and not be the abiding lords.

002 I will not speak of the old years, which may be numbered a thousand or fourteen hundred after the birth of Christ. It is not yet more than a hundred years since the holy way of the pope began, that he gave to a priest two fiefs, as cathedrals or parishes, of which the theologians of Paris and their comrades cried out many terrible things.

1) This superscription is in the Wittenberg and in the Jena editions.

and have murmured. I am not yet sixty years old, nor do I know that in my memory it has come to pass that one bishop has more than one foundation. But the pope has eaten everything, stolen the annals and everything, and divided the bishoprics into threes, monasteries and benefices into tens and twenties. How can he spit all this back, and let his office be torn asunder for the sake of the fathers or Concilia? Ay, thou sayest, it is an abuse. Well then, take thy ancient concilia and fathers before thee, and reform all these things. For it was not so a hundred years ago, nor sixty years ago, when thou wast not born.

003 What then is the use of thy reformation after the fathers and conciliarities? Thou hearest that the pope and bishops will not suffer it. And if they will not suffer the state of the church, as it was fifty years ago, when I and thou were children, how will or can they suffer us to reform them with the state of the church, as it was six hundred, a thousand, fourteen hundred years ago? Such an undertaking is badly impossible, because the pope sits in the possession and wants to be unreformed. Therefore both Concilia and the fathers must be in vain in such matters, along with everything we can think or say about them. For the pope is over Concilia, over fathers, over kings, over God, over angels. Let me see, bring him down, and make the fathers and Concilia masters over him. If thou doest this, I will cheerfully fall upon thee and assist thee. But as long as this is not done, what is the use of your talking or writing much about conciliis or fathers? There is no one to take it up. For if the pope does not want to be with us in the reformation, and to be thrown with us among the conciliis and fathers, together with his immortal lords cardinals and bishops, neither is concilium of any use, nor can some reformation be hoped for with him. For he will cast it all to the ground, and make us hold our peace.

004 But if they desire that we, according to the councils and fathers, should let ourselves be reformed with them, and help the church, though the pope with his own would not do so, nor suffer it: to this I give two answers: either they are bitter, poisonous,

evil, and mean no good; or are kind-hearted, and mean right, as much as they can. Let it be said to the first, that they first take themselves by the nose, and pull the beam out of their eye, together with the pope and cardinals, or immediately without the pope and cardinal, 2c. love and keep the concilia and fathers. If this be done, let us, after such a holy example, be there speedily, and be much better than they are. For we are not such desperate people (praise and thanks to God) that we would let the Church perish before we would give way, even in great pieces, if it is not against God, but are ready to perish until there is neither skin nor hair, before any harm or damage should befall the Church, as much as is in our knowledge and ability.

005 But where they themselves do not respect the fathers and conciliarities, and yet would compel us to do so, that is also too coarse, and we must say to them, Nockieo, eura teipsuru, and as Christ saith [Matt. 23:4], "They lay upon men's necks burdens which are unmistakable, which they themselves will not touch with one finger." This is no good, and we have no small cause to refuse it, especially because they pretend so great holiness of the fathers and conciliarities, which we do not keep, and they themselves keep and show us nothing but in words and out of paper. For we confess, and must confess, that we are quite poor and weak Christians, and that in many things.

006 First, that we have so much to do day and night in the faith, reading, thinking, writing, teaching, exhorting, comforting, both ourselves and others, that verily there is neither time nor space left us, even to think whether concilia or fathers have ever been, let alone that we should be troubled with the high pieces of plates, chasubles, long skirts, 2c. and their high holiness. If they have come so high, and become even angelic, and have faith so abundant, that they must be satisfied with the teusel, and not cause them to err, nor frighten their consciences: this we weak Christians have not yet attained, nor do we fear that we shall not attain on earth. Therefore they should be merciful to us.

And be merciful, and not condemn that we cannot be equal to their holiness. For if then we should depart from our work, which we have in matters of faith, and, as the weak, submit to their strong holiness in clothing and food, we should leave our weak holiness, and yet not attain to their high strong holiness, and so sit down between two stools.

007 But if they will not be gracious and merciful unto us, we must let them be angels, and dance in paradise among the flowers of the air, as they have long since torn the faith in their shoes, and in their heavenly holiness have no temptation, neither of the flesh, nor of the world: but we, labouring and scavenging in the mire and mire, as they that are almost poor in the faith, and beginning disciples, cannot be such high doctors and masters in the faith. For if we had as much faith as they seem to have, we would carry and hold plates, cassels, concilia, and fathers much more easily than they do. But because this is not so, they bear it lightly (for to bear nothing is to bear it very lightly), and boast that we will not bear it.

(8) Likewise, we poor Christians also have to do with the commandments of God, so much so that we cannot wait for other high works which they boast of in them, spiritual, conciliatory and paternal. For we practice and exercise both ourselves and ours with the greatest diligence, that we love God above all things and our neighbor as ourselves; that we be humble and patient, merciful and mild, chaste and sober, not stingy nor envious, and what are the commandments of God more. We would gladly that there were no greed, avarice, usury, envy, lust, gluttony, adultery, or lechery among our people, but they are so weak and puny that we can do little of such good works. The great house remains as it is, and grows worse every day. Now consider, because we are so weak in doing such necessary works as God has commanded, how can we be weighed down by them, and give ourselves up to the high, strong, unnecessary works of which they tell us? If we had done these godly, low, contemptible (or as they destroy it) civil works, then, whether God wills it, we would also do

their spiritual, ecclesiastical works of meat-eating, of clothing, of days 2c. anfahen to do.

009 But they have done well, because they have kept the commandment of God, love God above all things, have neither covetousness nor usury, neither adulterers nor fornicators, neither drunkards nor drunkards, neither pride nor envy, 2c. but do all such little good works of God so easily, that they are badly idle. Therefore it is fair that they, above such our civil works, do stronger and higher works, according to the church or fathers obedience, as they are much too strong to practice such low good works with us, have leaped far beyond and preceded us. But they should still, according to their high, strong mercy, and according to St. Paul's teaching, have compassion on us weak, poor Christians, and not condemn us or mock us that we go so childishly to learn at the pews, even crawl in the mud, and could not with such light feet and legs leap and dance above and apart from God's commandments, as they do, the strong heroes and giants, who can do greater and higher works, neither there is God above all, and love the neighbor as themselves. Which St. Paul calls the fulfillment of the law, Rom. 13, 10, and Christ also, Matth. 5, 19.

010 But if they will not have compassion upon us, ask only for a season and a time, until we have fulfilled the commandments of God, and the little children's works; and we will gladly join in their high, spiritual, chivalrous, manly works. For what is it good that a child should be forced to walk and work like a strong man? Nothing comes of it, the child cannot do it. So also we poor, weak Christians, who walk in God's commandments and His little good works as children at the pews, sometimes barely crawling on all fours, yes, even slipping on the ground, and Christ has to control us as a mother or maid controls a child, cannot walk or do as well as their strong, manly walking and doing; and God also protects us for this. Therefore let us spare ourselves from ecclesiastical and conciliar holiness (as they say) until we have nothing more to do in God's commandments and divine works.
And suffer not such reformation, as we also cannot. Let this much be answered this time to the first that covet such reformation of us in evil opinion.

011 To the others who think it right and good, as they hope, though in vain, that perhaps such a fine reformation, of their opinion, might yet come from the Fathers and Conciliis, whether the pope would not or would hinder it, I will again answer in good opinion thus: that I regard it as an impossible thing, and indeed know not how it is to be attacked. For I have also read the fathers, even before I sat down so stiffly against the pope; I have also read them with better diligence, neither those who now by them defy and pride themselves against me. For I know that no man hath tried to read a book of the holy scriptures in the schools, and to use the fathers' scriptures for it, as I have done. And let them take another book before them out of the holy scriptures, and seek the glosses of the fathers, and it shall be unto them as it was unto me, when I took the epistle aä Mraeos with St. Chrysostom's glosses, and Titum, Galatas with the help of St. Hieronymi, Genesin with the help of St. Ambrosii and Augustini, the Psalter with all the scribes that can be had, and so on. I have read more than they think, and I have read all the books, so that they are too presumptuous to think that I have not read the fathers; and they want to make me believe that this is a wonderful thing, which twenty years ago I had to hold in low esteem when I was supposed to be reading the Scriptures.

(12) St. Bernard boasts that he learned his understanding from the trees, as oaks and firs, which were his doctors, that is, he exercised and received his thoughts from the Scriptures under the trees; he also says that he holds the holy fathers in high esteem, but does not respect all that they have spoken; he puts such a reason and similitude: he would rather drink from the spring itself than from the booklet. As all men do, when they drink of the fountain, forgetting the little book, because they have need of the little book to come to the fountain. So the Scripture must remain master and judge, or if we follow the little books too closely, they will lead us too far from the spring, and we will lose both,

Tasty and powerful, until they are lost in the salted sea, as it happened under the papacy.

But enough of this. We want to show the reasons why such a thing is impossible. First of all, it is evident that the Conciliar Churches are not only unequal, but also opposed to one another, as are the Fathers. If we should now wish to bring them together, there would be much greater strife and disputation than there is now, and we could never come out of it. For since they are very unequal and often opposed to one another, we would first have to work out how to pick out the best and leave the rest. Then things would be settled; one would say, If you want to keep them, keep them at all, or keep nothing. The other would say, "Pick out what you like, and leave what you don't like. Who wants to be a shepherd here?

014 Behold the decree in which Gratianus had just such a nobility, that therefore also the book is called Oonooräantia äwooräantiarum, that is, he wished to compare unequal sayings of the fathers and conciliarities, to tolerate the repugnant ones, and to pick out the best, and he was cunning as the crab goes; he often let the best go, and kept the worst, and yet neither compared nor tolerated. As the lawyers themselves say, it stinks of honour and avarice, and a canonist is a loud ass. How much more, then, should it go with us, if it came to this, that we should agree on all the fathers' and concilia's sayings or ways? There would be lost toil and labour, and made worse. And I will not enter into such disputation, for I know that there would be no end, and in the end we would have to keep a vain uncertain thing, with the harm of vain, lost labor and time. They are too yellow around the beak, the young paper clickers, and even too untried, that they think what they read and imagine, that must be so, and all the world adore, if they do not yet know the ABC neither in the Scriptures, nor have tried in the Conciliis and Fathers; scream and spit therefore, do not know what they say or write.

Fifteenth I will be silent of Gratiani. Sanct
Augustine writes lamentably that in his time the church was ready, that is, three hundred years after the birth of Christ (for he died in 1539, eleven hundred and two years later), and that it was so well weighed down with the bishops' essays that even the Jews' nature was more sorrowful and more tolerable. And sets clear and dry these words: InnumerMlidus 86rvilidu8 oneriduZ premuM Loole8iam, that is, with innumerable burdens they press the church; when the Jews are weighed down by God alone, not by men 2c. Speaks also there, that Christ would have his church burdened with few and light ceremonies, namely, baptism and sacrament; shows also none more than these two, as every one can read. The books are there, so that no one can blame me for inventing such things.

016 But he putteth also a woman's rift therein, and saith in the same place, 8oo Z6NU8 bridet lidera8 od86rvations8, that is, no man is bound to keep all these things, but may leave them without sin. If here St. Augustine is not a heretic, I shall never be a heretic, who throws so many bishops, so many churches' wise men, into the fire in one heap, and points to baptism and sacrament alone. Eighth, that Christ would not have laid any more burdens on the church, if they should be called burdens, which is comfort and grace, as he saith, "My burden is light, and my weight is pleasant," [Matt. 11:30] that is, my burden is peace, and my weight is joy.

017 But the fine man of sense does this honor to the great (or as it is called) universal or principal conciliarities, separating them from the other and all bishops' essays, and saying that they ought to be held in high esteem, writes in the same place that such great principal conciliarities ought to be kept in good order, as being much concerned with them, and that I need his words, 8a1ud6rrima autorita8, that is, that it is very useful that they should be held in high esteem. But he never saw any of the same great concilia, nor gewest therein, would perhaps have written otherwise or more of them. For there are no more neither four great Hanptconcilia in all books almost famous and known, so that the Roman-

The bishops compare them to the four gospels, as they cry out in their decrees. The first is Nicenum, held at Nicea in Asia, in the fifteenth year of the great Constantine, nearly thirty-five years before the birth of Augustus. The other at Constantinople, in the third year of Gratiani the Emperor, and Theodosii the First, who reigned with each other. At that time St. Augustine was still a pagan and not a Christian, a man of about 26 years, so that he could not have taken care of all these things. He did not experience the third at Ephesus, much less the fourth at Chalcedon. All these things are found in the history and account of the years; that is certain.

(18) I must say this for the sake of St. Augustine's word that the great principal councils should be held in high esteem, since it is important that his opinion be rightly understood, namely, that he alone spoke of the two councils at Nicea and Constantinople, which he had not seen, but afterwards learned from writings, and at that time no bishop was above another. For the bishops, Roman or otherwise, could never have brought about such conciliarities if the emperors had not brought them together. As the particularia or small Concilia show, so without the emperor's occupation now and then in countries the bishops themselves have held among themselves. That I respect it, after my foolishness, the great concilia, or universalia, have such a name from the fact that the bishops are called together from all countries by the monarch, the great head or universal.

(19) For the history must bear me witness to this, and all the papists should become mad, that the bishop of Rome, Sylvester, if the emperor Constantine had not done it, the first Concilium of Nicea would have had to remain unconvened for his sake. And what did the wretched bishop of Rome want to do, since the bishops of Asia and Grecia were not subject to him? And if he had been able to do it without the Emperor Constantine's power, he would have taken it to Nicea in Asia, so far across the sea, since no one gave in to his power (as he well knew and had experienced), but in the Welschland to Rome, or near there, and forced the Emperor to come there. Even so
I also say of the other three great conciliarities (as named above): if the emperors Gratian, Theodosius, and the other Theodosius and Martian had not assembled the same three great conciliarities, they would never have been held in Rome for the sake of the bishop and all the bishops. For the bishops of other countries gave as much to the Roman bishop as the bishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne give to one another for the sake of their sovereignty, and much less.

020 But it is seen in the histories, that the Roman bishops also before have always pestered, sicklied, coughed, and crowned for the rule over all the bishops, but have not been able to bring it to pass before the monarchs. For they wrote many letters, now in Africa, now in Asia, and so on, even before the Niceno Concilio, that nothing should be ordered publicly without the Roman see. But at that time no one heeded it, and the bishops at that time in Africa, Asia, and Egypt, as if they did not hear it; though they gave it fine good words, and humbled themselves, yet they admitted nothing. You will find this if you read the Histories and compare them with diligence. But thou must not turn aside to her and her hypocrites' cries, but keep the text and history in the face or mirror.

021 Now, since the word Concilium was highly exalted among Christians throughout the world, even by the aforesaid Scripture of St. Augustine, and such fine monarchs or emperors were there, the Roman bishops have always sought how they might bring the name Concilii to themselves, that all Christendom might believe what they say, and under such a fine name secretly become monarchs themselves (what is the matter, I meet here the truth and their own conscience, where they might have a conscience!). And so it has come to pass, they have been ashamed and have been confirmed, that they have now become Constantinus, Gratianus, Theodosius, Martianus, and many more than the same four monarchs, together with their four great chief concilia. For the Pope's Concilia are now called: 8io volo, sie zudso, 8it pro ratiovo volunta8. Yet not in all the world, nor in all Christendom, but in that part of the Roman Empire which OorolvZ NaZnu8 had; by the same they have almost much

until, possessed by all the devils, they have shamefully murdered, trampled underfoot, and betrayed many emperors in many ways, as they still do wherever they can.

Of the Baier Scripture Authority. 1)

Twenty-two: But this time let it suffice what Saint Augustine writes of the Conciliar. We also want to show what he thinks of the fathers. Of these, then, he says in the letter to St. Jerome, which also Gratianus ciist. 9: I have learned this, that I alone do not hold the sacred Scriptures to be erroneous; all the others I read thus, they being as holy and learned as they can be, I do not therefore think it right that they should have taught thus, where they do not prove it to me by Scripture or reason that [it] must be so. Item, in the same place in the decree stands also St. Augustine's saying from the preface lidrorum cke^rinitate: Dear one, do not follow my writings as you do the sacred Scriptures, but what you find in the sacred Scriptures that you did not believe before, believe without a doubt; but in my writings you shall have nothing for certain that you had uncertain before, unless it is proved to you by me that [it] is certain.

023 Such sayings he writes much more in other places, as when he saith, As I read other men's books, so will I have read mine 2c. I will leave the other sayings for now; the papists know well that such things are written in Augustine from time to time, and several of them are included in the decree. Nor do they do contrary to their conscience, that they pass over or suppress such sayings. The fathers, Concilia, and even the bishops of Rome, who were generally very unlearned men, are above all this. St. Augustine must have felt many a lack in the fathers who preceded him, because he wanted to be uncaptured, but to have subjected them all, along with himself, to the holy Scriptures. What would have been necessary for him to oppose his forefathers in this way, so that he also says: they are as holy and learned as they can be? Surely he could have

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

Saying, Yea, all that they write, I hold the same as the holy scripture, because they are so holy and learned. But he says, No; as he also says in another letter to St. Jerome, who was very angry because St. Augustine would not let him have the Commentary on Galatians in one piece: Dear brother (as he has been a fine friendly man), I do not hope that you would have kept your books like the books of the apostles and prophets 2c.

024 If only such a pious and gentle man would not ascribe such letters to me, and beg me not to esteem my books like the books of the apostles and prophets, as St. Augustine ascribes to St. Jerome, I should be ashamed to death. But this is how we act now, that St. Augustine has well noticed how the fathers have also been men at times, and that Cap. Rom. 7, 18. ff; therefore he will not trust, neither his forefathers, holy, learned fathers, nor himself, much less, no doubt, the descendants, who should become less, but will have the Scriptures as master and judge. Just as it is said above of St. Bernard that the oaks and firs have been his masters, he would rather drink from the spring than from the booklet. He would not have spoken such things if he had held the fathers' books equal to the holy scriptures, and had found no lack in them, but would have said thus: It is the same whether I drink from the Scriptures or from the fathers. He does not do this, but lets the books flow and drinks from the fountain.

025 What then shall we do? If we are to restore the church to the doctrine or manner of the fathers and councils, St. Augustine stands here, and misleads us, and makes us find no end to our opinion, because he does not wish to be evil, neither to fathers, bishops, councils, be they how holy and learned they may be, nor to have trusted in him himself, but directs us to the Scriptures; if not, he says, it is all uncertain, lost, and in vain. But if we exclude St. Augustine, it is contrary to our purpose, namely, that we should have a church according to the doctrine of the fathers. For where St. Augustine was chosen out of the number of the fathers

The others are not of much value, nor will it be said, nor suffered, that St. Augustine should not be considered one of the best fathers, since he is esteemed the highest in all Christendom, and has hitherto preserved both schools and churches at their best, as is the case at the present day. And yet you compel us to such infinite toil and labor, that we should hold conciliarities and fathers beforehand against the Scriptures, and judge according to the same? Before this is done, we shall all be dead, and the last day shall come long before.

Of the first Concilii, namely, of the Apostles, statutes. 1)

(26) Now then, let us put aside St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and others like them, and consider the Conciliarities and Fathers ourselves, and see if we can live our lives according to them. But we want to take the very best before us, so that we do not make it too long, especially the first two main concilia that St. Augustine praises, namely, the one at Nicea and Constantinople, even though he did not see them, as is said above. Yes, that we may play our parts with the utmost certainty, and not lack, nor care, let us take the very first Concilium of the Apostles, held at Jerusalem, of which St. Lucas writes in Acts 15:28 and 16:4. There it is written that the apostles boasted that the Holy Spirit had ordered such things through them: Visum est Apiritui 8un6to st nobis sts, "It pleaseth the Holy Ghost and us to lay no more burden upon you, but these things needful, that ye abstain from things sacrificed unto idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication: from which, if ye abstain, ye do well."

027 Then we hear that the Holy Ghost (as the preachers of the Conciliar boast) hath commanded us, that we should eat no things sacrificed unto idols, neither blood, nor things strangled. If therefore we would have a church according to this Concilio (as is proper, because it is the highest and first, held also by the apostles themselves), we must now teach and enforce that no prince, lord, citizen, nor peasant shall henceforth eat geese, deer, stags, pork in the

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

Eat blacks, also need to avoid the fish gala speeches of Karpen. For there comes to blood, or, as the cooks call it, color. And especially the citizens and farmers must not eat red sausage or black pudding. For this is not only thin blood, but also delivered and cooked, a very coarse blood. Likewise we must not eat hares nor birds. For they are all suffocated (as the law of the hunter deals with them), if they are not boiled in blood or black, but roasted alone.

028 If we then, after this council, abstain from blood, we shall let the Jews be masters in our church and kitchens. For they have a particularly large book of blood-smoking, over which no one could leap with a pole, and they seek the blood so carefully that they do not eat meat with any Gentile or Christian, even if it is not smothered, but slaughtered in the purest way (like oxen and calves), and washed and watered with the blood, they would much rather die. Help God, what afflicted Christians we should become over the Concilio, even with the two pieces alone, eating blood and choking! Well then, behold, whoever is willing and able, and bring Christendom to the obedience of this Concilii, then I will almost gladly follow. If not, then I will be overpowered by the cry: Concilia, Concilia! you hold no Concilia nor fathers. Or, again, I will cry: Thou thyself holdest no Concilia nor Fathers, because thou despisest this highest Concilium, and the highest Fathers, the Apostles themselves. What thinkest thou that I ought or oughtest to hold Concilia and Fathers, which thou thyself wilt not touch with one finger? Then would I say, As I said unto the sabbath keepers beforehand their law of Moses, so will we keep it. But since they do not keep it, nor can they keep it, it is ridiculous for them to think we should keep it.

029 Sayest thou, it is not now possible to make such a concilium, because the antagonism is too far broken down. This is of no avail, because we have undertaken to be guided by the councils, and it is said here that the Holy Spirit has ordered it. Against the Holy Spirit no far nor deep tearing is valid, and with such an evasion no conscience is safe. Shall we conci-

If we are to be of the same church, we must keep this council before all others; if not, we may keep none of the other councils, and so be rid of all councils. For in this council there are not bad bishops or fathers, as in others, but the apostles themselves, as sure of the Holy Spirit, and supreme fathers. Nor is it so impossible that we should shun blood and strangled things. How would it be if we had to eat only grain, cabbage, turnips, apples, and all other fruits of the earth and trees, as our ancestors did before the flood, when it was not yet permitted to eat flesh? We would not die of hunger, if we did not eat flesh and fish. How many people still live today who seldom eat fish or meat in the year 1) and yet do not die in the year because of it? So the impossibility of strengthening our conscience against the Holy Spirit is of no avail to us, for we might well bring it again, without harm to body and soul, that we should not only live without blood and suffocation, as Moses teaches, but also feed ourselves without fish and flesh at all, as before the flood of sin. I am also very much surprised that the devil, among so many of the spirits of the wicked, has not at this time brought to light these beautiful thoughts of avoiding the flesh, 2) which have such excellent examples or Scriptures for them.

(30) Let us say, then, that all this is not only impossible, but also has fallen from itself, and has come into disuse or disuse, as I am wont to call the canons, which have no more use, *mortuos*; nor will this hold the sting. I am well aware that the pope and his followers are seeking such a remedy from this, and that they are mending it, that the church had the power to change such a council of the apostles, in which they are lying. For they can produce no testimony of the church, which did such things, or commanded them to be changed. Neither is it proper for the church to change the order of the Holy Spirit, and never will.

1) The words: "in the year" and following: "and yet therefore the year does not die?" are missing in the first edition, but are in the second and in the Wittenberg and in the Jena.
2) "to avoid from the flesh". See the previous note.
3) Thus the Jenaer. In the other editions: "Bruch".

031 But beside this they see not, the blind leaders, how they bind a rod upon their own skins with such speeches. For if we allow that men have power to change the order and commandment of the Holy Spirit, we will quickly trample the pope underfoot with all his letters and bulls, and say, "If the apostle's first decree is not valid, since we are sure that the Holy Spirit made it, as they boast: Visum est, how much less should the pope's authority and decrees be valid, since we are nowhere so certain that the Holy Spirit is with them as with the apostles. For we must nevertheless allow the apostles to be something; and even if they were not above the popes (as the heretic Luther holds), they must nevertheless be allowed to sit beside the popes. And to be sure, the popes have often been manifest, desperate knaves, and still, 4) even one has rejected another's decree for and for, yet the Holy Spirit cannot be so against himself, and the apostles have not been such popes or knaves. Therefore one must speak differently about this; such lazy jokes will not do, because one would say that the church was built on a reed, which the wind weaves to and fro, after which the priest or man would be at a loss. For the church must not float on a reed, but lie on a rock, and be certainly established. Matth. 7, 26. and Cap. 16,18.

Thirty-two: But as we began to say, it fell from him himself, without the change of the church; therefore it must be held no longer. Ay, my good friend, the lawyer speaks. If a right be not kept, or if it be made unjust by not being kept, or by being fallen, let us be of good cheer, and keep no more law. Let a harlot say that she is right, because the sixth commandment is fallen among adulterers and adulteresses, and is no longer in use. Yes, we children of Adam, together with the devils, want to hold a concilium against God and conclude: Hear it, O God, with us men and devils all thy commandments are fallen, and are no more in use; therefore we shall no more keep them, but must do contrary unto them; and thou shalt let this be lawful, and not condemn us, because there is no

4) "and still" is missing from the first edition.

Sin is where justice has fallen. So may robbers and murderers also make themselves blessed, saying, We are no longer obliged to obey you princes and lords, but are justified in defending you and robbing you, because your right has fallen with us. 2c.

033 Now counsel here, how shall we do? It does not help that such a Concilium of the Apostles has fallen (which is the truth), or has been changed by the church (which is a lie), what harm is it to scratch out the word "Holy Ghost," and let the Apostles alone have done it, without the Holy Ghost, so we might help matters? Is that ridiculous? Think thou better of it. For if the Holy Spirit be not scratched out of the Concilio, both must be done, either that both we and the papists think and hold such Concilium; or, if it be free and not held, that we poor heretics be left alone with the cry, Concilia, Concilia, Concilia! For where this Concilium is not to be kept, there is none to be kept for the others, as has been said. Otherwise they shall hear again this cry, Nsclws, eara Isipsuw, house, take thyself by the nose; let them keep it first, that cry so, we will gladly tread after. If not, it is found that they do not cry out and spit this word, Concilia, Concilia, with earnestness, but trumpet it in the mouths of men, and scare the poor consciences treacherously and wickedly, and only want to destroy the simple souls.

034 I shew all these things of this council, because it is the first and chief thing that we should consider these things, before we let the church live or be governed according to the councils. For if this Concilium gives us so much confusion, what shall it become if we also make the others? It is true, and I confess it, that the word Concilium is soon named, and this sermon, that one should keep the Concilia, is easily done. But how to stand to it, that it may be set up again, where now? where there, dear friend? The pope is well wise with his own, and soon comes away, and says: he is above all concilia, and may hold what he pleases, and allow others to hold as far as he pleases. Yea, if the matter be so advised, let us take the word Concilium, and the sermon, "Let the
Concilia hold" silent, and for that shout: Pabst, Pabst! and: "We must keep the pope's doctrine. So we all soon get away from it, and become fine Christians as they are. For what is the Concilium to us, if we cannot or will not keep it, but only praise the name or the letter?

35 Or, that seems to me to be much better (because we are now talking so much, and also have to joke a little in this carnival), if it is only about the letters, "Concilium," without the fact and consequence that we made the chair writers pope, cardinals, bishops and preachers; because they could write such letters finely. They could write such letters finely, large, small, black, red, green, yellow, and however one wanted it. Then the church would be finely governed according to the conciliis, and it would not be necessary to keep what is ordered in the conciliis, but the church would have enough of such letters: Concilium, Concilium. But if we are not pleased with the chair-writers, let us take painters, carvers, and printers, who will paint, carve, and print for us beautiful Concilia, and then the church will be well governed. And let us make the painters, carvers, printers also popes, cardinals, and bishops! What further may one ask, how to hold the Concilii decree? There is enough of letters and images.

036 And concerning this, let us think, How if all men were blind, and could not see such Conciliarities, written, painted, carved, printed? How then would the church be governed by the Concilia? Is it my advice to take the choir students of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, when they sing the Huieunyue, and let them shout for it: Concilium, Concilium! that the church and vaults shake, they could be heard, even far across the Elbe, if we were all blind. Then the church would be well governed, and vain popes, cardinals, and bishops would be made out of such choir students, as they could easily govern the church, which otherwise has become impossible for the most holy fathers at Rome. But I will soon say more about this Concilio, it is too much for me; I must not forget the Concilium of Nicea, which is the best and first universal after the Apostles' Concilium.

Of statutes of the other Conecilii, at Nicea. 1)

037 The same council, among other things, enjoins that Christians who have fallen shall be received again to repentance for seven years. 2c. But if they die, they are to be released, and the sacrament is not to be withheld. Which, however, the Conciliators do not now hold, but do contrary, and relegate the dying Christians to Purgatory with the rest of their penance. For where the pope should keep this piece, devil! what a poor beggar should he become with all the monasteries, if such mines, treasure troves, and commerce, namely purgatory, masses, pilgrimages, foundations, brotherhoods, indulgences, bulls 2c. had to perish? Of which things of the same time the fathers knew nothing, nor ever dreamed. 2) May the devil protect the pope together with all cardinals, bishops, monks, and nuns, so that the church is not governed according to this Council. Where did they want to stay? But because this piece affects me alone, who has hitherto done this against the pope, and thinks very well how they might turn and interpret the word of the Council against me, I will now let it go, and must now act in a way that concerns us both in common, to the praise and honor of the councilors.

038 The same council decrees that those who leave war for religion's sake, and then go to war again, shall be admitted to the sacrament for five years under the oatsellumenis, and then for two years. I now take the word "religion" to mean the common Christian faith; of which more hereafter. I also do not want to dispute now, so that I do not get off the road and have my course hindered by such random questions as whether the Concilium forbade war, or had the power and right to forbid or condemn such (where the warriors otherwise do not deny the faith, of which the previous piece speaks).

039 But this is our business, whether such an article be held, or yet to be held, by right, that

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.
2) This sentence is missing from the first edition.

that no man of war can be blessed or a Christian? For it is impossible to restore the same article, much less the apostle's decree of blood sausage, black pudding, and the like, as stated above, the pope himself, with all his own, will have to testify. Thus the Concilium does not speak of murderers, robbers, and enemies, but of militia, that is, of proper wars, where a prince, king, or emperor lies freely in the field with his ensign, since God Himself has commanded that one should be subject and obedient to them, Romans 13:1 ff, even if they were pagans, provided they do not force us to war against God, as St. Moritz and many others have done.

040 Now therefore let us govern the churches after this council. First, put away the sword from Caesar, and then command all the world to keep peace, and that no one make war or suffer war. For war is forbidden with seven years' penance, in the Council of Nicea. What more do we want, the church is now governed, no warriors are allowed, the devil is dead, and all the years, since the time of this Council, have been golden years, even eternal life in the highest peace, where otherwise the Council's statute is right and must be kept.

041 But we must have here excellent, good painters, which can paint us such churches, that we may see them. Or if we were blind, we would have to have much larger screamers than the choir students in Halberstadt, so that we could still hear them. The chair writers could perhaps write the letters "Concilium" also, as they have more color, and could make better letters, neither we poor Christians. But because the work is no longer there, we cannot be saved by letters, images, and cries. We must speak of things differently, and leave the letters, pictures, and cries to the papists. It is our duty to live according to the Conciliar, and not to praise the letters "Concilium" alone, because we want to be Christians.

042 If thou sayest that the Concilium is to be understood of such Christians as run after war of their own accord for the sake of money, they are to be condemned as high as that, or else it would be

It is a mockery that a concilium should condemn so highly obedience to ordinary war or worldly authority. In the name of God, I will gladly be an incomprehensible fool and ass, who of course also holds the Concilia in high esteem. Interpret it as well as thou canst, for I am well pleased. But tell me this, whether you were present at the Concilio of Nicea, where such an article was set down, that you can so certainly claim such an interpretation? If not, where did you read it? For the article saith of wars, not of unrighteous wars, which without necessity would have been condemned by Concilia, because they are also highly condemned among all heathen according to reason, who are not Christians nor Concilia.

(43) If a king or a prince must fight and defend himself by war, he must take what he can get. But if such warriors are to be condemned, where will emperors, kings, and princes stand now that there are no other warriors but warriors? Tell me, shall the lords war in their own persons, or weave straw men against their enemies? and ask thou the council of the Concilium whether it be done. Yes, my dear, it is easily said, Concilium has commanded this, if one looks at the letters like a cow at a gate, and does not think what belongs to it, and how one must keep it, and do it accordingly. And why did not the popes and bishops themselves afterwards keep it? who have caused so much war and bloodshed all over the world, and are still doing it without ceasing, and are still crying out: Concilia, Concilia! Fathers, fathers! but that they may freely oppose them, and take out what they have done from us.

(44) Luther, by this manner thou shouldest almost suspect the Concilium of Nicea, as if it had been seditious! For if we now taught that the emperor and the men of war (who had right things) were condemned, we would be considered rebellious, according to our own writings. I am now (I say) and must be well conciliar; hereafter I will speak further of it and explain myself. Now I say, as above, that the Concilium cannot speak otherwise than of proper warfare, which is then in use by the Roman Empire.

But the footmen or infantry, who in those days were called nilitos, were established citizens who had their annual pay forever, so that when the father died or became too old, the son had to go in his father's place as a warrior, and was forced to do so, as the Turk still does now. I have been told that the King of France does almost the same in Switzerland, and also gives pay to the children. If it be true, let it not be a lie.

045 So also the Reuters were eternal and hereditary warriors, and keeping their pay, were called

Now these are almost our nobles, who must sit armed with horse and armor, from which they have their fiefs. So that the Roman Empire has always had a certain number of both footmen and cavalry, paid for eternally 2c. I say this, therefore, in order to understand the Concilium correctly, namely, that it cannot be understood otherwise than of ordinary wars, because it must speak of Roman soldiers, in whom, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, many Christians had to be obedient, as St. Moritz with his companions, also Jovinianus, Gratianus, Valentinianus, Theodosius 2c. before they became emperors. But if it was right before baptism to serve the pagan emperors in war, why should it be wrong afterwards to serve Christian emperors after baptism?

046 If, in this place, *Religio were* not called the Christian faith, but monasticism? Then I would be imprisoned, and even after this Council I would have to crawl back into my cap, even if I wanted to do it differently; and I would not know how to find St. Peter in heaven, because he had been a fisherman before, and after the apostleship he again needed a fisherman's office, which he had left for the sake of Christ.

(47) It is now called monasticism, although at that time there were no orders, nor monasteries, nor monks, though it came to pass soon and quickly afterward. St. Anthony and his followers existed around the same time, whom they call the father and beginning of all monks. But at that time monk was called, which we now call hermit or hermitage, as also the Greek word Monachus is.

Solitarius, that is, a solitary, who dwells quite alone from the people, and lives in a wood or a wilderness, or otherwise alone. I know of no such monks now, nor has there been one for a thousand years; one would call the poor prisoners in towers and dungeons monks, who unfortunately are true monks, for they sit alone among the people. The monks of the papacy are more among the people, and less alone, neither are all the people. For what state or office in the world is more with and among the people, and less of the people, neither such monks? Unless the monasteries that are in the cities and in the countryside are not called built among the people, nor among the people.

Forty-eight: But let the Grammatica proceed to speak of the matter. If here *Religio* is called monasticism, which existed at the same time, why then does this Concilium condemn militia, that is, obedience to worldly authority, that monks should not be saved in such obedience? But this would still have to be suffered, that monasticism might be praised. But that the proper militia, on the other hand, should be condemned, as if St. Anthony could not serve the emperor in war with a good conscience, that is too much. For where would the emperor take people at last, if they all wanted to become monks, and pretend that they must not serve in war? Dear, say, how far is such a doctrine from a riot, especially if we taught so? And yet we know that the same monasticism mentioned above is not commanded by God, but obedience is commanded. If the monks wanted to flee from the people, they should flee honestly and truthfully, not leave a stink behind them; that is, they should not make other estates and offices stink with their fleeing, as if they were vain damned things, and their self-chosen monasticism should be vain balm. For so it is, when a man flees and becomes a monk, as if he said, Fie on thee, how these people stink, how damned is their estate; I will be blessed, and let them go to the devil. If Christ had also fled and become such a holy monk, who would have died for us, or done enough for us poor sinners? Perhaps the monks, with their fleeting austerity?

Forty-nine. It's true. St. John the Baptist
He also was in the wilderness, but not among the people: but afterward he came again among the people, having attained to the age of a man, and preached. Christ, like Moses on Mount Sinai, was forty days without men in the wilderness among the beasts, neither eating nor drinking, and came again among the people. Well then, let us take them for hermits and monks: nevertheless they both condemn not the rank of paid warriors, though they be not such warriors: but John saith unto them, Luc. 3:14: "Be content with your pay, and do neither violence nor wrong to any man." Christ went to the centurion of Capernaum to help his servant, who also undoubtedly served in the army [Matt. 8:10]. Nor doth Christ call him to leave such station, but praiseth his faith above all Israel. And St. Peter let Cornelium remain captain in Caesarea after his baptism, together with his servants, who were in the service of the Romans. How much more should St. Anthony, with his monks, not have challenged such an order of God with his new and own holiness, because he was a bad layman, quite unlearned, in no preaching office or church office. I do believe that he was great in the sight of God, and many more of his disciples, but his conduct is grievous and dangerous, in which he is preserved, as the elect are preserved in sins and other offences. But the example of his nature is not to be commended, but the example and doctrine of Christ and John.

(50) Now if *Religio is called* Christian faith or monasticism, it follows from this Concilio that militia, which was obedience in the time of the secular order, is to be considered disobedience to God, or a stinking obedience to human chosen monasticism. But St. Martin's legend says that *Religio* was called Christian faith. For when he wished to become a Christian, he surrendered his hereditary militia, in which his father had been and was now too old, and had his son Martin enrolled in his place, as the Roman Empire's commandments and ways required, and this was interpreted against him as if he had been timid before his enemies, so that he would flee and become a Christian, as one can read in his legend.

that it nevertheless appears as if at that time the delusion had already arisen among the people (not without the preaching of some bishops) that militia was a dangerous, damned state to hold, and must flee from it who wants to serve God. For St. Martin was not long after Coneilio Niceno, when he was a man of war under Juliano.

051 If then we would keep or restore the council, we must flee into the wilderness after St. Anthony, make monks of emperors and kings, and say that they cannot be Christians nor blessed; or preach that they live in dangerous and stinking obedience, and serve not God. But if we will not keep this council, we must keep none at all. For one is as good as another, because the same Holy Spirit governs them all alike; and I do not wish to have the Concilium painted, nor in letters, but in deed and consequence. But I am almost fooled into thinking that the dear holy fathers did not set such an article, as they would certainly have spared the Emperor Constantine with it, who had delivered them from the tyrants, not with St. Anthony's monasticism, but with war and sword. It looks as if the other loose bishops have clicked it into place, or subsequently patched it underneath.

(52) The same Concilium provides that the Roman bishop shall, according to ancient custom, be charged with the suburban churches, as the bishop of Alexandria was with the churches in Egypt. I do not want to and cannot interpret what Kuburbioarias means, because it is not my word, except that it says, the churches that have been located in the foreign country around the Roman churches, like the churches in Egypt around the churches in Alexandria. But if anyone wishes to interpret this, I nevertheless understand that this Concilium does not give the bishop of Rome dominion over his surrounding churches, but commands him to see to it, and does the same, not as if it had to be *jure divino*, but out of old custom. But custom is not called keriptura sanetg, or God's word. About that it takes the churches in Egypto (as also from old custom) from the bishop to Rome, and, commands them to the bishop to Alexandria.

Likewise it is to be thought that the churches in Syria were commanded to the bishop of Antioch, or to that of Jerusalem, and not to the bishop of Rome, as they are farther from Rome, neither Alexandria nor Egypt.

053 Now if this council is to be valid in our churches, and to come into force, we must first condemn the bishop of Rome as a tyrant, and burn all his bulls and decrees with fire. For there is not a bull nor a decree in which he does not boast with great roar and dread that he is the supreme head and lord of all the churches on earth, to whom all that is on earth must be subject if it wishes to be saved. Which is nothing else but this: The Nicene Concilium is false, cursed, and damned, that it takes from me such glory above all things, and puts the bishop of Alexandria on a par with me. But the Turk and the Sultan have long since interpreted and taught such an article of the Concilii by destroying Alexandria, so that neither the pope nor we should not be concerned about it; so that we may learn that the articles of the Concilium are not all to be kept eternally the same as the articles of faith.

054 This Concilium enjoins that they who lust after themselves, against the great unpleasant heat of their flesh, shall not be admitted to the clergy, or to the ecclesiastical office. Again, it enjoins that bishops shall not have a wife about them, or dwell with them, unless it be mother, sister, wasen (that is, father's or mother's sisters), or such near friend. Here I do not understand the Holy Spirit at all in the Concilio. If they are not fit for the church office, who are lascivious because of unpleasant heat, and again, if they are also not fit, who take or have wives against such heat, according to St. Paul's counsel, 1 Cor. 7:2, what will that become? Shall a bishop or a preacher then be stuck in an unpleasant rut, and not be able to save himself from such a dangerous nature, neither by marriage nor by debauchery? For what can one command a man who has a wife, that he should have no other wives with him? Which is not fitting for laymen and husbands? So it would be proper with the mother, sisters, and wives, where the bishop has a household.

wife; should have no prohibition. Or has the Holy Spirit nothing else to do in the churches, but to entangle and burden his servants with impossible, dangerous, unnecessary laws?

55 The histories say that St. Paphnutius, the excellent man, in this council, had charged the bishops to forbid marriage, even to those who had taken wives before their ordination, and wanted to forbid them the obligation of marriage with their own wives. But he said that they should not do so, and said that it would also be chastity if a man were to require his wives to marry him. They say he hath received it. But these two decrees say that the bishops have continued and forbidden the wives badly. For there were also many unskilful, false bishops among the pious multitude and holy Concilio, such as the Arians with their mob (as the histories clearly show), who perhaps also did something to it; of which more hereafter. Let us stop a little from the conciliarities, and consider the fathers also; though St. Augustine misleads us, because he does not want to believe any of them (as said above), but has caught and forced all of them under the Scriptures, yet let us consider them also.

Whether the church may be reformed according to the Scriptures. 1)

(56) St. Cyprian, one of the oldest of the fathers, who was in Nicea long before the Council, at the time of the martyrs, and who was himself also an excellent martyr, taught and also firmly maintained that those who had been baptized should be baptized again among the heretics; he also persisted in this until his martyrdom, although he was strongly admonished by other bishops, and St. Cornelius, bishop of Rome, who was also martyred at the same time, would not keep company with him. Cornelius, bishop of Rome, who was also martyred at the same time, would not stand with him. After this, St. Augustine took great pains to excuse him, and in the end he needed such help that such error might be washed away by his blood, which he shed for the love of Christ. Thus St. Augustine speaks, and condemns St. Cyprian's doctrine of regeneration.

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

baptism, as then it is condemned for and for (as well as justly). But with Cyprian we would easily be satisfied, as in him Christ comforts us poor sinners well that his great saints must nevertheless also be men; as then St. Cyprian, the excellent man and holy martyr, stumbles more just rough pieces, of which now is not the time to speak.

But where shall we remain before the fathers, who have grounded such doctrine on St. Cyprian? You may read LeelosiuZt. Üi8tor. lib. 7. the first and other pages, what the excellent bishop Dionysius of Alexandria writes about it to the bishop Sixtum of Rome, and also says himself: it was done before, before the bishops in Africa, by great, excellent bishops, and decided in the Concilio of Jconio; therefore such an important trade is to be considered before one condemns them. In the Concilio Niceno, this article clearly states that the heretics, Paulianists or Photinians, should be baptized again. Augustine hard before the head, lübro äs Husrssibus, because he had troubled himself with the Anabaptists, Donatists, very long and much; but he turns out with such words, for the sake of the Concilii Niceni decree: that it is to be believed that the Photinians have not kept the form of baptism, as other heretics did. Yes, who could also believe, since there is no word or 2) proof. For the Photiniani had no other gospel, neither had the whole church, therefore it is more to be believed, they used the common form. For the heretics always want to boast of the Scriptures. So rebaptism is right against St. Augustine and all of us, because the Nicene Concilium, and other Concilia and Fathers before it, agree with Cyprian.

(58) Now the Canons Apostolorum, the Apostles' writings, have gone out by the pressure of many, so that the church may again be well governed. Among them is this canon: the heretics' sacrament and baptism should not be considered anything, but they should be baptized again. And it is easy to count where the apostles have decreed this,

2) "Word or" is missing from the first edition.

that afterwards it came through the previous Fathers and Concilia (as Dionysius says above) up to St. Cyprianum, and from there to the Concilium at Nicea. For Cyprian was at Nicea before the Council. If the apostles have established this, then St. Cyprian is right, and St. Augustine is down with all Christendom, and we also with him who hold with him. For who will teach against the apostles? If the apostles have not set it, then such books, writers, and masters should all be drowned, and they should be found spreading, printing, and shouting such books under the apostles' names; they are also worthy to be believed in no other books nor things, because they always bring forward such books, which they themselves do not believe, and yet charge us with these letters: Concilia, Fathers, which a choirboy at Halberstadt might better shout to me, if it were only for the letters, since they alone deal with and fool us.

059 Now if St. Cyprian had such a rule of the apostles for himself, and the Concilium of Nicea, and others more, how shall we compare the fathers? The apostles with Cyprian want one to baptize again. St. Augustine, with the whole church after him, wants it to be wrong. Who meanwhile preaches to the Christians until such a rift is settled and compared? Yea, it is good to juggle with conciliis and fathers, if one alfenzet with the letters, or always consumes concilium, as has now happened twenty years, and does not think where, however, the souls remain, which one is to feed with certain doctrine, as Christ says [Jn. 21:6]: kasee 0V68 M6N8.

60 I excuse St. Cyprian, first of all, because he has not been such an Anabaptist as ours are now. For he believes that heretics have no sacrament; therefore they must be baptized like other pagans, and he is mistaken in his heart that he does not rebaptize, but baptizes an unbaptized pagan. For he knows and holds of no rebaptism, but only one baptism. But our Anabaptists confess that with us and under the papacy baptism is right, but because it is given or received by unworthy men, it is not baptism.

St. Cyprian did not suffer, much less do.

(61) I will have this said for me by the holy martyr St. Cyprian, of whom I speak highly because of his person and faith. For doctrine is subject to the saying of St. Paul [1 Tim. 5, 20.]: 0mnia probate 6te. But our business now is not what I say, but how to rhyme the fathers together, that we may be sure what and how to preach to poor Christians. For here the apostles and Cyprian disagree with St. Augustine and the church about baptism. If we are to follow St. Augustine, we must condemn the apostles with their rules, and the Concilium Nicenum with the previous fathers and concilia, together with St. Cyprian. And again, if St. Cyprian is right with the apostles, St. Augustine is wrong with the church. Who meanwhile preaches and baptizes until we become one in these things? And where are the Christians who died in time, and remained in such error? Is this to govern the churches according to the doctrine of the fathers? 1) And since the Papists boast of the Canons of the Apostles and Conciliarity with the Fathers against us, and since some of them are embodied in the spiritual law of Gratian, and if the dam should break, that some of these Canons and Conciliarities should be found heretical, as this one is of rebaptism, who could prevent the flood from overflowing and overflowing? and with its roar would cry out once: Ye lie in all that ye write, and say, and print, and speak, and cry: ye must not be believed a word, though ye pretend to concilia, and fathers, and apostles.

022 But though we gather from the fathers or conciliarities, they what they please, we what we please, and cannot become one, because the fathers themselves are not one, no more than the conciliarities: But who shall preach to the poor souls, which know not of such gathering and strife? Is this to feed Christ's sheep, when we ourselves know not whether it be grass or poison, hay or dung? And shall they meanwhile pam-

1) The words: "And where are" 2c. to hither are missing in the first edition.

and hang until [it] comes to an end, and the Concilium resolves. Oh, how badly Christ would have provided for his church if it were to happen this way. Nay, it must be otherwise, neither do we pretend from the councils and fathers, nor must there have been no church since the apostles' time; which is not possible. For there it is written, "I believe one holy Christian church," and, "I am with you unto the end of the world" [Matt. 28:20]. These words need not be wanting, nor should all Concilia and Fathers be wanting. The man must be called: Ego veritas; fathers and concilia should be called against him: 0mui8 llomo meväax, where they would be against each other.

(63) I do not say this for the sake of our people, whom I will show hereafter what the Concilia, the Fathers, and the Church are, if they do not know (for which God has protected them), but for the sake of those who do not think otherwise, because we have not read the Fathers and the Concilia. Although I have not read all of the Concilia, I do not want to read them all, nor do I want to waste so much time as I have tried, because I have read the four main Concilia almost well, and much better than all of them, that I know; I also want to be so presumptuous that, after the four main concilia, I want to consider the others all inferior, although I would consider them good, (hear me) some; the fathers, I hope, shall be well known to me, neither such criers, who fork out what they want, leaving the other, which they distort. Therefore we must do otherwise to the matter.

64 And what shall we fence? If we wish to compare the sayings of the fathers, let us take UaZwtor Keuteutmrum, who is exceedingly diligent in this work, and has long preceded us. For he also had such a challenge from the inequality of the fathers, and wished to remedy such a matter. And in my opinion he hath done better than we would. And you will not find so much in any Concilio, nor in all the Concilia, nor in any of the Fathers, as in the Book of Lantovtiarum. For the Concilia and the Fathers treat of some parts of Christian doctrine, but none treats them all as this man does,

1) In the first edition: "and".

or at least most of them. But of the right articles, as *fides et justificatio*, he speaks too thinly and too weakly, although he praises the grace of God highly enough. So, as said above, we may have Gratianum work for us in the comparison of the Concilia, in which he almost endeavors, but is not so pure as NaZwtsr Lsnteutiarum. For he gives too much to the Roman bishop, and points everything to him. Otherwise, he might have done better to compare with the conciliar, as we could do now.

Whoever wants to see further how the dear holy fathers have become men, should read the booklet of D. Pomer, our pastor, about the 4 Oap. aä Ooriutllio8. Pomer, our pastor, about the 4 Oap. aä Ooriutllio8; from it he will have to learn that St. Augustin wrote right, Roli Ew ete. as it is said above, that he does not want to believe any of the fathers, because he has the Scriptures for himself. Dear Lord God, if the Christian faith should hang on men, and be based on the word of men, what should one believe in the Holy Scriptures? Or for what purpose has God given them? Then let us thrust them under the bench, and in their place lay the Concilia and Fathers alone on the desk. Or if the fathers were not men, where shall we men be saved? If they have been men, they will at times have thought, spoken, done, as we think, speak, do; but from this they must say (as we do) the dear benediction, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive. "2c. Especially because they have not such promise of the Spirit as the apostles, but must be the apostles' disciples.

66. if the Holy Ghost had been so foolish as to suppose, or to trust, that the Conciliarities and Fathers would do all things well, and not fail, he would have had no need to warn his church before them, that all things should be examined, and to see where straw, hay, and wood, should be built out of the ground, 1 Cor. 3:12, that he might prophesy, not secretly, nor feebly, but publicly and mightily, that there should be among the holy church builders of wood, of straw, of hay, of hay, that is, teachers, who yet remained on the ground, or foundation, and might be hurt by fire, but should be saved.

ten. This cannot be understood of the heretics. For they lay another foundation, but these remain on the foundation, that is, in the faith of Christ, become blessed and are called saints of God, and yet have hay, straw, and wood, which must be burned by the fire of the holy Scriptures, though without harm to their salvation, as St. Augustine speaks of himself: Lriars potsro, llaorotious of ero, I may err, but [a] heretic I will not become. Cause, heretics do not only err, but do not want to be taught, defend their error as right, and argue against the known truth, and against their own conscience.

(67) Of such St. Paul says, Titus 3:10, 11: "Avoid a heretic when he is admonished one or two times, and know that such a one is a sinner and sins *autocatacritos,*" that is, one who willfully and knowingly wants to remain damned in error. But St. Augustine will gladly confess his error, and have it said to him. Therefore he cannot be a heretic, even if he were in error. So do all other saints, and gladly give their hay, straw, and wood into the fire, that they may remain on the ground of blessedness. As we also have done, and still do.

68 Therefore, because it cannot be otherwise in the fathers (I speak of the holy and good ones), where they build without writing, that is, without gold, silver, precious stones, but that they build wood, straw, and hay: therefore, according to the judgment of St. Paul, we must know how to make a distinction between gold and wood, between silver and straw, between precious stone and hay. According to the judgment of St. Paul, we must know how to distinguish between gold and wood, between silver and straw, between precious stones and hay, and not let ourselves be forced by the useless criers into thinking that gold and wood are one thing, silver and straw one thing, emerald and hay one thing, or ask them (if it were to be done) that they themselves first become so wise as to take wood for gold, straw for silver, hay for pearls. Otherwise they shall spare ours, and not think of such foolishness or childishness.

019 And yet this miracle of the Holy Ghost is to be noted unto us all, that he hath wrought wickedly to give all the books of the holy scriptures, both of the new testament, and of the old testament, out of the people of Abraha alone, and by his seed unto the world, and hath not caused one to be written by us Gentiles, so

little as he also chose the prophets and apostles from the Gentiles, as St. Paul says Rom. 3, 2: The Jews have the great advantage "that God's words are trusted in them", as also the 147th Psalm, v. 19."He hath declared his words unto Jacob, and his judgments unto Israel; so hath he done unto no Gentile"; and Christ himself Joh. 4, 22: "We know that out of the Jews came salvation"; and Rom. 9, 4: "Unto them is the promise, the law, the fathers, and Christ" 2c.

Seventy and seventy: therefore we Gentiles ought not to hold the scriptures of our fathers as high as the holy scriptures, but a little lower. For they are the children and heirs; we are the sojourners and strangers, who have come to the children's table by grace, without all promise. Yea, we should humbly thank God, and desire no more with the heathen woman, but that we should be the little dogs that gather up the crumbs which fall from the lords' table [Matt. 15:27]. So let us go on, and let us lift up our fathers and ourselves like the apostles, not thinking that God would rather break us, because He did not spare the natural branches, Rom. 11:21, and Abraham's seed or heirs, because of their unbelief. Nor does the accursed abomination at Rome, even over the apostles and prophets, desire to have power to change the Scriptures to his liking. Therefore St. Augustine writes to St. Jerome (as reported above): "I do not fear, dear brother, that you would have your Scriptures kept like the books of the apostles and prophets; God forbid that you should desire such things.

(71) Neither is there any Concilium, nor Fathers, wherein the whole Christian doctrine may be found or learned. Nicenum alone says that Christ is truly God; Constantinople that the Holy Spirit is God; Ephesus that Christ is not two, but one Person; Chalcedon that Christ has not one, but two natures, as Godhead and humanity. These are the four great principal Concilia, and have nothing more than these four pieces, as we shall hear. But this is not yet the whole doctrine of Christian faith. St. Cyprian deals with how one should die firmly in the faith.

and suffering, and rebaptizes heretics, and also reproves evil customs and women. St. Hilarius defends the Concilium of Nicea, that Christ is the right God, and he recites a few psalms. St. Jerome praises virginity and the hermitage. St. Chrysostom teaches prayer, fasting, almsgiving, patience 2c. St. Ambrose has nevertheless much, but St. Augustine the most, therefore also Magister Sententiarum has the most from him.

Seventy-two: And, in sum, put them all together, both fathers and conciliarities, yet thou canst not gather the whole doctrine of the Christian faith out of them, though thou hast little faith in them. And where the holy Scriptures had not done and kept, the church would not have remained long for the sake of the Concilia and the Fathers. And for a sign: Whence do the fathers and conciliarities teach or do? Thinkest thou that they first invented it in their time, or that a new thing was always given them by the Holy Spirit? By what then was the church established before such conciliarities and fathers? Or were there no Christians before the conciliarities and fathers arose? Therefore we must speak differently of the churches and fathers, and look not at the letters, but at the understanding; and this is enough for the first part of this booklet, that we also take breath.

The other part [of the concilia].

Seventy-three First, Conciliarities. For the letters "Concilium" give us who are unintelligent an immeasurable amount of trouble, even more than the Fathers and the Church. But I do not want to be a judge or a master here, but to give my thoughts. To him who can do better, grace and good fortune be wished, amen. And take before me the saying of St. Hilarii äs ^rinitatö: Ux omisis äiesnäis sumsnäa 68t intelliZEntiL äiotorum, that is: He who would understand a speech must see why, or from what causes it was spoken. 8ie ex 6au8i8 nAonäi, 6OAvo86untur aeta. Such also teaches natural reason, but itself wants to indicate it in a grosser way. When one peasant sues another: Dear judge, this man calls me a rogue and a knave. These words and letters, so bare, give the offence.
The defendant, however, comes and gives the reasons for such letters, and says: "My dear judge, he is a knave and a rogue, for he has been stolen from the city of N. with rods for the sake of his roguishness, and he has honestly asked through pious people that he not be hanged, and he will hand me over here in my hanse. Here the judge will understand the letters differently than before. As daily experience in the regiment teaches. For before the reason and cause of the speeches are known, they are letters or the cries of choirboys and the songs of nuns.

Seventy-four: So when Christ saith unto Peter, Whatsoever thou bindest on earth shall be made fast in heaven, and whatsoever thou loose shall be loosed; these letters the pope taketh, and leadeth thither into the land of the sleeping monkeys, and thus interpreteth them, Whatsoever I do in heaven and in earth is right: I have the keys of binding and loosing, all and all. Yea, if we had eaten turnips! 2c. But when the causes are considered, Christ is in this, that he speaketh of binding and loosing sins, because they are the keys of the kingdom of heaven, whither no man cometh but by the remission of sins; and no man is shut out from it, save he that is bound for his impenitent life. So that the words do not concern St. Peter's power, but the need of miserable sinners, or proud sinners. But the pope makes of such keys two thieves crowns and chests for all kings, and bags, bodies, honors, and goods for all the world. For he looketh on the letters like a fool, and regardeth not the causes.

75 So there are many sayings in the Scriptures which are contrary to each other according to the letter, but where the causes are shown, all is right. Hold also that all the lawyers and Medici also find much of this in their books, as I said above of the magistrate. And what is all man's nature but vain *antilogiae,* or vile things, till the things be heard? Wherefore my antilogists are excellent, fine, pious sows and asses, that gather my antilogies together, and leave the causes standing, yea, obscure them with diligence; even as if I could not also recite *antilogiae* out of their books, since they are

are also not to be compared with some cause. But enough of this, for they are not worth so many words.

From the Concilio Niceno. 1)

76 We now take before us the Concilium of Nicea, which was held for such a cause: The praiseworthy emperor Constantine had now become a Christian, and had given peace to the Christians against the tyrants and persecutors, so with great, earnest faith and hearty opinion, that he also overcame his brother-in-law Licinium, to whom he had given his own sister Constantia, and had made her a secondary emperor, and expelled her from the empire, because, after much admonition, he would not cease to torture the Christians very shamefully.

(77) Now when the good emperor had made such peace with the Christians, and done them all good, he supported the churches as he always could, and was quite sure that he intended to make war with the Persians out of the empire. In such a beautiful peaceful paradise and happy time the old serpent comes, and awakens Arium, a priest of Alexandria, against his bishop, and wanted to bring up something new against the old faith, and also to be a man; He challenged his bishop's doctrine that Christ was not God, and too many priests and great learned bishops fell to him, and misfortune increased greatly in many countries, until Arius was allowed to boast that he was a martyr, and had to suffer for the truth from his bishop Alexandro, who did not let him have it well, and wrote shameful letters against him in all countries.

78) When these things came before the pious emperor, he acted as a very wise prince, and wished to quench the flames before the fire increased; he wrote a letter to both of them, bishop Alexandrum and priest Arium, admonishing them so kindly, and also so earnestly, that it could not be written better; showing them how he had made peace in the kingdom for the Christians with great trouble, and that they should now make strife among themselves, which would be a great vexation to the heathen, and might fall again from the faith (as was done.)

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

and he himself complains), and he would thus be prevented from going against the Persians. Summa, it is a humble Christian letter, written by such a great emperor to these two men. Methinks it fei too much humility. For I know my rough pen, so that I could not have brought such a humble writing out of my inkwell, especially if I had been emperor, and such an emperor.

Seventy-nine: but such a letter was of no avail. Arius had now gained a large following, and wanted to go headlong against his bishop; the pious emperor also did not desist, sending a bodily embassy, an excellent, famous bishop in all the world, called Osius of Corduba in Hispania, to the two in Alexandria and all Egypt, to settle the matter. This did not help, and the fire continued to burn as if it were a forest. Then the good emperor Constantine did the last thing, and had the best and most illustrious bishops gathered from all the countries, commanded that they be brought together with the empire's asses, horses, and mules to Nicea, and wished to bring matters to peace through them. Then there came together many fine bishops and fathers, and especially famous, Jacobus of Nisibin, and Paphnutius of Ptolomaide, bishops who had suffered great tortures and done miraculous signs at Licinio. But there were also among them, as dung among the pepper, some Arian bishops.

80 The emperor was now happy, and hoped for a good end to the matter; he considered them all honest and beautiful. So some of them went to the emperor and brought complaints to him about what one bishop had against the other, and asked for the emperor's judgment. He rejected them, for he was not concerned about the bishops' quarrels, but wished to have this article judged by Christ, and had not summoned the concilium for the sake of their quarrels. But since they did not desist, he ordered them all to be brought to him, and read none of them, but threw them into the fire. But he rebuked them with such kind words: he could not be their judge, whom God had set over him as judges, and admonished them to take up the main matter. Well, let this be to me a wise, gentle, patient prince; another would have been at such bi-

and pushed the barrel into a heap. But still he showed his opinion by burning the notes, regardless of their episcopal dignity, and thus admonished them of their childish things, because they were required for the sake of a greater cause.

81 When the concilium began, he also sat down in the midst of the bishops on a chair which was lower than any of the bishops' chairs. The bishop of Rome, Sylvester, was not there, but (as some say) he had sent two priests thither. When the bishop of Antioch, Eustathius (who sat at the head of the council), had thanked and praised the emperor for such a boon, the doctrine of Arii was publicly read (for it seems that he himself was not there, because he was neither a bishop nor an embassy), how Christ was not God, but created and made by God, as is further stated in the Histories. Then the holy fathers and bishops got up from their chairs in displeasure, and tore the notes to pieces, saying, "This is not right. And so Arius was also publicly condemned with the unjust words of the Conciliar. So grievous was it to the fathers, and so grievous to them, to hear such blasphemy of Arius. And all the bishops signed such condemnation, even the Arian bishops with them, though from a false heart, as was afterwards proved; except two bishops from Egypt, who did not sign. So the emperor left the concilium of the day, and he himself and the concilium also wrote letters to all the world of this bargain. And the emperor Constantine was heartily glad that the matter was settled and accomplished, and was very friendly to them, especially to those who had been martyred.

82 From this it is clear why the Council met and what they were to do, namely, to preserve the old article of faith, that Christ is the true, true God, against the new cleverness of Arii, who, according to reason, wanted to falsify this article, even to change and condemn it; for this he himself is condemned. For the Concilium did not invent or establish this article anew, as if it had not existed before in the
Church, but against the new heresy of Arii. As is evident from the fact that the fathers were offended, and tore up the note, confessing that they had previously learned and taught differently in their churches from the time of the apostles. For where would the Christians have remained, who before this Council had believed for more than three hundred years from the time of the apostles, and had worshipped and called upon the dear Lord Jesus as a true God, and died for it, and allowed themselves to be miserably martyred?

(83) I must therefore declare this here. For the pope's hypocrites have fallen into such gross folly that they do not think otherwise, that the Conciliarities have power and right to establish new articles of faith and to change the old ones. This is not true. And such a piece of paper shall we Christians also tear up. No concilia have done it, nor can do it. For the articles of faith must not grow on earth through the concilia, as from a new secret inspiration, but must be publicly given and revealed by heaven through the Holy Spirit, otherwise they are not articles of faith, as we shall hereafter hear. This Concilium at Nicea (as I said) did not invent this article, nor did it establish anew that Christ is God, but it was done by the Holy Spirit, who came publicly from heaven upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, and transfigured Christ through the Scriptures as a true God, as He had promised the apostles. From the apostles it abode, and came unto this council, and evermore unto us: and it shall abide unto the end of the world, as he saith, "I am with you unto the end of the world."

84 And if we had no more to defend this article than this Council, we would be in a bad way. And I did not want to believe the Council itself, but to say, "They were men. But the evangelist St. John and St. Paul, Peter, together with the other apostles, these hold fast, and stand for us for good reason and defense, as it is revealed to them by the Holy Spirit, publicly given from heaven, of whom the churches had it before this Council, and the Council also of them. For both of them, before the Concilio, being

Arius began, and in the Concilio, and after the Concilio, he was hard with the Scriptures, especially with St. John's Gospel, and sharply disputing, as Athanasii and Hilarii's books testify. Thus also Tripart. lib. 5. o. 29 speaks: The faith is founded in Nicea by the apostles' Scriptures. Otherwise, where the holy Scriptures of the prophets and apostles that, 1) the mere words of the Concilii would accomplish nothing, and their judgment nothing. Therefore this article of the divinity of Christ is the chief part of this Concilii; yea, it is the Concilium altogether, as for this cause it is called, and at this day (as I have said) left one from another.

85 But another day, when the emperor Constantinus was not reported, they met again, and discussed other matters concerning the outward temporal government of the churches; among which, no doubt, were the notes which Constantinus had previously thrown into the fire, and did not wish to be a judge. Therefore, they themselves had to come together and settle these matters without the emperor. For the several parts of the matter are a real quarrel among the clergy, so that there should not be two bishops in one city. Item, that no bishop from a small church should seek a larger one. Item: that clerics, or ecclesiastics, should not leave their church, and sneak through other churches from time to time. Item: that no one should consecrate another bishop's persons without his knowledge and will. Item: that no bishop should accept one who has been expelled by another. Item: that the bishop of Jerusalem shall retain his ancient preeminence of worthiness above others, and of gossip 2) more. Who can take such things for articles of faith? And what can be preached of them in the church to the people? What is the church's or the people's business? One would learn from this, as from a history, that at that time there have been everywhere in the churches also wanton, wicked, disorderly bishops, priests, and clerics, and so on. and people who asked more for honors, power, and good, neither for

1) "that" - would not be there, would not hinder, would not enforce. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. V, 251, s 27; 66, s 37 and the note there.
2) In the first edition: "Geschmetzs", that is: gossip.

GOD or His kingdom, which one has thus to resist.

86 For it is easy to reckon that Constantine did not bring this council together for the sake of such things, or else he would have done so before Arius began his lamentation. What would he have had to worry about how such things were to be kept? because all this was to be governed by the bishops among themselves, each in his own diocese, with his church, and had already been done, as the articles themselves report. It would also be a sin and a disgrace to gather such a large council for the sake of such small matters, since reason, given by God, is sufficient to regulate such external matters, so that the Holy Spirit is not needed for this, who is to transfigure Christ, and not to deal with such matters, which are subject to reason. To say, then, that all that pious Christians do, even when they eat and drink, is to be called all that the Holy Spirit does. Otherwise, for the sake of doctrine, the Holy Spirit must have other things to do, and not such works, which are subject to reason.

(87) Neither were they all pious in this council, not only Paphnutii, Jacobi, and Eustathii 2c. For there are 17 Arian bishops who were held in high esteem, even though they had to pretend and pretend before the others. The History of Theodoret says that there were 20 articles; Ruffinus makes it 23. Whether the Arians, or others with them, added some afterwards, or took them down, or put others (for the article that St. Paphnutius is said to have received from the wives of the priests is not among them), I cannot say. But this I know well, that they have long since almost all died, and are buried in the books and decayed, nor can they ever rise again, as Constantine meant and prophesied with the work, when he threw them into the fire and burned them. For they are not kept, neither can they be kept. They were hay, straw, and wood (as St. Paul says) built upon the ground; therefore the fire consumed them in time, as other temporal, perishable things perish. But if they had been articles of faith, or the commandment of God, they would have remained, as the article of the divinity of Christ.

(88) However, of the wooden articles, one small block has remained smoldering, namely, Easter Day. We do not quite have the same article (as the Mathematici or Astronomi tell us), because the same day or *Aequinoctium* is far different in our time, neither in that time, and our Easter is often held too late in the year. In the past, soon after the apostles, quarrels began over Easter, and the bishops fought and quarreled over such a small, unnecessary matter, so that it was a sin and a disgrace. Some wanted to keep it with the Jews on one day, according to the law of Moses. The others, so that they would not be Jewish, wanted to keep it on Sunday. For the bishop of Rome, Victor, at one hundred and eighty years before this Council, who was also a martyr, condemned all the bishops and churches in Asia for not keeping Easter with him. Thus temporally the Roman bishops grasped at majesty and violence. But Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in France, who had known one of St. John the Evangelist's disciples, Polycarpum, punished him and put an end to the matter, so that Victor had to satisfy the churches.

89. therefore Constantinus also had to take care of these matters, and help arbitrate in the Concilio, and wrote out that the feast of Easter should be kept the same in all the world, lmZv Iripart. lib. 9. oap. 38. pultRerrinig... Now, again, there should be a reformation, that the calendar should be corrected, and the Easter should be set right. But no one should do this, for the high majesties, emperors and kings, must at the same time send out a command to all the world as to the time from which Easter Day should henceforth be observed. Otherwise, if one country began to hold its fairs, fairs, and other secular affairs at the same time, the people of one country would have to come to the fairs of another country at the wrong time, and all things would be in a state of chaos and confusion. It would be fine, and also easy to do, where the high majesties wanted to do it, because everything has already been finely worked out by the astronomers, and only the tender or commandment is lacking. However, we hold the smoldering wood from the Niceno Con

cilio, that the Easter day remains on a Sunday, it schuckele meanwhile the time, as it can. For they call it l'esta modilia, I call it Schuckelfest, since Easter Day changes annually with its appendant feasts, now coming early, now late in the year, and not remaining on a certain day like the other feasts.

(90) The reason for such a change in the feasts is that the old fathers (as I have said) wanted to have Easter at the beginning, around the time of Moses, namely in the full moon of March, next to the *Equinox* or *Aequinoctio,* and yet they did not want to celebrate Easter at all, or to celebrate it with the Jews on the full moon, but as Christians they let the law of Moses go, and took the Sunday after the full moon of March. So it happened in the next year 1538, the Jews held their Easter on the Saturday after Invocavit, as our church calls it, that is, five weeks before we held our Easter. Now the Jews laugh at this, and mock us Christians, as we do not know how to keep Easter properly, and thus strengthen themselves in their unbelief. Our people are now disturbed by this, and would like to see the calendar corrected by their high majesties, because it is not possible, much less advisable, without their help.

011 But it hath come to pass, in my opinion, as Christ saith, Matt. 9, Where a man mendeth an old garment with new cloth, the rent is made worse; and where he putteth must into old evil vessels, the old ripeness is broken, and the must is spilled. They want to keep a part of the old law of Moses, namely, that one should observe the full moon of March; that is the old coat; after that they do not want to be subject to the same full moon day (as Christians, freed by Christ from the law of Moses), but have the following Sunday for it; that is the new lappet on the old coat. Therefore the eternal strife and the eternal strife have made so much substance in the church, and must make it until the end of the world, that the books have no measure nor end. For this cause Christ hath also ordained, and caused it to come to pass; because he hath always shewed his power in weakness, and hath taught us to know our infirmities.

022 How much better had they let the law of Moses be utterly dead from the paschal feast, and kept nothing of the old garment! For Christ, to whom it was directed, by his suffering and resurrection, gave it up purely, killed and buried it forever, tore the veil in the temple, and afterwards broke and destroyed Jerusalem with its priesthood, principality, law, and everything. For this they should have noted the day of the Passion, the grave and the resurrection, counted according to the course of the sun, and set it in the calendar on a certain day, as they did with the Chrismation, the New Year, the holy kings, the light mass, and the Nariah.nnunoiationis Nariae, St. John's Day, and other festivals, which they call certain festivals, and not Schuckel festivals, then one would have known annually when Easter Day, and the festivals connected with it, should come, without such great trouble and disputation.

(93) Yea, saith thee, Sunday ought to be honoured for the resurrection of Christ, which therefore is called Dominica this, and Pascha day should be set thereon, because Christ rose again after the Sabbath (which we now call Saturday). It is well an argument that moved them, but because äios Dominien is not called Sunday, but the Lord's day, why should not all the days on which Easter day would have come be called äiem Dominienm, the Lord's day? Is not Christ's day also called this Dominion, the Lord's day, that is, in which the Lord's special work, as his birth, is celebrated, which does not come every year on Sunday? nor is it called Christ's day, that is, the Lord's day, even if it comes on a Friday, because it has a certain letter in the calendar, just after the sun's course. In the same way, Easter Day would have had a certain letter in the calendar; it would have come on Friday or Wednesday, as is the case with Christ Day. Thus we would have been well rid of the law of Moses with its full March moon. Just as it is not asked now whether the moon is full or not around Christmas Day, and we remain without counting the moon by the days according to the course of the sun.

94) And whether one pretends, because the same day or ^oHuinootium (as the astronomers say) goes of its place, but the years in the calendar

The longer the more, the farther the same day would come from the appointed day of Easter, as it comes the farther from Philippi and Jacobi and other feasts. What do we Christians ask of it, if our Easter were to come around Philippi and Jacobi (which I hope will not happen before the end of the world)? And still further, we keep Easter every day with the preaching and faith of Christ. And it is enough that Easter is held once a year on a special day for the public, sensitive remembrance; not only so that the story of the resurrection can be told there more diligently before the people, but also for the sake of the season, so that the people may be guided by it in their dealings and business, as the seasons of Michaelmas, Martinmas, Catharinemas, Johnmas, Petermas, and Paulmas 2c. are held.

95 But this was omitted long ago, and from the beginning, that we could not do it, because the fathers did it not. The old garment has always remained with its great tear, so it may remain so until the last day. But it is now at the end. For if the old coat has been mended and torn for 1400 years, it may be mended and torn for another hundred years. For I hope all things shall come to an end. And if the Easterners have now mended for fourteen hundred years, let them mend for the rest of the short time, because no one wants to do it, and those who would like to, cannot do it.

(96) The only reason I am doing such rambling and unnecessary talk is that I want to indicate my opinion as to whether, in time, some of the revivals would, of their own accord, dare to celebrate Easter in a different way than we do now. And I think that if the Anabaptists had been so learned in astronomy that they had understood this, they would have gone through it with their heads, and (as is the way of the Rotten) would also have wanted to introduce something new into the world, and keep Easter Day differently from the rest of the world. But because they were unlearned in the arts, the devil could not use them for such an instrument or tool.

97 Therefore this is my counsel, that the paschal feast be let go and kept as it now goeth and is kept, and let the old coat be mended and rent (as I have said), and let the paschal feast be shuffled hither and thither until the latter day, or until the monarchs change it with one accord and at the same time, considering this cause.

98 For it will not break our leg, and St. Peter's little ship will not suffer distress, because it is neither heresy nor sin (as the ancient fathers, out of ignorance, held it to be, and were disobedient and broken up about it), but badly an error or solöcism in astronomy, more serviceable to the temporal government than to the church. If the Jews mock us about this, as if we did it out of ignorance, we rather mock them again, because they keep their Easter so stiffly and in vain, and do not know that Christ fulfilled it all 1,500 years ago, and that he has annulled it. For we do it willingly, knowingly, and not out of ignorance. We would know very well how to keep Easter according to the law of Moses; neither do they know it better. But we will not, neither shall we. For we have the Lord over Moses and over all things, who saith [Matt. 12:8], "The Son of man is Lord over the sabbath." How much more is he Lord over Easter and Pentecost, which are in the law of Moses less neither the Sabbath, which are in the tables of Moses, Easter and Pentecost apart from the tables of Moses? For this we have St. Paulum, who bequeaths that one should not be bound to the feasts, festivals, and anniversaries of Moses, Gal. 4, 10. Col. 2, 16.

99. Therefore it is and shall be in our power and liberty to keep Easter when we will; and though we make Friday Sunday, and again, yet it shall be lawful, provided it be done by the Majesties and Christians (as I have said) with one accord. For Moses is dead, and buried by Christ. And days or times shall not be lords over Christians, but Christians are free lords over days and times, to set them as they will, or as they please. For Christ hath made all things free, having raised up Moses, without our willing to let it remain as it is now, because there is no driving, no error, no sin.

nor heresy, and do not want to change anything without necessity, or out of their own individual thirst, for the sake of others who are equally attached to such Easter with us. For without Easter and Pentecost, without Sunday and Friday, we know how to be saved, and for the sake of Easter, Pentecost, Sunday, Friday, we cannot be condemned, as St. Paul teaches us.

100 And coming again to the Concilio, I say, that we hold the block of Niceno Concilio too much, and afterwards the pope with his church hath made of it not only gold, silver, and precious stones, but also a ground, that is, an article of faith, without which we cannot be saved; and they all call it a commandment and obedience of the church, that they may be much worse than the Jews. For the Jews have for themselves the text of Moses, commanded by God at that time; these have nothing but their own conceit for themselves, and go on and want to make a new coat out of the old rags of Moses, pretending to keep Moses, and yet their thing is a mere poem and dream of Moses, who has been dead so long, and, as the Scripture says, buried by the Lord himself (that is, by Christ), that no man has found his grave; and they want to make Moses appear alive before our eyes; not seeing that, as St. Paul Gal. 6, 2. says, if they will keep A piece of Moses, they must also keep the whole of Moses. Therefore, if they consider the full month of March necessary to keep at Easter, as a piece of his law, they must also keep the whole law of the paschal lamb, and become bad Jews, and keep with the Jews a bodily paschal lamb; if not, they must leave it all, even the full month with the whole of Moses, or ever not consider it necessary to salvation, as an article of faith; as I consider that the fathers in this Concilio (especially the best) have done.

101 Thus we have that this Concilium has primarily dealt with this article, that Christ is true God, therefore it is also required together, therefore it is and is called a Concilium. Besides this, they have acted upon some accidental, bodily, external, and temporal things, which are to be regarded as worldly, not to be compared to the articles of faith, nor to be held as an eternal right (for they are not to be regarded as a law).

have passed away and decayed), but the Concilium has had to perform such bodily acts as were accidental and necessary in their time, even with those that no longer concern us in our time, nor are they possible or useful to consider. And as a sign, even if one of them is wrong and unjust, that heretics should be baptized again, it is otherwise set by the true fathers themselves, and not patched up by the Arians or the loose bishops who changed it. So also the Concilium of the Apostles at Jerusalem, after the principal part, had to pay some accidental, external articles, as of the blood, strangled, idolatrous sacrifices, as in their time necessity; but not thinking that it should remain an eternal right, as an article of faith, in the church, for it is fallen. And why would we not also consider the same Concilium, how it is to be understood, from the causes which have enforced it.

Of the Apostles Concilio. 1)

012 And this was the cause. The Gentiles, who were converted by Barnabam and Paul, had received the Holy Ghost by the gospel, as well as the Jews, and yet were not under the law, as the Jews were. Then the Jews pressed hard, saying that the Gentiles must be circumcised, and called to keep the law of Moses, or they could not be saved. These were hard, sharp, and severe words: they could not be saved without the law of Moses and circumcision. And these things were done before others of the Pharisees, which believed on Christ, Acts 15. 015 Then came the apostles together with the elders together for this cause, and when they had much and sharp disputing, St. Peter stood up, and preached the mighty and beautiful sermon, Acts 15:7-11. 15, 7-11: "Dear brethren, you know how God chose that through my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe; and God, the heart-preacher, bore witness to them and gave them the Holy Spirit, just as he did to us, and made no distinction between us and them, and purified their hearts through faith. Why then do you tempt God

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

With the putting of the yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? but we believe to be saved by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, even as they also were saved."

103 This sermon is almost as if St. Peter were angry and unhappy at the harsh words of the Pharisees, saying that they cannot be saved unless they circumcise themselves and keep the law of Moses, as was said above. And again he speaketh hard and sharp words, saying, Know ye that the Gentiles have heard the word by me, and have believed, as Cornelius did with his own. And for a sign ye murmured against me, and reproached me, because I went unto the Gentiles, and converted them, and baptized them, Acts 10 and 11. 10 and 11: How then have ye forgotten these things, and have laid upon the Gentiles such burdens as neither our fathers nor we ourselves could bear? What is it but to tempt God, if we lay upon others an impossible burden, which we ourselves cannot bear, any more than they can, especially if you know that God gave them the Spirit without such a burden, and made us like them, since we also received the same Spirit, not for the merit of the burden, but by grace, as did our fathers. For since we were not able to bear the burden, we deserved much more disgrace than grace, which we were obliged to bear, as we had undertaken to do.

104 This is the substance and main matter of this Council, namely, that the Pharisees, contrary to the word of grace, would establish the works or merits of the law as necessary to salvation. This would have nullified the word of grace, together with Christ and the Holy Spirit. Therefore St. Peter fights and curses so hard against it, and wants to be saved badly, without any works, by the grace of Jesus Christ alone. Not content with this, he may also be so bold as to say that all their forefathers, both patriarchs and prophets, and the whole holy church in Israel, were saved by the grace of Jesus Christ alone; and he condemns as tempters of God all those who want to be saved by other means, or who still want to be saved. I mean, this is called preaching, and the barrel

...and struck the ground. Should not this heretic be burned, who rejects all good works, and considers grace and faith alone to be enough for salvation, and this by all the saints and ancestors from the world? We must now be called heretics and devils, who teach nothing else than this sermon of St. Peter and this Conciliar Decree, as all the world now knows, better than the Pharisees knew, whom St. Peter here chides.

(105) But St. Peter is far above us, and yet too strange, that he preacheth not only the grace of Christ unto salvation, which every man is glad to hear, but that he saith that neither they themselves nor their forefathers were able to bear such a burden, which in plain language is so much as to say, We apostles, and who we are, together with our forefathers, patriarchs, prophets, and all the people of God, have not kept God's commandment, and are sinners and damned. For he does not speak of the blood sausage or black galreden, but of the law of Moses, and says that no one has kept it or may keep it, as Christ John 7:19: "No one among you keeps the law." That is (methinks) the law rightly preached to damnation, and made himself a damned sinner with it. Whence, then, does the supposed heir of the See of St. Peter come to call himself Lanetissimum, and to raise up saints whom he wills for their works, not for the grace of Christ? And where are the monks, who can bear much more, neither the burden of the law, that they also sell their remaining holiness? Such whimsical Peter's head we have not. For we must not think the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and holy church sinners, but must also call the pope the most holy, that is, Lanetum Lanetorum, ick 68t, (Mri8tum.

(106) But St. Peter is worthy of a very gracious and honest absolution, and is no longer to be thought strange. For in this very great article he preaches, first, the law that we are all sinners; second, that the grace of Christ alone makes us blessed, and also the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and the whole holy church from the beginning, all of whom he makes sinners with himself and condemns. Thirdly, before the Concilium becomes Nicea,
He teaches that Christ is the true God. For he says that all the saints must be damned unless they are saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. To give grace and salvation, as a Lord, he must be a true God, who can take away sin by grace, and death and hell by salvation; which no creature can do, except the 8an6ti88imu8 of Rome, but without the harm of St. Peter's preaching. Fourthly, he that holdeth otherwise, and teacheth Christians to be saved, or to obtain grace, by the law, or by his own works, is a tempter of God.

017 Let him who will interpret this burden, that it is the law of Moses and circumcision alone, and not the ten commandments or good works. Of this I am well content. If thou canst keep the ten commandments more easily than the ceremonies of Moses, go and be holier than St. Peter and St. Paul; I am so weak in the ten commandments that it seems to me that all the ceremonies of Moses should be much easier for me to keep if the ten commandments did not weigh me down. But now is not the time to dispute about this; there is plenty of dispute elsewhere and elsewhere. But this also [reason] will have to judge and confess, that [the] ten commandments, or works of the ten commandments, are not, nor may be called, the grace of JESUS CHRIST, but must be and be called something altogether different. Now here St. Peter saith, that we must be saved by the grace of Jesus Christ alone; which grace cannot be received and retained with hands, much less with the works of hands, but with faith in the heart. This is certainly true.

058 And it is marvelous to see that St. Peter, who as an apostle had command and power, together with other apostles, to set forth anew this article, wherefore they are also called the foundation of the church, yet goes behind, and introduces the holy former church of God, of all the patriarchs and prophets from the beginning, and says this much: It is not a new doctrine, for thus our forefathers and all the saints have taught and believed. What dare we then. To teach something different or better, without tempting God with it, and misleading and weighing down the consciences of the brethren? This, I say, is the substance or main thing of this Concilii, wherefore it is together-

And if any man ask or come, it is concluded therewith, and all things are made ready. But the priests do not look at this main part and pay no attention to it, and look at the other four parts that James adds: blood, strangled things, sacrifices to idols, and fornication. For they desire to strengthen their tyranny therefrom, and pretend: Because the church hath changed such articles, they also desire to have power to change the articles of faith and concilia; that is, we are the church, may sit and do what we please. Do you hear, Pabst, you are a rough ass, yes, you are a foul-mouthed pig.

109. The article of this Concilii hath not fallen nor been changed, but hath always remained, even from the beginning, as St. Peter saith here, and shall remain unto the end of the world. For holy men have always remained for ever, who have been saved by the grace of Christ alone, and not by the law. As then also under the devil of the papacy the text and faith of the gospel, of baptism, of the sacrament, of the keys, and of the name of Jesus Christ 2c. remained, although the pope with his accursed lies raged against it and shamefully deceived the world. As it is said of the Nicene Council, that its decree was before and remained after. For the decrees of true councils must always remain, just as they always remained before the main articles, for which reason they were and are called councils.

010 But what shall we say here in this Conciliar of the Apostles, when St. James hath expounded the four things, blood, things strangled, things sacrificed unto idols, and fornication? Is not the Concilium contrary to itself, and the Holy Ghost at variance with it? For the two sayings are manifestly and palpably contrary to each other: Not to lay up the burden of the law of Moses, and yet to lay it up. And if it were desired to be sophistical, it is not spoken in the Concilio of the whole law, but of parts, of which some may be charged, and some not charged; it is not so. For St. Paul, Gal. 5:3, casts out: He that keepeth one piece of the law is guilty of keeping it altogether. And this is just as much as if he knew himself to be guilty of it altogether, or else he would not observe it. And if a new rag be found on an old skirt, and a new skirt be found on an old skirt...

And the breach shall be worse. And it is evident that these things are in the law of Moses, and nowhere else in the laws of the nations. What else would have been necessary to interpret these things to the Gentiles, when they had been accustomed to them before, but their law of the land? How then shall we put them together, no law, and all law?

111 Therefore, if we cannot rhyme it together, we must leave St. James with his article, and keep St. Peter with his principal article, for the sake of which this Council is held. For without St. Peter's article no man can be saved. But Cornelius and the Gentiles, whom St. Peter baptized with him, became holy and blessed before St. James came with his article 2c., as St. Peter preaches in this Concilio. Above I have also inquired whether one may with a good conscience let such pieces be forfeited, because the Holy Spirit governs this Concilium, and sets all such things. But this dispute is much sharper, whether the Council is at variance with itself and with itself. And so, just as they want to take away an impossible burden from us, they put a still more impossible burden on us, that we should do nothing and everything at the same time. But now, because it has fallen, we have done well, and remain with the one part, with St. Peter's Article, that is, with the right Christian faith.

112) Fornication, the fourth part of the Article of St. James, has not fallen, although twenty years ago the Curtisans and damned lords had already begun to consider fornication not a mortal sin, but a daily sin, and to say, Natura petit exitum. As the holiest people in Rome still hold. And this very article should have caused the blind leaders to do so, because St. James puts fornication among the three forfeited pieces from which it was taken: If the prohibition of blood, and of things strangled, and of things sacrificed unto idols, is no more valid, neither is the prohibition of fornication any more valid, since it is placed with the three pieces, and is otherwise a natural and human work. Let them go; they are worth nothing better.

I will speak my mind on this, but another will do better. Now it is often said that one should look at the Concilia and also keep them according to the main article, which is the cause of the

For that, and there the Concilium is substantialiter, the right body or corpus of the Concilii, according to which everything else is to be directed and sent, as a garment is sent according to the corpus that wears it or has it; if not, it is taken off, and thrown full, it is no longer a garment. But there can be no concilium (nor can there be any assembly, be it a Diet or a Chapter), if the main things are arranged. There are incidental little side deals, one or two, that also want to be mended or done. As in the Concilio Niceno, when it was established that Christ was the true God, the outward quarrels of Easter Day and the quarrels of the apes took place. So here also St. Jacob's article is found after the main article of St. Peter.

(114) Therefore it is the final opinion and judgment of all the apostles and of the Council, that one must be saved without law or burden of law, but only by the grace of Jesus Christ; and when St. Peter, St. Paul, and their part had obtained this judgment, they were glad and well satisfied. For after such a judgment they had labored and contended against the Pharisees and Jews, who believed, and yet wished to keep the law [Acts 15:13]. That St. James now adds his article to this, they can well suffer, because such is not laid down as law or law's burden; as your: also the letter of the Concilii reports (Apost. 15, 28. 29.): *Nihil oneris*, we do not want you to have any
Lay up a burden, only that ye keep yourselves from blood 2c. Yes, they might well have suffered that St. James had added more pieces, as of essays or the like, as without this the ten commandments remain. But such shall not be a law nor a burden, they say, but only necessary things. But if burden is no more burden, it is good to bear; and if law is no more law, it is good to keep, as the ten commandments. How much more, then, is it in the ceremonies, especially when they are taken away, or kept a very little. Of this more elsewhere. For if the pope would have us take from his burden that they need not be laws, we would easily obey him, especially if he kept a little of them, and kept the multitude. So now St. James, with his article
suffer the mind that St. Peter's article of grace, without laws, remain pure and firm, and rule without the law alone.

115 But we also want to see the causes of this side deal with St. Jacob, so that we may fully understand this concilium. The law of Moses was born unto the Jews, inborn, sucked in, imbibed, and imbibed from their youth, that it had almost become their nature, as St. Paul, Gal. 2:15, saith, "We are Jews by nature," that is, born of Moses. We are Jews by nature," (that is,) born of Moses: for he speaks of the law, and not of birth only; wherefore they could not bear to be compared to the Gentiles, when they were scattered abroad among the Gentiles, seeing the Gentiles eat blood, and things strangled, and things sacrificed unto idols, [Acts 15:29] and yet glorying in God's people, or Christians. This moved St. Jacob to prevent such an outrage, so that the Gentiles would not too brazenly abuse their freedom in defiance of the Jews, but would do so carefully, so that the Jews, who were so deeply immersed in the law, would not be thrown before their heads and eat the Gospel. For, dear God, one should have patience with sick and erring people; even as we drunken Germans are sometimes wise, and say: A drunken man shall give way to a cartload of hay. For in sick people no one can become a knight, and in the unwise no one can become a master.

016 Nevertheless Jacob made it very clean, and left all the law of Moses concerning sacrifices, and all other things, which they had to keep at Jerusalem, and in the land; and took only the four things before him, wherein the Jews were vexed among the heathen without Jerusalem. For the Jews, being scattered among the nations, had to see the ways of the nations, to dwell with them, and sometimes to eat with them. And it was very grievous, and also unjust, to set before a Jew a sausage to look at, a rabbit in black, and a speech, and a sacrifice made to idols, if I knew that he could not bear it, and that he should understand it in spite of himself. For in this I do as much as if I said, Hear, O Jew, though I could bring thee to Christ, if I did not eat the sausage, nor set it before thee, yet will I not do it; but with the sausage I will put thee off from Christ.

and blow them to hell. Would that be a kind, I will be silent, Christian thing to do? Ought not every man often to hold his peace, and to leave another in good stead, when he seeth and knoweth that to speak and to do so would be hurtful, especially where it is not against God? Now at that time the heathen were fierce against the Jews, and very proud, as they were their lords; and the Jews were displeased, as they alone were God's people, as many histories mightily testify.

(117) Therefore this good counsel of St. Jacob was the most excellent means to peace, and even to salvation for many, because the Gentiles, having obtained the grace of Christ without law and merit, showed themselves again to be beneficial to the Jews in very few things, as to the sick and erring, to come to the same grace. For since it did the Gentiles no harm in the sight of God, whether they feasted on blood, suffocated things, or sacrificed things to idols in public outward usages, since they were free in conscience through the grace of all this, and for the sake of the Jews' benefit and salvation let their defiance stand, and otherwise, in the absence of the Jews, could eat and drink what they lusted for without any vexation, and the Jews were equally free in conscience, but could not so suddenly change the outward old habit. Eousuetuäo 68t altero, natura, much more where it grew out of God's law. Thus equity and reason teach that one should neither oppose nor hinder, but serve and promote, according to the commandment [Matth. 22,39.]: "Love your neighbor" 2c.

118) So the two articles, Peter and Jacob, are contrary to each other, and yet not contrary to each other; Peter's is of faith, Jacob's is of love. St. Peter's article suffers no laws, eats blood, suffocates, sacrifices to idols, and the devil in addition, and does not notice it, because he acts against God, and not against men, also does nothing, because believes only in the gracious God. But St. Jacob's article lives and eats with men, and directs everything so that they also come to St. Peter's article, and diligently prevents that no one be hindered. Now the work of love is so done on earth that that which it loves and promotes is changeable and transient, so that it is not eternal.

But passeth away, and after that cometh another, which must love them also unto the end of the world. When the Jews were destroyed or became stiff-necked, and the Gentiles no longer had to practice such love toward them, everything fell, not changed by the power of the church, as the papists lie, but because the cause no longer existed, the Christians freely ate the blood and the righteousness, which they refrained from for a time for the sake of the Jews, although they were not obligated to refrain from it before God according to faith. For where St. Jacob would have laid down such pieces as laws, he would also have had to lay down the whole law, as Gal. 5:3. St. Paul says, "He that keepeth one law must keep them all." This would be contrary to St. Peter's article, which St. James confirms.

(119) But that he should add fornication to it [Acts 15:20], which is forbidden in the ten commandments for ever. 15:20, which is forbidden in the ten commandments for ever, I consider it to be this cause. For fornication was not considered a sin among the Gentiles. As it was written in the pagan books, and as I have shown above, how twenty years ago the Curtisans and useless priests also began to speak and believe such things openly. Therefore it was as great a sin among the heathen to commit fornication, as to eat black pudding, rabbits in pepper, and idolatrous sacrifices. Read the histories of the Romans, how reluctantly they took wives, so that the emperor Augustus had to force them to marry. For they thought that fornication was right, and that it was violence and injustice to them to force them to marry. Therefore St. James wants to teach the Gentiles that they should, even without being forced by the authorities, gladly forsake fornication, and live conjugally, chastely, as the Jews did, who were highly offended by such freedom to fornicate, and could not believe that they should come to God's grace and become God's people, because of such inequality of food and behavior. 2c.

020 So the apostles did not lay down the law unto the Gentiles, but left it unto the Jews for a season, and preached grace freshly beside it. As we see in St. Paul, that he kept himself Jewish among the Jews, and Gentile among the Gentiles, that he might win them all, 1 Cor. 9:20. And circumcised his disciple.

Timothy, who was already a believer, Apost. 16, 3, not as if it had to be so, but as St. Lucas writes, for the sake of the Jews of the place, that he would not offend them. And afterwards Apost. 21, 26. he let himself be purified in the temple with the Jews, and sacrificed according to the law of Moses; which all he did, as St. Augustine writes the fine and now famous saying: Oportuit L^naZoZÄin eum stouoro sopoliro, that Moses, or his church and law, should be buried with honor.

121 But how such a council, and both the articles of St. Peter and St. James, were afterwards held, is abundantly found in St. Paul's epistles, wherein he complains everywhere of the false apostles, who, needing the law, and against grace, seduced whole houses and countries from Christ back to the law, yet under the name of Christ; even as after the Nicene council the matter became much worse. For when the rogue Arius thus humbled himself,' and also accepted the Concilium with an oath before the emperor Constantine, wherefore the emperor allowed him to come in again, he first of all really stirred up the fire, and the bishops in his part, especially after Constantine's death through the son of the emperor Constantius (whom they had won in), played the game so horribly, that Constantius drove out all the true bishops in the whole world, except the two, Gregory and Basil. 1) For Eustathius also was cast out from Antioch, who had sat on high in the Concilio. And Osius of Corduba, the great bishop, as above told, became an Arian at last, and died shamefully within.

(122) Some say here that Constantine, the father, should also have become an Arian before his death, and should have ordered an Arian priest, faithfully besought by his sister Constantia at his deathbed, to the son Constantio in his will, through whom the Arians afterwards became so powerful. But this is not true. 2) Without such histories warning us to pray faithfully for the great lords, for the devil seeks them to the highest, as through them he can do the greatest harm. And that we also be careful ourselves,

1) The following to the end of the paragraph is missing in the first edition.
2) The words: "But - true" are missing in the first edition.

And not easily believing the spirits of the wicked, when they humble themselves high and low, as this rogue Arius did; as Saul also did against David. But they keep behind the mountain until they get air and space, so they go along like Arius, and yet do what they had in mind before. That I am not much surprised why the fathers have imposed so severe and long repentance on the denied Christians; they will have experienced how false their humility is, and how difficult it is for them to humble themselves or repent with earnestness and from the bottom of their hearts, as Sirach also says [Cap. 12, 9.10.]: H) iuimieo rseoueiliato eto.

(123) Summa, whoever does not know what is meant by oseulum 3uäas, Judas' kiss, let him read with me the histories of Arii under Constantino, and he will have to say that Arius was far above Judas. For he entrusts the good emperor Constantinus with these beautiful words: We believe in One God Father Almighty, and in the Lord Jehovah Christ His Son, who was born of Him before all the world, One God, One Word, by Whom all things were made 2c. [John 1:3.) Dear, what Christian could consider such words heretical, or think that Arius herewith nevertheless considered Christ to be a creature? as it is clarified, since it comes to interrogation. Similarly, Auxentius, the bishop of Milan, who was next before St. Ambrose, teased the people with such beautiful words that at first I was almost angry at St. Hilarium when I read the title: Llaspsiomia Auxentii, anterior to the Confession of Auxentii. I would have risked my body and soul on Auxentii's word that he would have considered Christ to be a true God. I also hope that among such blind, weak words, many pious, simple-minded people nevertheless remained and are preserved in the former faith, as they could not have understood such words otherwise than as faith has been from the beginning. As no man can understand them otherwise, who knows nothing of the secret interpretation of the Arians.

014 And because such an example is necessary to know among Christians, and the common reader does not look at history so diligently, nor think how useful it is as a warning against all the other evil spirits, which the devil, her

God, makes it so slippery that it can neither be grasped nor grasped anywhere, I will briefly arrange this matter into several pieces.

Of the Arii's deceit and heresy. 1)

(125) First, Arius taught that Christ was not God, but a creature. Then the pious bishops forbade him, so that he had to confess that Christ was God. But this he did with such a false opinion, that Christ was God, like St. Peter and Paul, like the angels, who are called gods and children of God in the Scriptures. [1 Cor. 8:5, Jn. 10:34, Ps. 82:6, Job 38:7.]

(126) Secondly, when the fathers became aware of this, they continued to persecute him, so that he and his followers would admit that Christ was the true and right God, and they shied away from such words for the sake of the glare, because until then it had been taught in this way in all the churches. But among themselves they interpreted these words in this way, especially Eusevius, Bishop of Nicomedia, Arii's highest patron: Oinne kaetum Dsi est verum, what God creates or makes, that is true and right; for what is false, that God did not make. Therefore let us confess that Christ is a right, true God (but with us a made God, like Moses and all the saints) 2c. Here they added everything that is still sung in the church on Sundays, according to the Concilio Niceno: Oeum äe Deo, lumen äe lumine, Deum veruni äe Oso vsro.

(127) Thirdly, when such false deceit broke out, that they nevertheless called Christ a creature under such words, the disputation became more severe, that they had to confess that Christ had been before the whole world. Who could believe otherwise than that Arius and his bishops were true Christians, and unjustly condemned by the Nicene Council? For this they did soon after the Niceno Concilio (which had played with them for a short time, and set up the faith as it still existed), for they wished to destroy the Nicenum Concilium, and contested one thing after another.

128. fourthly, since such a blind grasp was also perceived, that Christ should nevertheless

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

being and being called one creature, with such an interpretation, Christ would have been before all the world, that is, he would have been created and made before all the world, or any other creature [Col. 1:15], they were forced to confess that all the world, also 2) all things were made through him, as John 1:3 says; but among their people they interpreted it thus: Christ was made before, after that all things were made through him.

129. fifthly, they had now easily to confess Zenitum, of kaetum, born of GOD, not created [Joh. 1, 13.], born, as all Christians, born of GOD, are children of GOD, Joh. 1, 12. not created among other creatures, but before, before all creatures.

130) In the sixth place, when it came to the heart that Christ was one with the Father, that is, that Christ was one with the Father, and of the same Godhead, and of the same power, they could find no more deceit, hole, rank, or folly. Romousius means one and the same essence or nature, or one and the same, and not two and the same essence, as the Fathers had set forth in the Concilio, and as is sung in Latin: eonsudstantialis, some afterwards called eoexistentialis, eoessentialis. They had accepted this at Nicea in the Council, and they still accepted it when they had to speak before the emperor and the fathers. But with their own they contested it exceedingly severely; pretended that such a word was not in Scripture; held many concilia, even in Constantine's time, in order that they might weaken the concilium at Nicea; caused much misfortune, and afterwards made ours so anxious about it that even St. Jerome, upset by it, wrote a lamentable letter to the bishop of Rome, Damason, and began to request that such a word homousius should be scratched out. For I do not know what poison is in the letter, that the Arians make themselves so useless about it.

131 And there is still a dialogue in which Athanasius and Arius quarrelled before a magistrate Probus about this word homousius. And when Arius pressed hard that such a word was not in the Scriptures, Athanasius again with the same art caught Arium, and said, Neither are these words in the Scriptures,

2) "also" is missing from the first edition.

ivnasoibilis, inKenitus Dons, that is, God is innate, which the Arians had used to prove that Christ could not be God because He was born, but God was unborn 2c. And the magistrate Probus judged against Arium. For it is true that one should not teach anything in divine matters apart from the Scriptures, as St. Hilarius writes, 1. äe Irinit. This does not mean otherwise than that one should teach nothing else. But that one should not use more or other words than those found in Scripture cannot be kept, especially in disputes, and when the heretics want to make things wrong with blind grasps, and to pervert the words of Scripture: It was necessary that the opinion of the Scripture, which was set forth with many sayings, should be fasted into a short and summary word, and asked whether they held Christ homousion, as the opinion of the Scripture is in all the words, which they had perverted with false glosses among their own, but had freely confessed before Caesar and in the Concilio. As if the Pelagians would have driven us by this word, original sin, or Adam's pestilence, because such words are not found in Scripture, yet the Scripture teaches the same words opinion mightily, as that we are conceived in sins, Ps. 51:7, all by nature the children of wrath, Eph. 2:3, and all must be sinners for one sin's sake, Rom. 5:12.

132 Now tell me, if this very day Arius should come before thee, and confess unto thee the whole faith of Niceni Concilii, as we sing it this day in our churches, couldst thou think him heretical? I myself would say that he is right; and yet if he believed otherwise underneath, as a rogue, and understood and taught the words differently behind, would I not be well deceived? Therefore I do not believe that Constantine became an Arian, but remained with the Niceno Concilio. But this happened to him, that he was deceived, and believed Ario, as if he held the same with Niceno Concilio, whereupon (as said above) he took an oath from him, and so commanded that Arium should again be accepted at Alexandria. But since Athanasius would not do this, since he knew the false Arium better than Constantine, he had to be driven out. For it may well have occurred to "Constantine" as a man, as if he had
Arium, such a pious part of Chris, is condemned to Nicea because of envy or suspicion; especially because the Arians, and especially Eusebius of Nicomedia, took care of the emperor, blued his ears full, and adorned Arium. For great kings and lords, even if they are pious, do not always have angels and St. John the Baptist around them at court [Marc. 6,18.], but often Satan [1 Kings 22, 24.], Judas [Luc. 22, 3.), and Doeg [1 Sam. 22,9.], as the kings' books well testify to us. And is this a gnt indication, that Constantinus before his end Athanasium anch was called to come in again, how hard also the Arians woe him, 3. Tripart. II. So that he testifies that he did not want to reject the Niceni Concilii and its doctrine, but would have liked to bring everything to unity.

(133) So now some of our false papist scribes also pretend to teach faith and good works, to adorn themselves with them, and to revile us, as if they had all taught thus, and we had unreasonably accused them of another, so that, if they had dressed themselves again in such sheep's clothing, as if they were quite like us, they might bring their wolf back into the sheepfold [Matt. 7:15]. For they are not in earnest to teach faith and good works, but because, like the Arians, they cannot maintain or restore their poison and wolfliness in any other way than by such sheep's clothing of faith and good works, they adorn and cover the bellows of the wolf until they come again into the sheepfold. But do unto them as they do unto ours, and call them to repudiate their abominations, and to prove them by putting away all the abuses which have reigned against faith and good works in their churches among their people, that they may be known by their fruits (Matt. 7:16). Otherwise one cannot believe the bad words and gestures, that is, the sheepskins. So Arius also should have recanted, confessed his error, and taught and lived contrary to himself, as St. Augustine did against his Manichaeism; as now many do against their popery and monasticism, among whom I can also count myself by the grace of God. But they do not want to have erred, and cannot give glory to God.

that they confessed it, just as the Arians also wanted to defend their lies and not to be banned by the Council.

(134) Such examples of these histories we ought to take note of, especially when we are to be preachers, and are commanded to feed the flock of Christ, that we may watch well, or be good bishops, as St. Peter says, I Pet. 5:2; for to be an episcopus, or bishop, is to watch well, to be valiant, to watch diligently, that we be not overawed of the devil. For here we see how he can so masterfully twist, disguise, disguise himself, that he becomes much more beautiful neither the angels of light [2 Cor. 11, 14.], and false bishops are holier neither the right bishops, and the wolf more pious neither a sheep. We have not now to do with the gross, black polter-pabst spirits apart from the Scriptures; they now find themselves into the Scriptures and our doctrine, desiring to be like us, and yet tearing us asunder. But the Holy Spirit alone must help here, and we must pray diligently, or we are far lost.

135 From all this it is evident why the Concilium was held, not for the sake of outward ceremonies, but for the sake of the high article of the divinity of Christ, as that was the cause of the quarrel, which was chiefly dealt with in the Concilium, and afterwards contested by the devil's unspeakable ravings, in which the other articles are not remembered. The lamentation has also lasted with the Christians until three hundred years, that St. Augustine holds that the torment of Arii in hell will increase daily as long as this error lasts, for Mahomet came from this sect. And as I have stated above, it is evident that this council has neither devised nor established anything new, but has condemned the new error of Arii against the old faith 1) by the holy Scriptures, so that from this the councils cannot be given the power (much less the pope at Rome) to change old articles, and 2) to devise or establish new articles of faith or of good works, as they falsely boast. Let this be said once enough of the first principal concilio at Nicea.

1) Placed by us to give meaning. All editions offer: "but has condemned the old faith against the new error Arii, by the holy Scriptures".
2) The words: "old articles to change, and" are missing from the first edition.

From the other main teoneilio Constantinopolitano. 3)

The other main council, assembled at Constantinople about fifty years after Niceno, under the emperors Gratiano and Theodosio, had these causes: Arius had denied the divinity of Christ, and 4) [not] of the Holy Spirit. Between them, a new mob, the Macedonians (as always one error brings another, one disaster another, without end and cessation), praised the Concilium Nicenum, that Christ was true God, and strongly condemned Arius with his heresy: But they taught that the Holy Spirit was not true God, but a creature of God, through whom God moved, enlightened, comforted, strengthened the hearts of men, and did all that the Scriptures say of the Holy Spirit. This mob also tore itself apart tremendously, among many great, learned, excellent bishops. Macedonius was bishop of Constantinople, the largest capital of the entire empire in the Orient, where the imperial court was located. The same bishop started this mob, which had a great reputation, that the most noble bishop, moreover in the emperor's residence at Constantinople, taught in this way. Almost everything that adhered to Constantinople in the countries around Constantinople fell to it, and Macedonius did not celebrate either; he pushed the matter hard and would have liked to draw all the world to himself (as the devil does in all groups).

137 Now here the pious bishops were much too weak to resist such a bishop's scandal, because before a bad priest at Alexandria, Arius, had made such a mess, but here not a priest, not a common bishop, but the bishop of the most noble city, the imperial palace at Constantinople, made such a mess. Here the bishops had to appeal to the emperor once again that a general council be assembled against such blasphemy. This the pious Emperor Theodosius did, and he placed it in the city of Constantinople, in the parish and church,

3) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.
4) Here the Jena edition has the marginal note: "It seems as if there was a lack here, for as Nazianzenus and others more veterans testify, the time of the conflict was not yet aroused by the Holy Spirit."

since Macedonius had been bishop, just as Constantinus had previously laid the Concilium Nicenum in Nicea, since the bishop was Theogonius, who helped to raise Arium next to the bishop Eusebio in Nicomedia, and finally to bring him back.

(138) In the following year the bishop of Rome, Damasus, also held a concilium, and would have liked to have acted in Rome, so that the Roman see might have the authority to call concilia, and to judge all things, and should be called a universal concilium. For he summoned, as a supreme bishop in the world, the fathers who had held the Concilium at Constantinople the year before. But they did not want to come, but wrote him a very beautiful Christian letter about what they had done in the Concilium at Constantinople, showing him, among other things, how they had condemned Macedonian heresy. And further, how they had ordered other bishops at Constantinople, at Antioch, and at Jerusalem. Oh, they should not have done this without the knowledge and will of the bishop of Rome, who alone would have the right and power to appoint concilia (which he was not able to do), to judge all heresies (which he could not do), and to change bishops (which was not his due).

139) About this they give him a very good slap, telling how in the new church at Constantinople (for the city of Constantinople had recently been built) they had shredded Nectarium for bishop, and at Antioch Flavianum, and at Jerusalem Cyrillum. For these three pieces were almost irksome to the bishop at Rome, yea, unpleasant to hear and read. The first, that they call Constantinople the new church, and set a bishop there, when without the will and knowledge of the bishop of Rome neither a new church nor a bishop should be ordered. The other thing is still worse, that they call the church at Antioch the first and oldest church, in which (as they prove from St. Lucas, Acts 11:26) the faithful in Christ were called Christians for the first time, and St. Peter and Paul, together with many of the chief apostles, preached the gospel there for more than seven years. This would be said in my German: Hear ye it. He bishop of Rome, ye are not the first nor chief bishop, but where there should be a church,
then the one at Antioch would be cheaper, which has for itself St. Lucas Scripture and the deed, but Rome has neither Scripture nor deed for itself.

(140) But there were fine and excellent men, who, according to Christian love and humility, wished to control the trustworthy spirit at Rome cleanly and gently, and, as Sirach teaches [Cap. 28:14], to spit into the sparks and to admonish that the bishop of Rome should consider, because the gospel did not come from Rome to Antioch, but from Antioch to Rome, that the oldest church at Antioch should take precedence over the younger church at Rome, where it should be applied. What ambition (as the word gives) has made such fine holy fathers ill-disposed towards the Roman bishop (how cheap). And if a Doctor Luther had been in the Concilio, such a mild letter would not have had to be written to the bishop of Rome, as much as he would have been able. In sum, there were people in this Council whom all the bishops of Rome who have ever been could not hold a candle to.

The third is the most serious, because they call the church at Jerusalem the mother of all churches, because Christ the Lord himself was bishop, and sacrificed himself on the cross as a sign for all the sin of the world [Heb. 7:27, 10:12]. There the Holy Spirit was given from heaven on the day of Pentecost, after which all the apostles (not only Peter, of whom the bishop of Rome boasts) governed the churches [Acts 2:4]. None of these things happened in Rome. With this they neatly admonish the bishop of Rome that he should consider that it is still far lacking that he is not bishop of Jerusalem in the mother church, but that his church at Rome is a daughter church, as it did not have Christ, nor did 1) the apostles or 1) Jerusalem bring to faith, but he was brought to faith with his church through them, as St. Paul also brought the Corinthians to faith. Paul also humiliated the Corinthians by saying that the gospel did not come from them, but came to them from others [2 Cor. 10:14].

142 But at last they do it too roughly beyond all measure, and set a patriarch in the new church at Constantinople, and do this without the knowledge and will of the bishop at Rome,

1) In the first edition: "and".

as if nothing at all were attached to his knowledge of such matters. Here we see the eternal quarrel and strife (as the Pope's hypocrites themselves write) between the bishop of Rome and the bishop of Constantinople over the primacy or supreme authority. For since the bishop of Constantinople (though in a new city) was now placed on a par with the bishop of Rome as a patriarch, the bishop of Rome was concerned that the bishop of Constantinople would be subject to the primacy, as subsequently happened. For the bishops of Constantinople pretended that the emperor had his residence or court at Constantinople, and not at Rome, and that Constantinople was called the new Rome; therefore he should be the chief bishop, because he was bishop of the imperial city and court. Again, he who was at Rome pretended that Rome was the right Rome, and that the emperor was called the Roman emperor, and not the Constantinopolitan emperor, and that Rome had not been Constantinople before. Scratching themselves with such childish, effeminate, foolish jests, that [it] is sin and shame to hear and read.

143 The quarrel lasted until Phocas became emperor, who had the pious emperor Mauritium (whom the histories call holy), his lord and ancestor (whose captain he had been), beheaded with his wife and children. This pious Cain confirmed to the bishop Bonifacio of Rome the supremacy over all bishops, and such supremacy should also be confirmed by no better man than by such a shameful emperor-murderer, so that Rome would have as good an arrival of the papacy as it had had before the arrival of the empire, since Romulus murdered his brother Remus, that he alone might reign and call the city Rome after his name. Nevertheless, the bishops at Constantinople did not teach themselves anything about it, and the quarrel remained for and for, although the Romans, on the emperor's confirmation, began to adorn themselves with fig leaves, and cried out loudly with a great roar, Revelation 12:3 ff. [13, 4. ff.], that the church at Rome was supreme, not from human order, but from Christ's own institution Matth. 16, 18.: *Do it Peter*. But they that were at Constantinople saw that they that were at Rome, being unlearned men, were leading the words of Christ falsely and inconsistently, and did not accept it.

(144) Thus the two churches, Rome and Constantinople, quarreled about the vain primacy, with vain, lame, futile jestings, until at last the devil devoured them both, that of Constantinople by the Turk and Mahomet, and that of Rome by the papacy and its blasphemous decrees. I am telling you all this so that you may see how such misery has arisen from this fine council at Constantinople, because the bishop there is a patriarch. Although it would not have remained without this if no patriarch had been appointed at Constantinople, for the ambitious devil's head at Rome had already begun to demand this of the bishops everywhere (as has been said above); and if the one at Constantinople had not happened to him, he would have rubbed up against those at Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, and would not have wanted to suffer the decree of the Concilii at Nicea, in which he is placed on the same level as the bishop at Alexandria, and under the bishop at Jerusalem. For he will be without concilia and fathers, but *divine*, as set by Christ himself, as he roars, blasphemes, and denies in his decrees.

(145) Now we have this other principal council at Constantinople, which did three things. First, it confirmed that the Holy Spirit is the true God, and it condemned the Macedonian, who held and taught that the Holy Spirit was a creature. Secondly, he deposed the heretical bishops and appointed true bishops, especially in Antioch and Jerusalem. Thirdly, he made the bishop Nectarium of Constantinople a patriarch, so that the bishops of Rome became foolish, foolish, and foolish, even though the dear fathers had perhaps done so in good faith. The first part is the main part and the only reason why this Council was held, from which the Council's opinion can be understood, namely, that it should not do more, nor has it done more, than to receive the article of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and with this the Council is finally directed, as for this reason it was called together. The other part, of the deposition of the bishops, is not an article of faith, but an outward, tangible work, which reason also ought and can do, that

it is not necessary to have the Holy Spirit in a special way (as for the articles of faith), or to gather a council for this purpose. Therefore it will also be done another day after the conciliar day.

016 For they did not establish again the offices of the church or bishops at Antioch and Jerusalem, but left them as 1) they had found them from the beginning; only they put other persons in them, which was needful. For the offices must always have been in the church from the beginning, and must remain until the end. But other persons must always be placed in them, as Matthias after Judah [Acts 1:26], and living bishops after those who have died. This is not the business of the conciliar churches, but may, and indeed must, be done both before the conciliar churches, among the conciliar churches, and after the conciliar churches, according to the need of the churches. Concilium cannot be had daily, but persons must be had daily, who may be appointed to the offices of the churches as often as they become vacant.

147 The third part is a new one, that they make a patriarch out of human good opinion. But we have just told how this was done, and what shameful quarreling and bickering the two bishops caused over it, so that it is evident how the Holy Spirit did not order it. For it is not an article of faith, but an outward, tangible work of reason, or of flesh and blood. What doth the Holy Ghost inquire, which bishop goeth outwardly before or behind? He has other things to do, neither such worldly child's play. And we learn not only from this, that the Conciliar Churches have no power to establish new good works, much less new articles of faith; but we are also warned that the Conciliar Churches ought neither to establish nor to establish anything new, as they ought to know that they are not gathered together for this purpose, but are defending the old faith against the new teachers; without being able to establish new persons (who cannot be called articles of faith nor good works, for they are uncertain, mortal men) in the old, former offices. Which, except in the churches, must be done more and more every day.

1) Thus the Wittenberg and the Jena editions. Erlanger-. "where".

(148) The fathers of this Council themselves confess that they have not instituted anything new, when they write to the bishop of Rome, Damaso, (as I have said) what they have done in the Council, in other words, "We know that this is the old true faith, which is after baptism, and teaches us to believe in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. 2c. Yea, they are altogether silent of the third part, of the patriarch at Constantinople, perhaps that they thought it was not the part for which they came into the Concilium, and was no heresy, where a Christian would not, as an article of faith, hold the bishop to be a patriarch. Just as now many people are not heretics nor lost because they do not consider the pope to be the head of the churches, regardless of his concilia, decrees, bulls, and roars; or they did not do it all together, but the emperor Theodosius did it. For the other histories indicate that Theodosius instigated it and carried it out, who did not have the power to establish articles of faith.

(149) Since then they themselves say and confess that it is the old true faith, whereon we were baptized and taught before: what then shall we give the high power to the Conciliis, that they may establish new articles, and burn as heretics all those that believe not? This is not to say that the Concilium is rightly understood, and that they know nothing at all of what Concilium is, or what its office and doings are, but only to look at the letters, and to give it all power, even over God. Of this more hereafter. The other two main concilia are also to be considered fully and briefly.

Of the third principal concilio, at Epheso. 2)

150 The third main council was held under the emperor Theodosius the Younger, whose grandfather was Theodosius the First, of whom it is said above in the other council. The same emperor summoned 200 bishops to Ephesus. And even though the Latin scribes wanted to include the pope, the truth is that it is not the pope who is to be the first bishop of Ephesus.

2) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

It was not the pope, but the emperor who had to call this concilium together. For a patriarch of Constantinople was now equal to the bishop of Rome, so that the bishops towards the east now gave much less to the bishop of Rome than before. Therefore it was impossible for the bishop of Rome to call such a council, especially to Ephesus, far beyond the sea in Asia, otherwise he would have placed it, if he could, 1) nearer Rome. As Damasus did at the previous Concilium in Constantinople. But he is said to have had his message there. That would be fine, but they did not sit at the top.

151) And the cause of this council was, that the dear fathers and good bishops were gone, St. Ambrose, St. Martin, St. Jerome, St. Augustine (who died in the same year). St. Hilarius, St. Eusebius, and the like, and very unequal fathers arose in their place, so that even the emperor Theodosius no longer wished to have a bishop elected to Constantinople from among the priests or clergy in the city of Constantinople, for the reason that they were commonly proud, vainglorious, and carpish, who were wont to do vile mischief. For St. John Chrysostom was also such a head, as the Tripartite History reports. Therefore the emperor had an aaevenain (so he is called) brought to Antioch, named Nestorius, who was of a strict, chaste life, well-mannered and eloquent, fierce to all heretics, and had to become "patriarch" and bishop of Constantinople. And in this the emperor ran wild, and found the right one; he wanted to escape the rain, and fell into the water.

152 He began to defend his priest Anastasius, who had preached that the holy Virgin Mary should not be called the mother of God, for because she was a man she could not give birth to God. This struck all Christians on the head, and they could not understand it otherwise than if he did not consider Christ, born of Mary, to be God, but to be a pure human being, as we all are; and out of this arose such a being and confusion, that the emperor had to assemble a concilium to investigate the matter.

1) Thus improved by Walch. In the other editions: "sonst hatte er's Wohl, wo er's vermocht hätte, würden" 2c.

help. Then the high bishops (though slowly) came together to Ephesus, Nestorius with many others, Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenalis of Jerusalem. And when John of Antioch was about to depart, he went to Cyril, who was Nestorius, and Juvenalis, condemned Nestorius, and he them again with his own. And when John of Antioch was come, and found such a breach, he was wroth with Cyril, because he had hasted to condemn Nestorium with a hot brow: and the two of them came together over it, and condemned one another, and cast each other out of the episcopate.

153. When Nestorius saw that such a disgrace was exalted, he said, Oh, let us put away what makes such displeasure, and confess that Mary is called the Mother of God. But such recantation did not help him, and he had to remain condemned and expelled from the country. Although the two bishops, Antioch and Alexandria, condemned each other even after the Council, when they returned home, they were finally at peace again. It is nevertheless annoying, even miserable, to read that such high people acted so womanishly and childishly, [and] would have needed a Constantine who would also have thrown their letters of discord into the fire. But they were there who could do it.

154 If then Nestorius was in such error, that he held Christ not to be God, but to be a true man, he is justly condemned, as he that taught neither Arius nor Macedonius much worse. Now this is the third main council; it has done nothing more. And yet we see that it has not established a new article, but defends the old right faith against the new doctrine of Nestorius (if he taught otherwise), so that from this we cannot give the councils power to establish new articles. For the fact that Christ is the true God was previously asserted in the Concilio of Nicea and Constantinople as a true, old article, held from the beginning, and proven and convinced by the holy Scriptures against the new heresy of Arii. The "other" decrees, which are set forth there, concern bodily matters, and are not articles of faith; we leave them aside.

155 But in order that we may understand this Concilium thoroughly, let us go a little further into it.

to speak of. For I myself have not been able to understand what Nestorius' error was; I have always thought that Nestorius denied the deity of Christ, and held Christ to be nothing more than a mere man, as the papal decrees and all papal writers say; but from their own words, when I looked at them correctly, I had to think otherwise. For they blame him for making Christ into two persons, namely God and man. Some say, as if they could not understand it either, that he taught thus: Christ was first born of Mary a true man, and then lived so holy that the Godhead united itself with him, and thus became God. And their writing is so confused that I think that even today they themselves do not know what and why they have condemned Nestorium. Notice that they confess that Nestorius took Christ to be both God and man, without making two persons out of them. So it is certain from this that Nestorius did not hold Christ to be a true man, as we have all supposed, because he also holds him to be a god, according to their own words. And the only thing that remains is that he should have taken Christ, a right and true God and man, for a twofold person, as a divine and a human one. This is one.

156 Whosoever therefore shall divide Christ, and make two persons of him, maketh two Christs: one divine Christ, which is vain God, and not man; and one human Christ, which is vain man, and not God. Otherwise they could not be two persons. Now this is certain, that Nestorius believed not two Christas, but one Christ; as also their own words bring forth, that Nestorius took Christ, that is, the one, the same, the right, and no other Christ, to be two persons; so it must also be false and unjust, that Nestorius took Christ to be two persons. For it cannot stand together that Christ is two persons, and yet the same one Christ remains, but, as has been said, if there are two persons, then there are two Christs, and not one Christ. But Nestorius holds nothing more than One Christ. Therefore he could not consider Christ to be two persons.

Otherwise he would have to say yes and no to himself in the same article. Thus it is not written anywhere in the Histories that Nestorius considered Christ to be two persons, without the Popes and their Histories being so clever. Although they themselves confess that they write that Nestorius taught that Christ became God after the birth of Mary, or was united with God in One Person. This they were forced to do by their conscience, or by their erroneous reason, because they had to confess that Nestorius had no more than one Christ.

157 Now the question is, What then is condemned in Nestorius, and why is this third principal council held against him, if Nestorius teaches nothing else, but that Christ is truly God and man, and also one Christ, not two Christs, that is, one person in two natures, as we all believe, and all Christendom has believed from the beginning? For it is found that the pope, with his own, invented such words on Nestorium, that he took Christ to be one true man, and not also one God, and that he took Christ to be two persons, or two Christs. This is found not only in the Histories, but also in the words and writings of the popes and their writers. What then has Nestorius erred? that we may know the causes of this Concilii.

(158) Thou mayest read a leaf or two in the 12th book of Tripart. 4. read a leaf or two; you can do that in half a quarter of an hour; there you will find everything that can be thoroughly known about Nestorio and this Concilio; and see if I hit it. The defect is this: Nestorius was a proud, unlearned man, and since he became such a great bishop and patriarch, he thought that he must be the most learned man on earth, must not read any books of the forefathers or others, or learn to speak of things in their own way, but because he was eloquent and determined, he wanted to be a self-educated doctor or master, and as he said or pronounced it, it should be right. And he ran to this article with such pride that Mary is God's mother or God's child-bearer. Then again he also found proud bishops who did not like his pride, especially Cprillum of Alexandria. For

There was neither Augustine nor Ambrose present. Now Nestorius had learned in the church at Antioch that Christ was the true God, born of the Father in eternity, as the Concilium at Nicea had affirmed, and then born of the virgin Mary a true man. These two things were not in doubt with Nestorio, who had preached them himself for a long time; indeed, he persecuted the Arians, condemned in the Niceno Concilio, so fiercely that he also committed much murder and bloodshed over them. So firmly did he hold Christ to be a true God and man.

159. He also allowed that Christ, the Son of God, might be born of the virgin Mary according to humanity, not according to divinity, which we and all Christians also say. But he was not willing that Mary should be called the mother of God, because Christ was not born of her according to the Godhead; or, to put it plainly, that Christ did not have the Godhead from the mother, as mankind had from her. This is the war altogether, that GOD could not be born of a man, or have his divine nature, and a man could not give birth to GOD, or give to a GOD the divine nature. For the unlearned, coarse, proud man stood on this letter: GOtt born of Mary, and interpreted "Born" according to the Grammatica or Philosophia, as if it meant to have the nature of the Godhead from the Birth-giver, that also the Tripartite says: he held such words to be abominations, as we and all Christians (where they should have such understanding) also hold.

160 From this it is evident that Nestorius, being an ignorant and proud bishop, is in earnest about Christ; but according to his ignorance he knows not what and how he speaketh, as he hath no right knowledge of such things as these to speak of, and yet hath desired to be a master of them. For this we also know, that Christ did not receive his divinity from Mary. But that it should therefore be false that God was born of Mary, and that God is the Son of Mary, and that Mary is the Mother of God, does not follow from this. Of this I must set a gross example: When a woman bears a child, a lazy Nestorius (so Tripartite calls him) can thus be proud and unlearned and clever: This woman has given birth, but she is not the mother of this child;
For the soul of the child is not of her nature or blood, but from somewhere else, as infused by God. So this child is born of a woman after her body, but because the soul is not of her body, it is not the mother of the child, because it is not the mother of the child's soul.

161 Such an idle sophist denieth not that the two natures, body and soul, are one person; neither saith he that there are two persons, or two children, but confesseth that the two natures, as body and soul, are one person, or one child; neither did the mother bear two children, but one child; but seeth not what he denieth, or saith. Nestorius also was such a man, who admits that Christ is God and man in One Person; but because the Godhead does not come from the Mother Mary, she is not to be called the Mother of God; this is justly condemned in the Concilio, and shall be condemned. And although Nestorius has a right opinion in one part of the main matter, that Christ is God and man, yet one should not suffer the other part, or such word and speech, that God is not born of Mary, and crucified by the Jews, just as one should not suffer the Sophist (who speaks quite rightly in the part that the mother cannot bear nor give birth to the soul of the child), since he says that the child is not the natural child of the mother, and the mother is not the natural mother of the child.

162. summa, the proud, unlearned bishop has made a Greek evil bite, as the Roman Cicero says of the Greeks: ckam äiu torgUst aontrovorsia verbi Dominos Zraseulos, eontsntionis eupiäioros, guain voritatis. For whosoever shall confess that a mother beareth a child that hath body and soul, let him say and hold that the mother beareth the whole child, and is the child's true mother, though she be not the mother of the soul; otherwise it would follow that no woman is the mother of any child, and the fourth commandment should be uttered, "Thou shalt honour thy father and mother." So also it must be said that Mary is the true natural mother of the child whose name is Jesus Christ, and she is the true mother of God, God's child-bearer.

1) In the old editions: "Grekisch".

more can be said of child mothers than suckling, washing, etching, watering, that Mary suckles GOD, weighs GOD, makes GOD porridge and soups 2c. For GOD and man is One Person, One Christ, One Son, One JEsus, not two persons, not two Christs, not two sons, not two JEsus. Just as your son is not two sons, two sons, two shoemakers, though he has two natures, body and soul, body from you, soul from God alone.

[De communicatione idiomatum.]

(163) Now Nestorii's error is not that he takes Christ for a pure man, nor makes two persons of him, but confesses two natures, God and man, in one person: but he will not admit *communicationem idiomatum*; that I cannot speak in German with one word. Idioms means what is attached to a nature or is its property, as dying, suffering, weeping, talking, laughing, eating, drinking, sleeping, mourning, rejoicing, being born. To have mutier, to suck breasts, to walk, to stand, to work, to sit, to lie down, and what is more, are called idiomsts nsturso lluwsnso, that is, qualities which are inherent in a man by nature, as which he may do or suffer, and indeed must. For idioms Greek, kroprium Istins, is A thing. Meanwhile, let us call it a quality. Again, idioms, voitstm, divine nature property is that it is immortal, omnipotent, infinite, not born, not eats, drinks, sleeps, stands, walks, mourns, weeps. And what shall I say? It is an immeasurably different thing from God, neither is a man. Therefore the idiomsts of both natures cannot agree. This is the opinion of Nestorii.

164 If therefore I preach, Jesus, a carpenter of Nazareth (for so the Gospels call him: Aium ksdri), walketh there in the street, and giveth his mother a pitcher of water, and a pennyworth of bread, that he may eat and drink with his mother; and this same Jesus, a carpenter [Matt. 13:55, Marc. 6:3], is the right true God in One Person; which Nestorius admits unto me, and saith it is right. But when I say, "God is walking in the street, giving water and bread, so that he may eat and drink with his mother;
Nestorius does not admit this speech to me, but says: "To fetch water, to buy bread, to have a mother, to eat and drink with her, these are idiomata, attributes of a human and not of a divine nature. Thus, if I say, JEsus Carpenter is crucified by the Jews, and the same JEsus is the right GOOD; such Nestorius admits me to be right. But if I say, God is crucified of the Jews, he saith: No. For the cross, suffering, and death are not of divine, but of human nature idioms or attributes.

165 When therefore the common Christians hear these things, they cannot think otherwise than that he holdeth Christ to be a mere man, and separateth the person. Which he does not intend to do, unless the word is given as if he did it. From this it is evident that he was a very foolish saint and a man without understanding. For since he admits that God and man are united and blended in one person, he cannot in any way deny that the idioms of the natures should not also be united and blended. Otherwise, what would God and man be united in One Person? And his foolishness is precisely that which is taught against in the schools: Hui eoneodit sutoeodons bonso eonssHuontiso, non potsst noZsro 60N86HU6N8; in German we speak thus: If one is true, the other must also be true. If the 'other is not true, the first is not true either. He that admits that Greta is thy wife, cannot deny that her child (where she is pious) is thy child. When such things are taught in the school, no one thinks that such men can be rude; but ask the rulers and lawyers whether they have not often had such a part before them, who confess a thing, and yet will not admit what follows from it.

(166) But one might pretend that Nestorius had mischievously confessed that Christ was God and One Person. No, the proud man was not so clever, but meant it seriously. For in a sermon (says Tripartite) he cried out: No, dear Jew, you must not be proud, you could not crucify God. There he wants to say, Christ is God, but God is not crucified. And in the Concilio before Bishop Cyrillo he says: that many confess Christ as God, but the

I will never say that God is bitris or trinitris; that is to say, Jesus is God, as many of us confess; but that God should be born twice or thrice I will not teach; and this is in his mind (as Tripartite indicates), as God and death do not rhyme together. For it seems terrible to him to hear that God should die. And this was his opinion, that Christ was immortal according to the Godhead; but he had not so much sense that he could have spoken it thus. In addition, the other bishops were proud, not thinking how to heal the wounds, but how to make them worse.

(167) Now, although it must follow from Nestorii's opinion, to speak thoroughly, that Christ was a pure man, and two persons, yet it was not his opinion. For the coarse, unlearned man did not see that he pretended impossible things, that at the same time he seriously held Christ to be God and man in one person, and yet would not admit the *idiomata of* the natures of the same person of Christ. The first he would hold to be true; but^ that shall not be true, which yet follows from the first. So that he shows that he himself does not understand what he denies.

168 For we Christians must appropriate the *idiomata of* the two natures in Christ as equal and all in person, as: Christ is God and man in one person. Therefore, what is said of him as man must also be said of God, namely, Christ died, and Christ is God, therefore God died; not the separate God, but the united God with humanity. For of the separated GOtt both are false, namely, that Christ is GOtt and that GOtt died. Both are false. For there GOtt is not man. But if it seems strange to Nestorium that God should die, let him think that it is so strange that God should become man. For thus the immortal God becomes the one who must die, suffer, and have all human *idiomata*. Otherwise, what would the same man be with whom God personally unites if he were not to have proper human idiomata? It would have to be a ghost

1) Erlanger: "and".

as the Manichaeans had taught before. Again, what is said of God must also be attributed to man. Namely, God created the world and is omnipotent; the man Christ is God, therefore the man Christ created the world and is omnipotent. Cause is, for there was One Person out of God and man, therefore the person of both natures leads *idiomata*.

(169) O Lord God, from such a blessed and comforting article one should always rejoice, sing, praise and thank God the Father for such unspeakable mercy, that He has allowed His dear Son to become like us, a man and a brother. Thus, the wicked Satan, through proud, ambitious, and desperate people, causes such unhappiness that our dear and blessed joy must be prevented and spoiled. Let this be lamented to God! For we Christians must know this: where God is not in the balance and gives the weight, we sink to the bottom with our bowl. This is what I mean: if it should not be said that God died for us, but only a human being, then we are lost; but if God's death and God's death lie in the bowl of the wagon, then it sinks, and we rise up as a light, empty bowl. But he may well go up again, or leap out of his bowl. But he could not sit in the bowl; he would have to become a man to us, so that it could be said: God died, God's torture, God's blood, God's death. For God in His nature cannot die; but now that God and man are united in One Person, it is rightly called God's death when the man dies who is One Thing or One Person with God.

This Concilium has also condemned the Nestorio far too little. For it deals only with the one *idiom* that God was born of Mary. Therefore, the Histories write that in this Council it was decided against the Nestorium, which is Mary,

They should not only decide that Mary was Hieotoeos, but also that Pila-celebrity was Hieotoeos, since Nestorius denied all *idiomata of* the human nature of God in Christ, such as dying, the cross, suffering, and everything that does not rhyme with the Godhead. Therefore they should not only decide that Mary was Hieotoeos, but also that Pila-.

tus and the Jews were God's crucifiers and murderers, and the like. But that afterwards he was condemned by all *idiomata* with these words: Nestorius denies that Christ is God, and One Person, is well in süeetu or ex oonseHuenti right, but spoken too harshly and too strangely, because Nestorius could not think from this otherwise than that violence and injustice had been done to him. For he never taught such words, but always said against them that Christ was the right true God, and not two persons, on which he harshly persecuted the Arians. For such coarse men cannot syllogize, or make oonseHuorltias, namely, that he should be called denying the substance or nature, who denies the iäiomata or attributes of nature; but so let the verdict be: Although Nestorius confesses that Christ, right God and man, is One Person, yet because he does not give the *idiomata of* human nature to the same divine Person of Christ, it is wrong, and as much as if he denied nature itself. And they should not alone have struck out the One *idioma*, of the Mother Mary. Thus the matter of this Concilii would have been the more clearly understood, which I respect that very few have hitherto understood. From Platina and his like more it is impossible to understand.

For I also have had before me Nestorianos, who very stiffly contended against me, that the Godhead of Christ could not suffer; and for a sign also Zwinglius wrote against me concerning this saying, Verbum oaro *factum* est [John 1:14], and badly would not that Verbum should be called *factum,* but would have it: Verbum e^ro luetu 68t, cause, God could become nothing. But at that time I myself did not know that such was Nestorii conceit, as I did not understand this Concilium either, but recognized such for error from the holy Scriptures, Augustino and Magistro Sententiarum. And who knows how many Nestoriani are still in the papacy, who nevertheless praise this Concilium highly, and do not know what they praise. For reason wants to be wise here, and does not want to suffer that God should die, or have a being in a human way, although it already believes by habit that Christ is God, as Nestorius does.

172] Neither did this Council establish anything new in the faith, as we have said above, but defended the old faith against the new conceit of Nestorius, so that no example can be taken from it, nor can the Council be given power to establish new or different articles of faith. For this article has been in the church from the beginning, and has not been made new by the Council, but has been preserved by the Gospel or holy Scripture. For it is written in St. Lucas, Cap. 1, 32, that the angel Gabriel announced to the virgin Mary that the Son of the Most High should be born of her. And St. Elisabeth [Luc. 1, 43.], "Whence cometh this to me, that the mother of the Lord is come unto me?" And the angels all at Christmas [Cap. 2:11], "Unto you is born this day a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." Item St. Paul Gal. 4, 4. "God hath sent his Son, born of a woman." These sayings (I know for certain) hold firmly enough that Mary is God's mother. Thus says St. Paul, 1 Cor. 2, 8: "The princes of this world have crucified the Lord of Majesty"; Apost. 20, 28.: "GOD purchased the Church with His own blood," yet GOD has no blood to judge by reason. Phil. 2, 6. 7.: "Christ, being like unto GOD, was made a servant, and found in all men's ways." And the infant faith, *Symbolum Apostolorum,* says, I believe in JESUS CHRIST, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived, born of Mary, suffered, was crucified, died, and was buried. 2c. There the idiomata of human nature are clear enough, and yet they are assigned to the only Son and Lord, in whom we believe as in the Father, and as in a true God. That is enough of this Concilio.

Of the fourth principal coneilio, at Chalcedon. 1)

173 The fourth main council is held at Chalcedon in Ponto or Asia (about two or three and twenty years after the third previous main council at Ephesus) by the

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

Emperor Martianus, who became emperor at Constantinople after the younger Theodosio. Anno 455. And so the four main concilia have been held for 130 years, since the one at Nicea was held in Anno 327. Before and after this, however, many other concilia were held, without the emperors, by the bishops themselves from time to time. But these four could not meet without the emperors, so frail were the holy fathers, since one would not easily give way to the other, as unfortunately the histories well testify, to give us special comfort that we should not despair, because the Holy Spirit was in some of these fathers, and they must be holy and be called, we will also be holy and become blessed.

174 But what the cause of this Concilii fei was, I myself would like to learn from another. For no credible historia reaches here. The Ecclesiastica ceased with the first Concilio Niceno, the Tripartite and Theodoretus with the third at Ephesus, and must now continue to believe almost the Pope and his Histories, which are very difficult to believe, for excellent, noticeable reasons: for they have therefore drawn everything to themselves, and have lied so shamefully about their majesty, and still continue to lie, that no one can build his conscience on it. Now, counselor, where will I be saved, who do not understand this council, nor know what it does? And where have they gone, the dear saints and Christians, who through so many hundred years have not known what this Council has established? For there must always be saints on earth, and when they die, other saints must live, from the beginning to the end of the world; otherwise the article would be false, "I believe a holy Christian church, congregation of saints," and Christ would have to lie, since he says [Matt. 28:20.], "I am with you unto the end of the world." Living saints (I say) must always be on earth, be where they can, otherwise Christ's kingdom would have an end, and there would be no one who prayed the Lord's Prayer, professed the faith, was baptized, went to the sacrament, was absolved 2c.

175 Well, Platina and others say that it is this cause: that at Constantinople an abbot, or, as they call it, Archimandrita, Eutyches, has against the Nestorium an

And they have brought up other things, and taught that Christ is One Person alone in divine nature. But the Fathers in the Council decided that Christ was one person and two natures. This is now right and the Christian faith. But Pabst's Histories write that he taught that after the divinity had taken on humanity, and thus had become Christ in One Person, there remained no more than the divinity, and Christ alone was to be considered God and not man. If this is Eutyche's opinion, then he is almost a gross Nestorius, who is said to have taught two persons in Christ, and yet one person. So he must have taught two natures at the same time, and yet one nature in Christ. For thus 1) Pope Leo writes in a letter, that Eutyches and Nestorius teach abominable heresy. And it is true that he who teaches that Christ is two persons and yet one nature; and again, that in Christ there are two natures and yet one nature: these are of course contrary to one another, yea, each contrary to himself.

(176) But if the papists knew that this was not the opinion of Nestorius and Eutyche, they ought to refrain from such words, and to speak a little more clearly of the matter, and in terminis propriis, that is, to use their own words. Otherwise the heretics will think that they are being hurried by force and injustice by using false words, and that their words are being falsely interpreted, as I said above about Nestorio.

177 For that Eutyches holds not only one nature in Christ, the papists themselves give in their own words, when they say, Eutyches confessed that in Christ there are two natures, namely, that the Godhead took on humanity. He who confesses this says that Christ has more than one nature. But what Eutyches means by this, that afterwards in Christ alone the divine nature remained, without human nature, they do not indicate; they leave it thus hanging, as if Eutyches at the same time held that Christ had two natures, and yet not two, but one nature. So then also the histories become uncertain and obscure, so that no one can understand what Eutyches said.

1) In all editions except Walch: "schreiet".

or what the pope's histories mean; thus lose this concilium together with the reason why it is assembled. Yes, one can find it from the Conciliar Histories and from the Popes' letters [not] 1). But again, the pope's historians should not write so rough and unpolished, nor should they talk their own words to us, so that one can take from it that they have understood this Concilium almost as well as I have.

178 I will speak my thoughts. If I do, well; if not, hereby the Christian faith is not fallen. Eutyche's opinion is also (like Nestorii's) wrong about the Jdiomata; but in a different way. Nestorius does not want to give the *idiomata of* humanity to the Godhead in Christ, even though he is certain that Christ is God and man. Again, Eutyches will not give the *idiomata of* the Godhead to mankind, though he holds firmly that Christ is true God and man. As if I preached that the Verbum, the Son of God. Creator of heaven and earth, like the Father for ever and ever, Joh. 1, 13. 14. and the Verbum, the same Son of God, is truly man, Joh. 1, 3. Such things Eutyches allows me and does not doubt. But when I continue, and preach that the same man Christ is the creator of heaven and earth, then Eutyches is displeased, and is astonished at this word, A man maketh heaven and earth, and saith, No: for such a divine *idiom* (as to make heaven) is not for men. But think not that he hath before admitted Christ to be truly God and man in one person, and yet will not admit the consequence or ooiwehueus douue eonssgueutiae.

For he who confesses that God and man are one person must, for the sake of this union of the two natures in one person, also badly admit that this man Christ, born of Mary, is the Creator of heaven and earth. For he has become that in One Person, namely God, who created heaven and earth. Eutyches does not understand such a consequence, and yet firmly says that Christ is God and man; see also

1) "not" is missing in the editions, but the Jenaer remarks: "Scheinet, als Mangel ein nicht".

Not that he must deny the human nature of Christ in Christ, where he rejects the divine *idiomata of* human nature. For thereby the person would be separated, and Christ would not remain a man. And this is what those want to indicate who write of Eutyche that he did not allow the human nature to remain in Christ, soieet in eovseguvvti, when he nevertheless confesses, seiliotzt in snteoeävntst, that the divine and human natures are One Christ, One Person, and two natures. Summa, as said above, he who confesses the two natures in Christ, God and man, must also admit both of their *idiomata of* the person. For God and man are nothing where they should not have their *idioms.* Therefore they both, Nestorius and Eutyches, with their error and understanding, are justly condemned.

180 Although it is true that Eutyches may have had more temptation than Nestorius. For the idiomata of human nature are much left behind him by Christ, as, eating, drinking, sleeping, mourning, suffering, dying, burying 2c. For he sitteth now at the right hand of God, eateth, drinketh, sleepeth, mourneth, suffereth, dieth nevermore for ever, as it shall also be unto us when we pass out of this life into that life, 1 Cor. 15:49,53. These are temporal and perishable *idiomata*; but the natural ones remain, as that he had body and soul, skin and hair, blood and flesh, marrow and bone, and all the members of human nature. Therefore it must be said: This man Christ, the flesh and blood of Mary, is the Creator of heaven and earth, has conquered death, destroyed sin, and broken hell, which are divine *idioms, and* yet are rightly and Christianly attributed to the person who is Mary's flesh and blood, because it is not two, but One Person.

181 As thy son Peter is called learned, so this *idioma* is of the soul only, and not of the body, and an Eutyches would alfenzen: No, Peter is not learned, but his soul. Again a Nestorius: No, I have not beheaded thy son, but his body. This is like making two persons out of Peter, or keeping only one nature, when it is not meant that way. This is foolishness and rudeness, and shows that they have been wicked vialooticü.

But such ignorance is not strange in the world, even in other things, where men often confess something, and yet deny that which must follow from it, as said, ^ntvooävntv oouossso utzZaro 60U86HU6U8. Now there are many great lords and learned men who freely and firmly confess that our doctrine of faith, which without merit makes just by pure grace, is right, but that for this reason monasticism and the worship of saints or the like should be left alone and despised, this strikes them upside the head, when it nevertheless enforces the consequence and consequence. For no one can be justified except by faith; from this it follows that one cannot be justified by monastic life. What is the use of it? What is the use?

182 And that I may also take myself by the nose, and not so ungratefully forget my foolishness: I taught twenty years ago that faith alone without works makes one righteous, as I still do. But if one had stood up then who taught that monasticism and nunnery should be called idolatry, and that the mass should be called the right abomination, I would not have helped to burn such a heretic, but I would have kept it, and it would have served him right. And I, an inconsiderate fool, could not see the consequence that I should have yielded, that where faith alone did it, monasticism and the mass could not do it. And what was even more subtle, I knew that it was all human doctrine and work, and yet I did not ascribe such to the good works commanded by God and done in faith. I have indeed proved my Nestorium and Eutychen (but in other matters), since I admitted one thing, and did not admit the other, which follows from it, just as Nestorius admits that Christ is God and man, and will not admit here also that the same God was born and died, which follows from it.

(183) Luther further reproaches the papists, saying that they do not teach the Christian faith, neither do they teach good works, neither do they celebrate; but he again reproaches Luther much more vehemently, saying that he does not teach the Christian faith aright, and that he forbids good works. What then offends them, that they are not one, if they profess the same thing? This I will tell thee: There is a Nestorius here who is mistaken about the Jdiomates. Luther wants to have good works, but they are not to be the same.

The Lord's glorious divine *idiomata, that* they may be sufficient for sin, propitiate the wrath of God, and make sinners righteous. For such *idiomata* belong to another, who is called "the Lamb of God, which bareth the sin of the world" [John 1:29]. Yes, indeed, the blood and death of Christ are to be left such idiomata; good works are to have other *idiomata*, other merit and reward. The papists do not want such things, but give good works to be sufficient for sin, and to make men devout. Therefore they cry out that Luther does not teach good works, but forbids them. But they do not see this consequence or consequence, that where one teaches such good works as are sufficient for sin, that [it is] just as much as teaching no good works. For such good works are nillil in rsrnw natura, nothing and nowhere, neither can they be. Therefore, even in that they teach and profess good works firmly and almost, they teach no good works at all.

(184) Here thou seest what the Nestorii vialootioa is, who giveth an ant666Ü6N8, and denieth the 6ON86HN6N8, and so maketh the ant66tz^6N8 also false. For if one is true, the other must also be true in a right consequence or consequent. Again, if the last is false, the first must also be false. Good works do enough for sin, which they not only admit, but also do severely; but the other thing, which follows from this, that such works are not good, and are nothing and no works at all, this they condemn. Now this follows very clearly from the foregoing. For good works sufficient for sin are as much as no good works. Just as this consequence is mighty, Hni äoost iä, Hnoä von 68t, äooot nillil, whoever teaches that which is nothing, teaches just as much as nothing. So also may faith be spoken of: he that teacheth such faith as justifieth not by itself, and without works, teacheth as much as no faith. For such faith as justifies with or by works is nothing and nowhere.

(185) I will set a greater thing. Some lawyers admit that the marriage of priests is right, but they do not say that the children should be heirs. This is just as much as to say that the marriage of priests must be fornication. For if there be marriage, the child also must be heir.

be, if it be not heir, there is no marriage (cactsris paribu8); 1) such is called in the schools: N6AE CON86C(U6N8 antoesäsnt^ 6OU6688I in bona C0U86CsU6ntia; and: ck68tructo 60N86Cfusntc, rstincrc ant6ccck6N8, which is impossible, and are called coarse, unintelligent people. But both Nestorius and Eutyches lacked this, as happens to many in other matters. For it was certainly their earnestness that they both held Christ to be God and man in one person, as the Histories and also the Acta Oonciliornw indicate, and yet they could not have judged themselves in the consequence or consequence that the person who is God and man was indeed crucified and created heaven, but God may not be crucified, nor man create heaven.

186. And what shall we say of ourselves? The apostles at Jerusalem [Apost. 15:11), together with many thousands of Jews, were justified by faith alone, that is, by the grace of Christ; yet they also had their Nestorios and Eutyches in their skin, and did not see this consequence, that the law of Moses did nothing to it, nor could it do anything, but also wanted to give it the *idiomata, which* belong to the Lamb of God alone, and said (as said above): the Gentiles could not be saved, if they did not circumcise themselves and keep the law of Moses. This was as much as to deny Christ with his grace, as St. Paul saith Gal. 2:21, "If of the law is righteousness, Christ died in vain;" and Rom. 11:6, "If it be grace, it is not works." But those at Jerusalem say thus: It is grace alone, but it must nevertheless also be 2) the work; 3) for since grace has not yet done this, the law must do it, as it follows. That is, in German, to hit oneself in the cheek, and not to understand what one is saying. The schools call it (as I have said) ^nt666ck6N8 concccckcrc, and CON86C(U6N8 QCAars; or 6OU8S^U6N8 ä68tru6r6 and antcccäcnZ atLrinarc; at the same time saying yes and no in one and the same thing.

1) The words: (cctcris paridus) are missing in the first edition.
2) So the Jenaer. In the other editions: "alone" instead of: also.
3) In the very first printing it was thus written: "For without law one cannot be saved, although one must be saved by grace alone without works, but later, as it is written here, corrected" (Walch).

Things. No one has to do this, except a man who does not understand or a desperate scoffer.

(187) So do my antinomians also, (4) who preach very finely, and (as I cannot think otherwise) with real earnestness, of the grace of Christ, of the forgiveness of sins, and what more is to be said of the article of salvation. But this consequence they flee, as the devil would, that they should tell men of the third article, sanctification, that is, of new life in Christ. For they think that men ought not to be alarmed nor grieved, but always to preach comfortingly of the grace and forgiveness of sins in Christ, and by all means to avoid these or such words: Hear thou it, thou wilt be a Christian, and yet remain an adulterer, a whoremonger, a full sow, a hopeful, a miser, a usurer, an envious, a revengeful, a wicked man 2c. but so say they: If thou hearest, thou art an adulterer, a fornicator, a covetous man, or any other sinner; but if thou believest, thou art blessed; thou shalt not be afraid of the law; Christ hath fulfilled it all.

188 Dear, tell me, is not this called ^nto66äsn8 conceded, and 6on86Hucn8 negated? Yea, it is in the same thing to take away and make void Christ, when he is most highly preached. And it is all yes and no, in the same thing. For such a Christ is nothing and nowhere, who died for such sinners, who after the forgiveness of sins do not leave their sins and lead a new life. So they preach Christ in Nestorian and Eutychian dialectics, that Christ is, and yet is not; and are fine preachers of Easter, but shameful preachers of Pentecost. For they preach nothing of the sanctification of the Holy Spirit, but only of the redemption of Christ, when Christ (whom they preach highly, how justly) therefore is Christ, or has purchased redemption from sins and death, that the Holy Spirit should make us new men out of the old Adam, that we should die to sin, and live to righteousness, as St. Paul teaches [Romans 1:9]. Paul teaches [Rom. 6, 2. ff.], to begin and increase here on earth, and to accomplish there.

189 For Christ hath not left us alone

4) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 1610 ff. Luther's Writings against the Antinomians.

gratiaw, grace, but also äouum, the gift of the Holy Spirit, that we might have not only forgiveness of sins, but also cessation of sins. He therefore that ceaseth not from sins, but abideth in the former wickedness, must have another Christ from the antinomians. The true Christ is not there, and when all the angels cry out, "Christ, Christ," he must be condemned with his new Christ.

190 Now behold how wicked oialeetioi we are in high things, so above us or unpracticed that we hold and do not hold a thing at the same time. But in low things, there we are exceedingly sharp vialeotiei. For a peasant, how coarse he is, he hath soon understood and reckoned this: he that giveth me a penny giveth me not a florin; for it followeth of himself, and he seeth the consequence fine. But our antinomians do not see that they preach Christ without and against the Holy Spirit, because they want to burden people to remain in their old nature, and nevertheless pronounce them blessed, when the consequence is that a Christian should have the Holy Spirit, and lead a new life, or know that he has no Christ. Nor do the asses want to be better vialeotiei than N. Philip and Aristotle; of Luther I must be silent, because the pope felt the same 1) alone; they flew far too high for me. Well, Nestorii and Eutyches viateetiea is a common plague, especially in the Holy Scriptures; but in other matters it knows how to hold its own. Although in subtle matters it gives lawyers and rulers enough trouble, since they must sometimes hear yes and no at the same time, and have trouble separating them.

(191) Now if Eutyches or Nestorius have remained stiff and proud of their fine sense (as I cannot judge, nor should I, so far as I have read the Histories) according to the bishops' instruction, they are not only condemned as heretics, but also as gross fools. If, however, they did not stand firm on their sense, as reported especially by Eutyches of the Conciliar Acts themselves.

1) It might want to read "derselbigen" (Luthern). The reading: "the same ones" (the antinomians, the bad dialecticians) does not seem to us to give a suitable sense. To refer this word "the same" to "Philip and Aristotle" seems to us impossible.

and they have not, according to St. Paul's teaching [Gal. 6:1], kindly instructed the erring person, they have nevertheless judged the matter rightly in themselves, but with their pride and weak nobility (because now the Conciliis has attained great prestige, and here there have been six hundred and thirty bishops) they must answer to the right judge.

192 I remember how M. Johannes Wesalia (who was a preacher in Mainz, and before that governed the high school in Erfurt with his books, from which I also became a master there) had to be condemned by the desperate, hopeful murderers, called baeretieae pravitatis iu^uisitores (I should say: iuventores), preacher monks, only because he did not want to say: Oeäo Oeum esse, but said: 8eio Ileum esse. Dem: all schools held that Deum esse, per se uotum sit, as St. Paul Rom. 1, 19. also saith. How also the barefoot murderers at Eisenach dealt with Johann Ilten 2) is written in the Apologia.

193 I suppose that an honest man would come to you and to me without warning, who could make things strange with rough words, and say, Shall I not tell you that a new prophet has arisen who teaches that where a man becomes fully holy he can not only do miracles, but also create heaven and earth, angels, and all that is in them, out of nothing, as some scholastics have also argued? 4. and that is still worse, he says that the old right God has died 2c. Here you and I would say, that must be the devil and his mother. Scripture says (Mal. 3, 6.], "I am GOtt, and am not changed." And St. Paul [1 Tim. 6:16.], Hui solus trabet iiuwortalitatem. What may it be much word? GOD liveth alone, and is life itself. Then he began: Teach ye yourselves thus, and say that Christ is a man, perfectly holy, who created heaven and earth, and also true God, who died for you on the cross. Behold, how suddenly we have become blasphemous Nestorius and Eutyches, who at the same time confess that Christ is God and man, One Person, who died for us, creating heaven and earth.

2) In the Apology in this volume Col. 1326 he is called "Johannes Hilten".

and yet said above that it must be the devil and his mother, whoever says that a man created heaven and earth, and that God died, when it is the consequence or consequence that we must believe that Christ is God and man in one person. There you stand, as the *idiomata* unawares thrust unthinking people before the head and make them astray. Here one should approach, teach with gentleness, and not condemn the erring with pride. God grant that I lie. I see to it that some heretics will be judges on the last day, and the judge-bishops will be damned. God is strange and incomprehensible in his judgments (Rom. 11, 33), so that one does not know that he is merciful to the humble and that he is worthy of hope (1 Pet. 5:5): And especially in the churches and church ranks, one should not do anything out of envy, jealousy, or pride, for God does not like it.

I have such thoughts from the Eutyche. If I have not got it right, then I have failed, and it is their fault. Why have they not done it more properly, and described it more diligently, that it might be more clearly understood? And what should be done, if this council were lost? The Christian faith would not have to sink for that. Surely more and more useful things are lost than this Council. St. Augustine himself complains that he finds almost nothing among his ancestors that helps him against the Pelagium, and yet much must have been done about this main matter. But I have held to these thoughts according to the words of the Roman bishop Leonis, who writes that Eutyches and Nestorii are heresies against each other or contrary and reversed. Now it is certain from the Tripartite that Nestorius confessed Christ to be true God and man, even quite vehemently, and was not an Arian who badly did not hold Christ to be God; but he drove them out and persecuted them, even by murder and slaughter. But this is his heresy, that the *idiomata* have disturbed and misled him, that God should be born of the image of a woman, and be crucified. Therefore Eutyche's heresy must have been contrary to reason, in that he holds Christ to be both God and man, but will not give the *idiomata of* divine nature to the
Humans. As Nestor, again, does not want to attribute the *idiomata of* human nature to God in Christ's unique person; that is, against each other or reversed.

195. But if his opinion be that he badly denies the human nature in Christ, his heresy is not contrary to the heresy of Nestorii, but he must have been senseless and furious, who at the same time should hold that in Christ the Godhead is united with mankind, and yet one nature alone, namely, the Godhead remains or becomes. This would not only be against Nestorium, but against all believers and unbelievers, against all heretics and true Christians, against all heathens and men. For thus no man ever taught. But because they have described this thing in such a way that they themselves testify that Eutyches confessed Christ, uniting deity and humanity in one person, and write the other in such a way as if they did not want it to be understood, we do not want to understand it either. What do we care, if we have it much better otherwise! Eutyches says in the Concilio that he did not speak it in such words as they blamed him, namely, that he should deny the human nature in Christ. From this it may be seen that he erred, and did not mean to deny Christ's humanity. But if I were Doctor Luther, I would gladly hear from the Papist writers how they could believe even their own words, since they may say this: Nestorius held at the same time two Persons, and yet only One Person in Christ; Eutyches held at the same time two natures, and yet only One in Christ. I truly think they are also Nestorian and Eutychian *dialectici*; of theology I speak nothing; perhaps they must be antilogists.

196 And that we come again to the Concilio, it is also found here that this Concilium has not established a new article of faith. But this is not an example to give power to the Conciliis, that they should charge Christianity with new articles. For such an article is much more abundantly and powerfully founded in Scripture, John 5:27: "The Father hath given the Son power to execute judgment, because he is the Son of man. " Here would have

Christ, in Eutyche's opinion, must say, because he is the Son of God. For judgment is an *idiom of* divine nature, and not of human nature; but Christ gives it to his human nature, which is the Son of man, that is, the Son of Mary the virgin. And Matth. 22, 43. Christ asks the Pharisees: how is it rhymed that David called Christ, who ought to be his son and seed, his Lord? If he is David's son or seed, how is he seated at the right hand of God? Here Eutyches should have said: David's seed cannot sit at the right hand of God. God's right hand, but only God's Son; and yet confess that God's Son and David's Son are One Person. But where the Person sitteth, there sitteth the Son of God and the Son of David. Eutyches does not see this consequence, and therefore it must have been thought that he regarded Christ as not a man, but only as a divine person and nature; which, however, is not his opinion.

197 And in sum, all the prophets, all the scriptures, which give Christ or Messiah an everlasting kingdom, redemption from sins, death, hell, are all against Eutychen. For they all say that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, Genesis 3:15, that is, overcome sin, death, the devil, hell, which are divine *idiomata,* and not of the seed of the woman. And all the world should be blessed by the seed of Abraha, Gen. 22:18. that is, also to take away sin, death, hell, the curse of God; which are also *idiomata,* not of Abraham's seed, but of divine nature. And after this the glorious, mighty prophecies of David, Esaiä, Jeremiä [Cap. 23,5.] and all the prophets, who say of David's seed that it shall establish eternal righteousness, that is, put away death, sin, hell. Which are vain *idiomata of* divine majesty and nature, yet are appropriated to the Son of David, Christ, the Son of the virgins of Mary, in all Scripture. If therefore I have not this Concilium, or understand it not aright, yet have I this Scripture, and understand it aright, according to which also the Concilium is bound to keep itself, and is more certain to me than all Concilia.

198 Whoever wants to, may continue to read the Concilii stories themselves; I have read myself unamused by them. Such a biting, biting
turmoil and disorder is kept inside, that I almost have to believe the Gregorio Nazianzeno. St. Hieronymi Preceptor, who yet lived before this time, and saw better Concilia or Fathers, yet writes thus: If truth be told, I hold that all bishops' Concilia should be fled. For I have seen no good end of conciliarities, nor of the abolition of evil, but of ambition, strife for action, 2c., that I wonder how it happens that for the sake of such words they have not long since made of him the worst of heretics. But it is true that he says how the bishops are ambitious, proud, quarrelsome, and vehement in the Concilia; you will find that in this Concilio. Neither must they of necessity all be holy, who teach rightly, or receive right doctrine. For Balaam also prophesieth rightly, [Num. 24:17;] and Judas also is a right apostle, [Matt. 10:4;] and the Pharisees sit on the throne of Moses, and teach rightly, Matt. 23:2; so also we must have something more 1) and more certain for our faith, neither are the Concilia. That same more and certain thing is the holy scriptures.

199 But that it is true, when he says that he has seen no good end of the Conciliar, the histories teach us well. For Arii's heresy was a joke before the Niceno Concilio, compared to the misery they caused after the Concilio, as was said above. The same happened to the other Conciliis, as with Macedonio and Nestorio. For the part that was condemned held together all the more tightly, wanted to adorn themselves and be uncondemned, and always stirred up the fire more fiercely than before, against the Concilia, which they did not quite understand. Just as it happened to us Germans with the Costenzer Concilio, since the pope was subjected to the Concilio and deposed, and his tyranny and Simonei were harshly condemned, the pope is now possessed with seven evil devils, and has caused his tyranny and Simonei at first; eats, robs, steals all monasteries, convents and churches, sells indulgences, grace, law, God, Christ, the Holy Spirit; betrays, corrupts, confuses emperors and kings; gets, wastes blood, beats to death.

1) This "more" stands for: More.

Body and soul, that one must grasp who is the God of Rome's household. There we Germans have our reward for having deposed and reformed the popes in the Costenzer Concilio. I think the end of this Concilii is well advised. Another time, depose more popes and reform them, if they do not have enough seven devils, so that they get seven and seventy legions of them against you, if there is still room for more devils to enter them, and if they are not already full of devils. This is the reformation of the Costenzer Concilii.

200 Thus we have the four principal concilia, and the causes why they are held. The first, at Nicea, defended the deity of Christ against Arium. The other, at Constantinople, defended the Deity of the Holy Ghost against Macedonium. The third, at Ephesus, defended One Person in Christ against Nestorium. The fourth, at Chalcedon, defended two natures in Christ against Eutychia, but did not establish a new article of faith. For these four articles are much more abundant and powerful in St. John's Gospel alone, even if the other evangelists and St. Paul and St. Peter had not written anything about them, who nevertheless also teach and testify to all these things powerfully, along with all the prophets. Now if these four principal Concilia (which the bishops of Rome, according to their decree, 1) hold equal to the four Gospels, just as if such pieces did not stand much more abundantly beside all the articles in the Gospels, or if the Concilia did not have it from the Gospels; so finely do the ass-bishops understand what Evangelia or Concilia are!) neither want to nor can they make or set anything new in articles of faith, as they themselves confess: how much less can such power be given to the other concilia, which must be held inferior, where these four are to be and to be called the principal concilia.

021 Now in this manner must all other concilia be understood, whether they be great or small; and if there were many thousands of them, that they were nothing new, either in faith or

1) The sense of this passage is: which, as the bishops of Rome say in their decree, are to be held equal to the gospels.

But as the highest judge and the greatest bishop under Christ, they defend the old faith and the old good works according to the holy Scriptures, without also dealing with temporal, perishable, changeable things in their time of need, which must also be done apart from the churches in all parishes and schools. But if they do anything new in faith or good works, let it be certain that the Holy Spirit is not there, but the unholy spirit with his angels. For this they must do without and apart from the holy Scriptures, yea, contrary to the holy Scriptures, as Christ saith [Matt. 12:30.], "He that is not with me is against me." The Holy Ghost knoweth and can do no more than St. Paul, when he saith 1 Cor. 2:2, "I know nothing but JEsum Christ crucified." And is not the Holy Ghost given to instill or teach us any thing apart from Christ, but to teach and remind us of all things in Christ, [Joh. 14, 26.] "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and understanding," [Col. 2, 3.] the same he is to transfigure us, as Christ saith, [Joh. 16, 19.] and not to magnify or make an idol of our reason and conceits.

(202) Therefore such concilia, besides the Scriptures, are Caiphas', Pilate's, and Herod's concilia, as the apostles say, Acts 4:27: Oonvenunt in unurn ackversns Dorninurn, they counsel or hold concilia against God and his Christ. 4, 27.: Oonvenerunt in unurn ackversns Dorninurn, they rathschlagen oder halten Concilia gegen GOtt und sein Christum [Ps. 2, 2.]. And the evangelists all write that the chief priests and Pharisees held counsel or gathered concilia, how they might kill Christ [Matth. 26, 4. Marc. 14, 1. Luc. 22, 2.], as David had declared before, Ps. 2, 2. that they would counsel against God and his anointed, and call Christ's preaching vain bands and cords, and would break them and cast them from them. Such have been the more parts of the pope's concilia, wherein he sets himself up as the head of the churches in Christ's stead, throws the holy scriptures under himself, and tears them asunder, as his decrees point out, as he has condemned both forms of the sacrament at Costence, has torn up marriage before, forbidden it, condemned it, and crucified and buried Christ in a bad way.

What a Concilium is. 1)

Now here will be the main question for which I am writing this booklet: What then is a Concilium, or what is its work? For if it should not establish new articles of faith, then all the world would be miserably deceived, which neither knows nor holds otherwise, than: what a Concilium conspires, that is an article of faith, or at least to be considered a necessary work for salvation, so that whoever does not keep the Concilii decree, can never be saved, as he who is disobedient to the Holy Spirit, the Concilii Master. Well then, I consider my conscience free, that no concilium (as said above) has power to establish new articles of faith, because the four principal concilia have not done so. Therefore I will state my opinion here, and answer the principal question thus: that a council has

(204) First of all, no power to establish new articles of faith, notwithstanding that the Holy Ghost is in them. For even the Apostle Conciliar at Jerusalem, Apost. 15:11, does not establish anything new in the faith, but, like St. Peter, admits that all their forefathers also believed this article, that one must be saved without law, by the grace of Christ alone.

205 Secondly, a council has the power, and is also obliged, to restrain and condemn new articles of faith, according to holy scripture and ancient faith, as the council at Nicea condemned the new article Arii, that at Constantinople the new article Macedonii, that at Ephesus the new article Nestorii, that at Chalcedon the new article Eutyches.

0206 Thirdly, a council hath no power to command new good works, neither can it do so. For all the good works commanded in the holy scriptures are superfluous. What more good works can be devised than those which the Holy Ghost hath taught in the Scriptures? than humility, patience, meekness, mercy, faithfulness, charity, peace, obedience, discipline, chastity, giving, serving 2c. [Gal. 5:22.), and summa, love.

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

What good work can be devised that is not commanded in love? [But if it be apart from love, what good work is it? For love, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, is the fulfillment of all commandments, as Christ himself says, Matt. 5:44.

(207) Fourthly, a council hath power, and is also bound to do, to condemn evil works contrary to charity, according to the holy scriptures, and the ancient manner of the churches, and to punish persons, as the decree of the Nicene council condemns the bishops' and deacons' honour and other vices. Here, however, we should speak of two kinds of evil works: some that are manifestly called and are evil, such as avarice, murder, adultery, greed, and the like. These we find condemned by the Conciliis, as they are also condemned in Scripture without the Concilia, and are also punished in secular law. But besides these are other new good works, which are not called evil, but are beautifully evil, 2) fine vices, holy idolatry, devised by the special saints or also mad saints; and summa, the white devil and light Satan. Such evil (I should say) new good works ought to condemn the Concilia most highly and severely, for they are dangerous to the Christian faith and annoying to the Christian life, and make both of them an unspeakable or contemptible thing.

208. as when a weak Christian hears or sees a holy hermit or monk leading a special, strict way, above the old common Christian state or being, he is offended by it, and thinks that against this new saint of all old Christians life is nothing, or even worldly and dangerous. Therefore it is an abomination in all the world that a Christian citizen or peasant who has a right, pure faith in Christ, and practices the right old good works commanded by God in Scripture, such as humility, patience, gentleness, chastity, love and faithfulness toward his neighbor, diligence and care in his service, office, profession, and station: this one is a right old saint and Christian; but he must stink and be nothing compared to the new saint, who under a but garment, food,

2) That is, they are evil with a beautiful appearance.

The saint is a haughty, ambitious, angry, impatient, ugly, carnal, presumptuous, false Christian. St. Paul himself [2 Tim. 3, 2. ff.] calls such hopeful and self-willed saints, who choose for themselves a new nature and worship of their own (not commanded by God) over the old, right common nature and worship of the Christian Church, established and commanded by God.

209. The elect may be preserved fine in such new evil works, but they have to take off this new skin again, and be saved in the old Christian skin. As happened to St. Anthony, when he had to learn that a cobbler or a tanner at Alexandria would be a better Christian than he with his monasticism. As he also confessed, he would not have come so far as the same cobbler. So also the great Saint John, primus Lremita, who was also a prophet to the emperor Theodosio, highly praised by Saint Augustine: when the people wondered at his scatterings, among whom Saint Jerome was one, he gave this answer: "What special thing do you seek among us? You have it better in your parishes, where the Scriptures and examples of the apostles and prophets are preached to you! That is to say, to take off your caps, and to throw yourselves under the holy Scriptures, to praise the common Christian state alone. Paphnutius had to learn that he was like a fiddler who had been a murderer, like two wives who had lain with their husbands the same night, and had to say, "One should not despise any class. This is what happened to St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, and no doubt many more devout men; when they finally felt that their new holiness and monasticism could not hold the sting against sin and death, they crawled to the cross, and without such new holiness became blessed in the old Christian faith, as St. Bernard's words testify in many places.

210 Such new good works are not found condemned in any conciliar, especially in the four main conciliar, without one or two small concilios, as that of Gangra of 20 bishops (so recently*) is in print.

I) In 1537. see Document No. 1242 in this volume.

(The Holy Spirit) has done something in this, but rather they have let such new holiness take over, until the Christian church is almost no longer recognizable, and like the industrious gardeners let the water sprouts take over, so that the old right tree must suffer damage, or perish. At that time, already from St. Anthony on, monasticism was so rampant that in this fourth Concilio, also near Constantinople, there was an abbey in which the above-mentioned Eutyches was abbot. Although they were not such stone imperial castles as the monasteries became afterwards, for they call him
ärita. Uanärao is said to mean a bad fence or enclosure, such as is made of bushes, shrubs, and brushwood for the cattle, or hurdles for the sheep, and Eutyches, as the chief, fed in such an enclosure with his own, and led a separate life. From this it can be understood what a monastery was at that time, since there was no monastery yet that had a closed or walled hut.

021 But as it is in the garden, where the water-branches, or shoots, grow much higher, neither the right fruitful branches; so it is also in the garden of the church, that such new saints as grow by themselves, and yet desire to be Christians, and feed on the sap of the tree, increase much more abundantly, neither the right old saints of the Christian faith and life. And because I have come to this, I must report what I have learned from the histories. St. Bernard was abbot for 36 years, and in the same years he founded 160 monasteries of his order. Now it is well known what Cistercienses are for monasteries, whether they were perhaps lesser at that time, but are now pure principalities; and I want to say even more: At the same time, when under Emperor Heinrico 3. 4. 5., within twenty years, four different princely monastic orders arose, as Grandimotenses, Canonici regulares reformed, Carthusians and Cistercians. What will have happened after that in the four hundred years up to us? Truly, one might say, it has rained and snowed monks. And it is no wonder that no town or village would have remained without a monastery or two,

would be at least a terminarius or 8tatioiwi-ius. The Histories chide Emperor Valentinianum for using the monks for war. Yes, dear, the idle people wanted to become too many, as one also ran of some kings in France that they had to forbid to become monks, especially the serfs. For they sought liberty under the caps, and ran all into monasteries.

The world wants to be deceived. If you want to catch a lot of birds and birds of prey, you have to put an owl or an owl on a stick or a glue stick, and that is how it is done. So also, if the devil wants to see the Christians, he must put a monk's cap, or (as Christ calls it [Matth. 6, 16.]) a sour hypocritical face, we are then much more astonished at such owls and owls, neither of the right suffering, blood, wounds, death, and resurrection, which we see and hear in Christ our Lord, passed away for our sin; falling therefore with heaps and all power from the Christian faith upon the new sanctities, that is, to the devil in his clover and glue. For we must always have something new; Christ's death and resurrection, faith and love, are old and now common things, therefore they must no longer count for anything, but new earbrows (as St. Paul says [2 Tim. 4:3.]) we must have. And it happens to us, because our ears are so sore that we can no longer bear the old true truth, ut aeervemus, that we load great heaps of new doctrines on uus. As then hath happened, and shall continue to happen. For the following Conciliarities, especially the Papal Conciliarities (for afterwards they are almost all Papal Conciliarities), have not only left such new good works undamned, but have raised them high above the old good works in all the world, so that the pope has also canonized or exalted many saints from the monastic orders.

In the beginning it was and still is beautiful to look at, but in the end it becomes a horrible, monstrous thing, since everyone adds to it from day to day. The beginning of St. Francis was beautiful to look at, but now it has become so coarse that they even put on the caps of the dead, in which the dead are to be blessed. Is't not a terrible thing to hear? Ay, so it is; when one begineth to fall from
Christ and falls, one cannot stop. What happened in our time in the Low Countries, when Mrs. Margaret ordered after her death that she should be made a standard. This was done. She was dressed in nun's clothes, seated over a table, given food and drink, and given credence, as if she were a princess; then she atoned for her sin and became a holy nun. But when it had lasted some days, and the pious Emperor Carol heard of it, he had it abolished. If he had not done so, I think that such an example would have spread throughout the world. This is what the new holiness does, and this is what the new holiness must do, which wants to do better than the true old Christian holiness: it does not deceive in this way, but remains, and always practices faith, love, humility, discipline, patience, etc., so that nothing monstrous is seen in it, but only lovely, blissful, quiet, clean, useful examples that please God and man. But the new holiness rumbles with strange, new gestures, so that they lure the careless souls to themselves, pretending great things, and yet there is nothing behind them, as St. Peter writes [2 Petr. 2, 14-18].

Item 214: Gerson writes of the Carthusians that they are right in keeping so rigidly to their rule that they eat no meat if they must die at once. Well then, if a pious physician notices here that the sick person could be helped with a chicken broth or a morsel of meat, and not otherwise, the physician is not followed, but the sick person must die sooner. I praise St. Augustine for this, who writes in his rule that one should ask the physician's advice, and says: they are not all of the same fortune, therefore one should not keep them all alike. This is a right beautiful epiikia ("imL-xer"), do not force them to remain eternally either. For it is not a monastery, but a free society of several priests. D. Staupitz once told me that he had heard from the Bishop of Worms, who was a Dalbergian, that if St. Augustine had written nothing else but the Rule, one would still have to say that he had been an excellent wise man. This is also true. For he would have considered such Carthusians to be murderers in the highest degree, and their monasteries to be real physical murder pits (as they are then in the

truth) are damned. In Erfurt myself, in the Carthusian monastery, I saw a sick man walking on a crutch, who was still young; I asked him if he was not being kept from the choir and the guard? No, he said wisely, I must go away.

(215) But it is done unto us aright. God has sent us His Son to be our Teacher and Savior: 1) Not content with this, He Himself preaches to us all from His high heavenly throne, saying [Matt. 17:5], "Hail to you, hear this one. Then we should fall down with the apostles, and let it seem to us that we "hear" nothing else in all the world; so we let Father and Son preach in vain, and go away and invent our own sermon. Thus it is, as the 81st Psalm, v. 12, 13, says: "My people will not hearken unto my voice; so will I let them go after their heart's conceit." Hence then come such beautiful lttislotbreskise and ^. pbiäise, Col. 2, 23. self-chosen spirituality and unmercifulness over our own bodies, that we thus put ourselves to death, when yet God has commanded that one should care for the body, and not kill. Do you not think that if, according to St. Augustine's rule and St. Paul's teaching [Rom. 13:14], the physicians had been allowed to give counsel over the bodies of the clergy, especially of women, many a fine person would have been helped who otherwise would have had to go mad or die, as daily experience has taught us? But it was the time of wrath that the new and great holiness had to reign as a punishment to the world.

(216) Fifthly, a council has no power to impose new ceremonies on Christians, in the case of mortal sin, or in the case of driving the conscience, as fast days, feast days, food, drink, clothing. But where they do so, St. Augustine stands sä äsnusrium, saying, 8oe Zenus übers," bsbet vbservstivnes; and Christ hath given few ceremonies. For because they have not power to call it, we have power to forbear it; yea, we are forbidden to keep it by St. Paul Col. 2:16: "Be not conscience of any part of the days, and fastings, meat, or drink," 2c.

217. sixth, a concilium has power,

1) Erlanger (2nd): "assistance".

and is guilty of condemning such ceremonies according to the Scriptures; for they are unchristian, and set up a new idolatry or worship, which is not commanded by God, but forbidden.

The seventh is that a council has no power to interfere with worldly rights and government. 2c. For St. Paul says [2 Tim. 2, 4] that he who wants to serve God in spiritual warfare should abstain from worldly affairs.

219. eighthly, a concilium has power, and is bound, to condemn such manner made, or new rights, according to the holy scripture, that is, to cast the pope's decree into the fire.

(220) Ninthly, a council hath no power to make such statutes or decrees as seek nothing more than tyranny; that is, as the bishops shall have power and authority to command what they will, and every man must tremble and be obedient. But hath power, and is guilty of condemning such things, according to the holy scripture, 1 Pet. 5:3. "Shall not rule over the people;" and Christ [Luc. 22:26.), "*Vos non sic*: he that will be chief, let him be your servant."

(221) Tenthly, a council has power to establish certain ceremonies, with this difference: first, that they do not strengthen the tyranny of the bishops. Secondly, that they be necessary and useful to the people, and give a fine and orderly discipline and character. As, it is necessary to have certain days, also places, where one can meet; likewise certain hours to preach and to publicly offer the Sacramenta, and to pray, sing, praise God and give thanks 2c. As St. Paul says 1 Cor. 14, 40. "Let all things be done orderly and honestly." With such pieces, not the tyranny of the bishops is sought, but merely the need, benefit, and order of the people. And, to sum it up, one must have it, and cannot do without it, if the church is to remain otherwise.

022 But if any man, by reason of necessity, sickness, impediment, or whatsoever it may be, cannot at times keep such things, it need not be sin. For it is for his benefit, and not for the bishop's. If he is a Christian, he will not seek his own harm in this. What doth God ask of him that will not be with such a company or such a company?

find. And to sum up, he who is a Christian is not bound by such an order; he would rather do it than leave it, where he can be unhindered. Therefore no law can be laid down for him here; he would rather will and do more than such a law demands. But let him who arrogantly, proudly, and wantonly despises such a law. For such a one will despise a higher law, whether it be the law of God or the law of man.

(223) Perhaps you would like to say here: What do you want to make of the conciliums in the end, if you want to curtail them so much? In that way would a pastor, even a pedagogue, have more power over his pupils than a council has over the churches? I answer: Do you also think that a pastor or a schoolmaster is such a small office that they cannot be compared to the conciliis? If there were no parish priests or bishops, where would one gather a concilium? If there were no schools, where would one take pastors? I am speaking of such schoolmasters as not only teach the children and youth arts, but also draw them to Christian doctrine, and faithfully instruct them; and likewise of such pastors as faithfully and purely teach the word of God. For I will easily prove that the poor, lowly pastor of Hippon, St. Augustine, taught more than all the Conciliarities (for fear of the most holy popes in Rome I will remain silent). I will say more: There is more in the infant faith, neither in all concilia. So teach also the Lord's Prayer and ten commandments more, neither do all concilia teach. For this they do not teach, but prevent that nothing new be preached contrary to the old teachings. Help God, how shall the papists wring out these words from me, shout them down, grind them up, and destroy them, but let my reasons stand beside them, why I have spoken thus. For they are pious, honest people, who can do nothing but calumniate and lie, of which I should be justly afraid. But God will not forgive me, for I cannot do it, and I will let them blaspheme and lie.

224. But let us, thou and I, speak one to another of the matter. What then can a Concilium do? or what is its work? Hear thou thyself their own words, Anathematica.
Their office is called, we condemn. Yes, they speak much more demurely, ünd do not say, we condemn; but so they say: Anathe-
matisat Ecclesia, the holy Christian church condemned. The condemnation of the Concilii should not frighten me, but the condemnation of the holy church would kill me in a moment, for the sake of the man who says [Matt. 28:20], "I am with you to the end of the world"; oh! the man's condemnation is not to be suffered. But the Concilia, because they put on the holy Christian church, as the right high judge on earth, bear witness that they are not judges of their own pleasure, but the church, as the holy Scripture preaches, believes, and confesses, as we shall hear. Just as a thief or a murderer would remain in the presence of the judge for his own sake, but the law and the land are held together by the judge as their servant, and he must be afraid of the two.

(1) 225 A concilium, then, is nothing else than a consistory, court of justice, court of review, or the like, in which the judges pronounce judgment after interrogating the parties, but with such humility: by right, that is, our office is *anathematisare*, condemn. But not according to our head nor will, or new invented law, but according to the old law, which is held to be law in the whole realm. So a concilium also condemns a heretic, not according to their conceit, but according to the law of the realm, that is, according to the holy Scriptures, as they confess, which is the law of the holy church. Such law, kingdom, and judge are truly to be feared for eternal damnation. For such law is the word of God, the kingdom is the church of God, and the judge is the minister or servant of both.

226 Such a minister or judge of this law and kingdom is not only the council, but also every pastor and schoolmaster. For this reason, a council cannot be in perpetual need of such a magistrate's office. For the bishops cannot remain eternally assembled together, but must come together only at certain times of need, and

1) Here the Wittenberg and Jena editions have for the second time the superscription: "What a Concilium is."

Anathematize, or be a judge. As when an Arius of Alexandria becomes too powerful for his pastor or bishop, seizes the people, and mixes in other pastors and people in the country, the pastor of Alexandria is defeated, and his magistracy can no longer defend the law of this realm, that is, the true Christian faith: In such distress and at such time the other pastors and bishops shall run with all their might, and help the pastor of Alexandria against Arium to defend the right faith, and condemn Arium for the salvation of the others, so that the misery may not entirely prevail. And where the parish priests are not able to come, the pious emperor Constantine should also do this with his power, and help the bishops together. Just as when a fire breaks out, if the owner of the house alone cannot extinguish it, all the neighbors should run to help extinguish it; and if they do not run to help, the authorities should help and command that they must run to help, and anathematize or condemn the fire to save the other houses.

227 So then the Concilium is the great minister or judge in this kingdom and law; but when the emergency is over, he has finished his office. Just as in the temporal government, the high, great judges must do this when the lower, smaller courts are too weak to resist the evil, until it finally comes to the highest, greatest court, the Imperial Diet, which also cannot be eternal, but must, when the emergency is over, draw apart again and leave the matters to the lower courts. But it happens at the imperial diets that it is sometimes necessary to establish new or more rights, to change and improve the old ones, or even to abolish them, and it is not possible to speak eternally according to an eternal law. For it is a temporal government that governs temporal things, which change and change; therefore the rights that are set for such changeable things must also change. For if the thing on which the law is based is no longer there, then the law is also no longer there. Just as the city of Rome no longer has the status and character that it had before, so the rights that were based on them are dead and no longer apply.
nothing more. Transient thing has transient right.

But in this kingdom of the church it is thus said: "God's word abideth for ever" [Isaiah 40:8], according to which one must judge, and not make new or different God's word, set new or different articles of faith. Therefore pastors and schoolmasters are the lowly, but daily, permanent, eternal judges, who anathematize without ceasing, that is, ward off the devil and his ravings. A concilium, as a great judge, must make pious or kill old, great husks, but cannot beget others. A priest and a schoolmaster have to deal with small, young peelers, and always beget new people for bishops and concilia, where it is necessary. A council cuts down the large branches of the trees, or even rots out the evil trees. But a priest and a schoolmaster plant and beget vain young trees and spicebushes in the garden. O, they have a precious office and work, and are the noblest jewels of the churches; they preserve the churches. Therefore let all lords do their best to preserve the parish priests and schools. For while we cannot have the churches, the parishes and schools, though small, are eternal and useful churches.

(229) It is evident how seriously the ancient emperors meant the parishes and schools, since they so richly endowed the monasteries. For these names, Provost, Dean, Scholasticus, Cantor, Canonici, Vicarii, Custos 2c. testify that there were schools in the first place. But what has become of it? Oh Lord God! that they would still want to do something, remain what they are, keep what they have, be princes and lords, but again set up lectures, and force the canons, vicars, choir students, that they hear a lecture in the Holy Scriptures every day, so that it would again have some form of a school, so that one could have pastors and bishops, and thus help to govern the churches. O Lord God, how immeasurably great good they could do for the church, and God would well grant them their wealth or power and leave it to them, where they would otherwise also improve their shameful lives. But such our sighing and lamenting is in vain. There is no

Hearing nor seeing makes the parishes desolate, and the people without God's word become raw and savage. I have heard it said by people whom I must believe that in many dioceses two hundred, three hundred, four hundred good parishes stand empty. Is that not a terribly cruel thing to hear among Christians? Have mercy on God in heaven! and hear our miserable sighing and lamenting, amen.

230 And that we also come once from the concilia, I think that from this one should be able to understand what a concilium is, what its right, power, office, and work is; also which concilia are true or false concilia, namely, that they should confess and defend the old faith against the new articles of faith, and not set new articles of faith against the old faith, nor set new good works against the old good works, but defend the old good works against the new good works. But he who defends the old faith against the new faith also defends the old good works against the new good works. For as the faith is, so are the fruits or good works, without which the two Conciliates did not see such a consequence, or else they would have condemned the Archimandrite Eutychen not only on account of faith (which they sincerely did), but also on account of fine monasticism (which they did not do), but rather have confirmed, thereby testifying that they themselves also have wicked vialsetiei, giving a ^ntsosäsns, and not giving the Ooiws^usns, according to the common plague of all the world, and have just the defect in good works which Nestorius and Eutyches had in faith. This much is said: God will not only make us children in faith, but will also make us fools in vialsotioa, and reckon us vain Nestorius and Eutyches, that he may humble us. For though Nestorius and Eutyches may be condemned in theologia, yet their lazy dialectica remains always in the world, as it has been from the beginning, that one holds the^ntsoscksns and leaves oonssgusus. And what will you say much? If thou hast all the Concilia, yet thereby thou art not a Christian, they give too little. Though thou hast all the fathers, yet they give thee not enough; yet thou must look into the holy scriptures, wherein it is
all is abundantly given, or in the Catechismum, since it is briefly given, and also far more neither is found in all the Concilia and Fathers.

Finally, a council should have to do only with matters of faith, and that when faith is in need. For public evil works may well be condemned at home by the secular rulers, priests, and parents, and the good ones may be administered. But false good works also belong to the things of faith, as they corrupt the true faith; therefore, where the pastors are too weak, they also belong to the concilium. Although the Concilia (as I have said) did not concern themselves with this, without one or two small Concilia, as that of Gangra, of which we have said above. The ceremonies should even be left out of the conciliis at home in the parishes, even in the schools, that the schoolmaster would be Magister Ceremouiarum next to the parish priest. For from the pupils the others all learn it, without all the essays and effort.

232. So what, when, and how the disciples sing or pray in church, the multitude learn afterward; and what they sing over the dead body, or at the grave, the rest learn also; when they kneel down, and fold their hands, as the schoolmaster taps with the rod while they sing: Et homo factus est, so do the multitude afterwards; when they take off their little hats, or bend their knees, as often as the name of Jesus Christ is called, and what they practice more of the same Christian discipline and deeds, that the multitude also do afterwards without preaching, as if moved by living examples. All ceremonies, even under the pope, have come from the schools and parishes, without which the pope has sought his tyranny, with food, fasting, celebrations 2c. But here one must also see to it that the ceremonies do not become too much in the end. First of all, however, one must see to it that they are not considered necessary for salvation, but serve only for outward discipline and order, which may be changed every hour, and are not commanded in the church for eternal rights (as the pope does), and are written in the books with tyrannical dread. For it is altogether an outward, corruptible, changeable thing.

233 Therefore, in our time, we would have things that would be more than important and worthy enough to gather a concilium. For we poor, miserable, weak believers, and unfortunately real Niscrzi, that is, lazy Christians, who are still left, would have to sue the pope, along with his own, for the article of St. Peter, of which we heard above, that it is called God's temptation, where the believers are burdened with infallible burdens, which neither we nor our ancestors (but especially the pope with his own, does not want to touch with a finger) have been able to bear [Apost. 15, 10.). Although St. Peter speaks of the Law of Moses, which God Himself commanded, yet the pope has oppressed us with his foul, filthy, and stinking burdens, so that the holy church has had to be his secret chamber, and what has gone down and up from it have had to worship for God; also that he has not set fire to one or two, like Arius and his like, but the whole Christian church, and burned it, so that he has destroyed the old right article of faith of St. Peter to the ground. Peter to the ground, as much as was in him. For that we (as St. Peter testifies, v. 11.) must be saved by the grace of Christ alone, as all Christendom from the beginning of the world, all the patriarchs, prophets, kings, saints, 2c. have been, is called heresy, and has from the beginning always condemned the same article for and for, nor can it cease.

Here we call and cry for a concilium, and ask all Christendom for counsel and help against this arch-church-burner and murderer of Christians, that we may have this article of St. Peter again. But we ask that no Nestorian or Eutychian Dialectica be used here, which gives or confesses one part, but denies the consequent or other part. We desire the whole article to be round and pure, as it is set by St. Peter, and taught by St. Paul, namely, that in doing so one also condemn everything that follows from this article to be condemned; or as St. Peter calls it: the infallible, impossible burden, and St. Augustine: the innumerable burden, loaded on the church by bishops. For what is the use, if mau already gives the first piece, that it is true, that we are saved by grace alone?

Christ must be justified and saved, and yet does not let the other part follow, which must follow from it. As when St. Paul saith [Rom. 11:6], If it be grace, it is not works; if it be works, it is not grace; and St. Peter, If it be grace, it is not the infallible burden; if it be the infallible burden, it is not the grace of Christ, which is called trying God. St. Augustine also, since Christ wished to burden the churches with a few ceremonies, or rather to have them free, did not wish to have them oppressed by the innumerable burdens of the bishops; that the church is worse off, neither the Jews, who were burdened by God's laws, and not (like the church) by human, presumptuous, sacrilegious essays.

(235) Such a dialectica of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Augustine, we want to have, which is the dialectica of the Holy Spirit, which is whole, and not divided into nestoric parts, or one alone wants to be true, and the other, which must also be true from it, does not want to be true. Otherwise it would be the same, as it is written of certain kings of Israel and Judah, 1) that they did indeed perform the right worship, but they did not remove the high places or other altars and services. Which the prophet Elijah calleth, Limping in both parts [1 Kings 19:21]. We Germans call it: to make two brothers in law with one sister. So they wanted to give one people two different Gods, or if they almost reformed, they also wanted to leave a strange god beside the one God. For they were also coarse Nestorian Dialcctici, who professed that one alone must worship one God, and yet did not see that it must follow from this, nor let it follow that all other gods must be absent, or could not have the one God. Therefore, in the Concilio, desired by us, we do not want to suffer a nestorium, who gives us one thing and takes away another, with whom we also cannot keep that which he gives, and is a right giver-taker. For where we are given that the grace of Christ alone makes us blessed, and not also given the consequence and emphasis that works do not make us blessed, but will

1) So only in Walch; in the other editions: "Jüden".

If we retain that works are necessary for satisfaction or for righteousness, we are deprived of the first thing that was given to us, namely, that grace alone without works makes us blessed; then we retain nothing, and have become worse.

I will speak in German: In the Concilio, the pope is not only to renounce all his tyranny of human commandments, but also to hold with us that even good works, done according to God's commandments, cannot help to righteousness, to eradicate sin, to obtain God's grace, but only faith in Christ, who is a king of righteousness in us, by his own blood, death, and resurrection, that he might put away sin for us, be sufficient for us, reconcile us to God, and deliver us from death, wrath, and hell. Therefore he shall condemn and burn all his bulls, decrees, books of indulgences, purgatory, monasteries, saints' service, pilgrimages, together with all innumerable lies and idolatries, as they are raging against this article of St. Peter's; he shall also restore everything that he has bought, stolen, robbed, plundered or acquired with it, especially his false primacy, which he boasts is so necessary that no one can be saved who is not subject to him. For the pope's hat died not for my sin, neither is Christ called; and all Christians before him, and under him, have been sanctified and saved without his hat.

(237) This, I think, is a matter of sufficient importance to warrant a stately, sharp, and mighty concilium. Emperors and kings should help here, and force the pope, if he does not want to, to do so, as the emperors have done in the four main concilia. But not all bishops, abbots, monks, doctors, and the useless bunch of huddlers and the big crowd would have to come there, otherwise it would be such a concilium, since the first year would be spent with the arrival, with bickering, which one should sit at the top, go behind or in front; the other year with parading, pewing, running, and stabbing; the third year with other things, or also with burning, for instance of John Hus or two, and such a fare be done, that a campaign against the Turk may be made with it.

would like to keep. Rather, one would have to call for people from all countries who are thoroughly learned in the holy Scriptures and who also seriously and wholeheartedly mean God's glory, the Christian faith, the church, the salvation of souls, and the peace of the world. Among them are some of the secular class (for it also concerns them), who would also be understanding and faithful. As if Mr. Hans von Schwarzenberg were alive, one would know to trust him or his peers. And it would be enough if there were three hundred of them everywhere, select people, since one would like to put country and people on it: just as the first Concilium, which from all the countries that now the Turk and our monarchs have, had no more than three hundred and eighteen, and yet seventeen were false and Arians. The other, at Constantinople, had one hundred and fifty. The third, at Ephesus, two hundred. The fourth, at Chalcedon, had six hundred and thirty, almost as many as all the others, and yet they were not at all like the fathers at Nicea and Constantinople.

(238) Nor would it be necessary to take up the affairs of all countries, which no one else can or will judge, even old, decayed, evil affairs, and to throw them all upon the neck of the Council. A Constantine would have to be there who would take up such matters and throw them all into the fire, would have them judged and decided at home in the countries, but would have to take up the matter and get the most beneficial result. There the Pope's heresy, even abomination, would be publicly read piece by piece, as it is all against St. Peter's Articles and against the old right Christian faith of the church, which has held St. Peter's Articles from the beginning of the world, and would be condemned immediately 2c.

Yea, saith thou, such a concilium is never to be hoped for. I think so myself. But if one wants to speak of it, and desire or wish for a council, then one must desire such a council, or even let it go, and desire none, and keep silent. For such a council was held the first at Nicea, and the other at Constantinople; which examples it would be reasonable to follow. And therefore show that emperors and kings, because they are Christians, would be obliged to gather such a council for the salvation of many thousand souls whom the pope has destroyed with his tyranny and

2268, Erl. (2.) 25,410-413. sec. 2. of the conciliis and churches. No. 1247, W. XVI, 2778-2778, 2269.
They are all those who could come to St. Peter's Articles and to the right old Christian faith by means of a concilium, and who must otherwise be lost. For they cannot get this doctrine of St. Peter, because they neither hear nor see anything of it.

240 And even if other monarchs did not want to join the main council, Emperor Carolus and the German princes could still hold a provincial in German lands. And that some think that it would become a schism: who knows, if we did our part, and earnestly sought God's honor and the salvation of souls, God might yet turn the hearts of the other monarchs so that in time they would praise and accept such a conciliar judgment. For it could not happen suddenly. But if Germany were to accept it, it would have to resound in other countries as well, where it cannot, or can hardly, come without such a great preacher as the Council is and has a strong voice that is heard from afar.

241 Well then, if we must despair of a concilio, let it be ordered to the right judge, our merciful God. However, we want to promote the small Concilia and the young Concilia, that is, parishes and schools, and let St. Peter's articles be pushed and preserved in every possible way, against all the damned new articles of faith and new good works that the pope has washed into the world. I will comfort myself when I see the children going into bishops' larvae, and think that God makes and will make such playful bishops to be right bishops, again considering those who should be right bishops according to their name to be vain playful bishops and mockers of His Majesty, as Moses says [Deut. 32, 21.], "I will provoke them to anger with that which is not my people, and to vomit with a foolish people, because they have provoked me to anger with that which is not GOD." It is not his first to reject bishops, he hath thrust it in Hosea [Cap. 4, 6.], "Thou castest away doctrine, and I will cast thee away again, that thou be not my priest." Lt iLetum est ita, et üt ita. Let that be enough of the conciliarities, now let us speak of the church in the end also.

The third part, of the church. 1)

024 As they cry of the fathers and conciliarities, and know not what the fathers and conciliarities are, but only want to cover us up with empty letters, so they cry also of the church. But that they should say what, who, where the church is, they would not do so much service, neither to the church nor to God, that they would ask or seek after it. They like to be taken for the church, as pope, cardinals, bishops, and yet let them be vain disciples of the devil under this glorious name, who would practice nothing but vain deceit and mischievousness. Well then, putting aside various writings and divisions of the word church, let us this time remain simple-mindedly with the child's faith, which says: "I believe in a holy Christian church, the communion of saints." Then faith plainly signifies what the church is, namely, a communion of saints, that is, a multitude or collection of such people as are Christians and holy; that is, a Christian holy multitude or church. But this word "church" is with us especially un-German, and does not give the sense or thought which must be taken from the article.

243. for Apost. 19, 39. 40. the chancellor ^6ol68iam calls the congregation or people, who had run to the market at home, saying, "It may be done in a proper congregation." Item, when he had said this, he let the congregation go. In these and other places the name ^6ol68w, or church, means nothing else than a gathered people, whether they were Gentiles or not Christians, just as the rulers of the council call their congregation to the council house. Now there are many nations in the world, but the Christians are a peculiarly called people, and are not badly called LooIvZia, church, or people, but Kanota, Oatbolioa, Ebrwtiana, that is, a Christian holy people, who believe in Christ, wherefore they are called a Christian people, and have the Holy Ghost, which sanctifieth them daily, not only by the remission of sins, which Christ hath purchased for them (as the antinomians fool), but also by the putting away, sweeping out, and killing of sins, whereof they are called a Christian people.

1) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

holy people. And now "holy Christian church" is so much as a people that are Christians and holy, or as one is also wont to speak, holy Christendom; item, the whole of Christendom. 1) In the Old Testament it is called God's people.

244 And if such words had been used in infancy, I believe that there was a holy Christian people, then all the misery that has been torn down under the blind, unclear word "church" could easily have been avoided. For the word "holy Christian people" would have brought with it clearly and powerfully both understanding and judgment as to what is or is not the church. For whoever had heard this word: Christian holy people, would have been able to judge immediately: The pope is not a people, much less a holy Christian people. So also the bishops, priests, and monks, they are not a holy Christian people; for they believe not in Christ, neither do they live holy, but are the devil's evil, shameful people. For he that believeth not in Christ is not a Christian, neither is he a Christian. He that hath not the Holy Ghost against sin is not holy. Therefore they cannot be a holy Christian people, that is, *Sancta et Catholica Ecclesia*.

(245) But because we use this blind word "church" in infantile faith, the common man falls upon the stone house which is called the church, as the painters paint it; or else they paint the apostles, disciples, and the mother of God, as on the day of Pentecost, and the Holy Ghost hovering above. This is still possible; but this is only a time of holy Christian people, as in the beginning. But Ecclesia shall be called the holy Christian people, not only in the time of the apostles, who are now long dead, but unto the end of the world. That therefore there should always be on earth in life a holy Christian people, in whom Christ lives, works, and reigns, per roäomptionom, by grace and forgiveness of sins, and the Holy Spirit per vivificationem et sanctiüeatioiwm, by daily sweeping away of sins, and renewing of life, that we may not abide in sins, but may and ought to lead a new life in all kinds of good works, and not in old evil works, such as the ten commandments, or two tables.

1) The words: "item, all Christendom" are missing in the second edition of the Erlangen edition.

This is the doctrine of St. Paul. But the pope with his own has drawn both, name and image of the church, from himself alone and from his shameful, cursed houses, under the blind word Loeiosia, church 2c.

024 But they themselves give them the right name, when they call themselves Leoiesia, or Uoumna, or Kaneta, and do not add to them, as they cannot, Oatüolioa. For Loelesia is called a people; that is what they are, just as the Turk is also Loolesia, a people. Leelosia Romana is called a Roman people, which they are, and indeed much more Roman than the heathen were Roman before. Leolosia Uomana saneta, is called a holy Roman nation; so they are, for they have invented a much greater holiness than the holiness of Christians, or that of the holy Christian nation. For their holiness is a Roman holiness comaaae L66I68M6, the Roman people's holiness, and are now also called Lauetissimi, Laerosaneti, the most holy; as Virgilius speaks, saora 1ani68, 8Ä6ra Ü08tia, and Plautus, omaiuia 8ao6rruiau8. For Christian holiness they cannot suffer. Therefore they cannot have the name Christian church or Christian people, also for the cause that Christian church and Christian holiness is a common name and common thing to all churches and Christians in the world, wherefore it is called Oatüolwum. But they esteem such a common name and holiness little and almost nothing, but have devised a special, higher, different, better holiness before others, which shall be called LaiwtitsK Uomaua, 6t ^66l68ia6 Uomariae 8anetita8, that is, Roman holiness, and the Roman people's holiness.

For Christian holiness, or common Christian holiness, is when the Holy Spirit gives people faith in Christ, and thereby sanctifies them, Acts 15:9. 15:9, that is, he makes new heart, soul, body, work, and being, and writes the commandments of God not on tables of stone, but on hearts of flesh, 2 Cor. 3:3. As if I speak rudely: after the first tablet he gives right knowledge of God, so that they, enlightened by him with right faith, may resist all heresies, overcome all false thoughts and error, and thus be pure in faith against the devil.

remain. He also gives strength and comforts the stupid, despondent, weak consciences against the accusation and temptation of sins, so that the souls do not despair or despair, nor are they afraid of the torture, torment, death, wrath and judgment of God, but are strengthened in hope and confidently, boldly and cheerfully overcome the devil. He also gives us a right fear and love of God, so that we will not despise God, nor grumble or be angry against His strange judgments, but will love, praise, thank and honor Him in everything that happens, good or bad. This is called a new and holy life in the soul, according to the first table of Moses. It is also called tres virtutes LootoZioas, the three principal virtues of Christians, as, faith, hope, love [1 Cor. 13:13.], and the Holy Ghost, which giveth, doeth, and worketh these things (purchased for us by Christ), is therefore called 8o,v6tiÜ6Ltor, or Vivikieo-tor. For the old Adam is dead, and cannot do it, and must learn it by the law, that he cannot do it, and is dead; otherwise he would not know it of himself.

248 In the other table, and after the body, he sanctifieth Christians also, and ordainth that they be willingly obedient to parents and overlords, peaceable, humble, not angry, nor revengeful, nor malicious, but patient, kind, servile, brotherly, lovely, not unchaste, adulterous, licentious, but chaste, chaste with wife, child, and servants, or without wife and child. So then, not stealing, usury, stinginess, translating, 2c., but honestly working, honestly feeding, gladly lending, giving, helping where they can; so not lying, deceiving, asterreden, but being kind, truthful, faithful, and constant, and what more is required in the commandments of God. This is done by the Holy Spirit, who sanctifies and awakens the body to this new life, until it is accomplished in that life. And this is called Christian holiness. And such people must always be on earth, and should be only two or three, or the children alone. Alas, there are few of the aged. And those that are not, let them not count themselves Christians, neither let them be comforted as if they were Christians, by much talk of the forgiveness of sins and graces of Christ, as the antinomians do.

0249 For these, after they have rejected the ten commandments, and understand them not, preach many things concerning the grace of Christ, but strengthen and comfort them that abide in sins, that they fear not, nor be afraid of sins: for they are all gone through Christ: and yet they see and suffer men to walk in public sins, without any amendment or correction of their lives. From this it is evident that they do not understand the faith and Christ aright, and by that very fact do away with them when they preach it. For how can he speak rightly of the works of the Holy Spirit in the first table, of consolation, grace, and forgiveness of sins, who neither respects nor does the works of the Holy Spirit in the other table, which he can understand and experience, but has never tried or experienced. Wherefore it is certain that they neither have nor understand Christ nor the Holy Ghost, and their babblings are a loud foam of the tongue, and as said, are true Nestorii and Eutyches, who confess or teach Christ in ^.nteoeäenti, in dex substance, and yet deny in Oonse^uenti or Jdiomaten, that is, they teach Christ, and destroy Christ by teaching him.

250 Now this is said of Christian holiness; which the pope will not have, but must have a peculiar one, which is much holier, that is, to teach casel, plates, caps, garments, food, feasts, days, monasticism, nunnery, masses, saints' service, and other more innumerable things of outward, corruptible, perishable things. Whether one lives among them without faith, fear of God, hope, love, and what the Holy Spirit works according to the first table, but instead with unbelief, uncertain hearts, doubting, contempt of God, impatience with God, false trust in works (that is, idolatry), and not in the grace of Christ, nor on his merit, but does enough even by works, also sells excess to others, and for this takes all the world's goods and money as well deserved: All these things hinder not, but may be more holy, neither is Christian holiness itself.

0251 So, in the other table, there is no harm in their teaching disobedience to parents and overlords, in their murdering, warring, agitating, envying, hating, avenging, being unchaste, lying,

steal, usurp, deceive, and do all folly to the utmost; only throw a surplice over thy head, and thou art holy, according to the holiness of the Roman church; thou mayest well be blessed without Christian holiness. But let us go idle of the foul people (yet it is in vain what we do to them; Venit ira Dei super 608 in üueiu, as St. Paul saith (1 Thess. 2:16?), 1) and talk with us of the church.

(252) Now the infant faith teacheth us, as I have said, that a holy Christian people must be and remain on the earth unto the end of the world. For it is an article of faith, which cannot cease till it come to believe; as Christ promises [Matt. 28:20], "I am with you unto the end of the world." Wherefore will or can any poor erring man perceive where such Christian holy people are in the world? For they believe that a heavenly being and eternal life will come, but they do not yet have it; therefore they must still be in this life and in this world, and remain until the end of the world. For it says, "I believe another life," and thus confesses that it is not yet in the same life, but believes, hopes, and loves it as its right fatherland and life; meanwhile it must remain in misery and wait, as they sing in the song of the Holy Spirit, "When we go home from this misery, Kyrieleis." This is to be spoken of.

By what signs the Christian church is to be recognized. 2)

253 First of all, this holy Christian people is to know where they have the holy word of God. Although it is unequal, as St. Paul says (1 Cor. 3:12, 13), "Some are pure, and some are not pure. Those who have it pure are called those who build gold, silver, and precious stones on the ground; those who have it impure are called those who build hay, straw, and wood on the ground, but are saved by fire, of which more than enough has been said above.

1) These brackets are put by us to make sense.

2) This superscription is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

This is the main part and the high main sanctity, of which the Christian people is called holy. For the word of God is holy, and sanctifies all that it toucheth; yea, it is the holiness of God himself, Rom. 1:16: "It is the power of God which maketh blessed all them that believe;" and 1 Tim. 4:5: "All things are sanctified by the word and prayer." For the Holy Spirit conducts it himself, and anoints or sanctifies the church, that is, the Christian holy people with it, and not with the chrism of the pope, that he may anoint or sanctify fingers, garments, skirts, chalice, and stones. For the same pieces never learn to love God, to believe, to praise, to be piously fine. Let them adorn the maggot sack, and then tear and rot with Chresem and holiness, as much as is in it, along with the maggot sack.

254 But this sanctuary is the right sanctuary, 3) the right ointment, which anoints unto eternal life, when thou canst neither have a pope's crown, nor a bishop's hat, but must live and die naked in the body; even as babes (and we all) are baptized naked, and without any raiment. But we speak full of the outward word, preached by men, as by thee and me, orally. For Christ hath left these things behind him, as an outward sign, whereby his church, or his holy Christian people, should be known in the world. We also speak of such an oral word, when it is earnestly believed, and publicly confessed before the world, as he saith [Matt. 10:32, 33. Luc. 12:8.], "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father and his angels." For many there be that know it secretly, but will not confess it. Many there be that believe it not, nor do it. For few there be that believe, and do it. As the parable of the seed, Matt. 13:4, saith, that it bringeth forth and hath four parts of the field, but the fourth part only, the goodly good field, bringeth forth fruit in patience.

255 Wherefore thou hearest or seest such word preach, believe, confess, and do according to it, have no doubt that there must certainly be there a right ecclesis, sancta cratLolios-, a Christian holy people (1 Pet. 2, 9.), if

3) In the first edition: "Heilthum"; in the collections: "Heiligthum".

4) In the first edition and in Walch: "three".

They are very few. For the word of God does not go away alone, Isa. 55:11, but must have at least a fourth or a piece of the field. And if there were no other sign than this alone, it would still be sufficient to show that there must be a holy Christian people there. For the word of God cannot be without the people of God. Again, God's people cannot be without God's Word. Otherwise, who would want to preach it or hear it preached where there would be no people of GOd? And what could or would God's people believe where God's Word was not there?

256. And this is the piece that does all miracles, makes all things right, keeps all things, straightens all things, does all things, casts out all devils, as, pilgrimage devil, indulgence devil, bull devil, fraternity devil, saint devil, fair devil, purgatory devil, monastery devil, priest devil, red devil, sedition devil, heretic devil, all papal devils, also antinomian devils; but not without shouting and strife, as he shows in the poor men, Marc. 1, 23. 26. and 9, 26. No, he must leave a shouting and tearing behind him, if he is to go out, as is seen in Emser, Ecke, Rotzleffel, Schmid, Wezel, Tölpel, Knebel, Filtz, Rültz, Säu, Esel, and the like of his shouters and writers, who are all the devil's mouth and limbs, through which he thus shouts and tears; but help 'em not, he must go out, and cannot suffer the power of the word. For they themselves confess that it is the word of God and the holy Scriptures, but it is better to have it from the fathers and the churches. Let them go; it is enough that we know how the main body, the main sanctuary, feasts, keeps, nourishes, strengthens, and protects the church, as St. Augustine also says: Loelesia verdo Dei Zeneratur, alitur, nutritur, roboratur. But they that persecute and condemn it call themselves by their own fruits.

257 Secondly, God's people, or the Christian holy people, are known by the holy sacrament of baptism, where they are taught, believed, and used according to Christ's order. For this is also a public sign and precious sanctuary, by which God's people are sanctified. For it is a holy bath of the new birth through the Holy Spirit [Titus 3:5], in which we are bathed, and are blessed by the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit washes you from sins and death, but in the innocent, holy blood of the Lamb of God. Where thou seest such signs, know that the church or the holy Christian people must surely be there, whether the pope baptize thee not, or thou knowest nothing of his holiness and power; as the young children know nothing of it, without that, when they are grown up, they are sadly deceived from their baptism, as St. Peter complaineth, 2 Pet. 2:18: provoking by fornication them that were rightly escaped, and now walk in error 2c. Yea, neither be thou deceived as to who is the Baptist. For baptism is not of the baptizer, nor given unto him, but of him that is baptized, to whom it is instituted and given of God; even as the word of God is not of the preacher, (for he himself also shall hear and believe,) but of the disciple that heareth and believeth, to whom it is given.

258 Third, God's people, or a holy Christian people, are known by the holy sacrament of the altar, where it is properly administered, believed, and received according to Christ's institution. For it is also a public sign and precious sanctuary, left behind by Christ, by which his people are sanctified, so that they also practice and publicly confess that they are Christians, as they do with the word and with baptism. And you must not pay attention to anything here, if the pope does not say mass for you, consecrate you, confirm or anoint you, or put on a chasuble. You may well receive it without any clothes (as in a bed sick), without the outward discipline compelling you to cover yourself modestly and honestly; you must also ask nothing in this, whether you have a plate or are cured; Nor should you inquire whether you are male or female, young or old, as little as you inquire about all these things in baptism and preaching; it is enough that you are consecrated and consecrated with the high and holy creed of God, of the word of God and of baptism, and also of this sacrament; then you are highly and gloriously enough anointed and priestly clothed.

0259 Neither be thou deceived how holy the man is, or whether he be two women or not, that passeth it unto thee. For the sacrament is not of him that ministereth it, but of him to whom it is ministered.

Without him taking it himself. Then he is one who receives it, and it is given to him. Wherever you see such sacramental gifts being served in the proper manner, know that they are God's people. For as it was said of the Word above, where the Word of God is, there must the church be; so also, where baptism and sacrament are, there must God's people be, and again. For no one has, gives, practices, needs, or confesses such pieces of salvation, but God's people alone, though there are some false and unbelieving Christians secretly among them; but these do not profane God's people, especially because they are secret; for the church or God's people do not suffer the manifest ones among themselves, but punish and sanctify them also; or, if they will not, cast them out by the ban from the holy place, and count them heathen, Matt. 18:17.

260) Fourthly, the people of God, or holy Christians, are known by the keys which they use publicly; that is, as Christ set forth in Matt. 18:15, 16, where a Christian sinneth, that he should be punished; and if he amend not, he shall be bound, and cast out; and if he amend, he shall be absolved. These are the keys. Now the custom of the keys is twofold, public and special. For some are so stupid and despondent in their pleasures, if they are not publicly condemned, that they still cannot console themselves until they receive absolution from the priest in particular. Again, some are so hard on me that even in their hearts and before the priest they secretly do not want to forgive or remit sins. For this reason, the key must be used in all kinds of ways, both publicly and specially. Wherefore thou seest that sin is forgiven or punished in some persons, whether publicly or specially, know that God's people are there. For where God's people are not, there are not the keys; and where the keys are not, there are not God's people. For Christ left them behind, that there should be a public sign and sanctuary, whereby the Holy Spirit (purchased by Christ's death) might sanctify fallen sinners again, and "confess" the Christians that they are a holy people under Christ in this world. And those who do not want to be converted, "let them be sanctified again, so that the same from would be thrust out of such a holy people, that is, bound, and shut out by the key, as shall happen to the impenitent antinomians.

0261 Here turn not thou to the two keys of the pope, which he hath made two lock-picks for all kings' chests and crowns. For if he will not bind or punish sin, whether public or particular, let it be punished and bound in thy parish. If he will not loose it nor forgive it, let it be loosed and forgiven in thy parish. For his reserving or binding, his laxing or permitting, does not sanctify nor sanctify thee, because he cannot have the keys, but has vain lock-picks. The keys are not of the pope (as he teaches), but of the church, that is, of the people of Christ, the people of God, or the holy Christian people, as far as the whole world is, or where Christians are. 'Den' they cannot all be to Nom, unless the whole world were first to Rome, which will not be yet for a long time. Just as baptism, sacrament, the word of God, are not of the pope, but of the people of Christ, and are also called *claves Ecclesiae*, not *claves Papae*.

(262) Fifthly, the church is known externally to ordain or appoint ministers, or to have offices which it shall appoint. For one must have bishops, pastors, or preachers, who publicly and especially give, administer, and exercise the above-mentioned four parts or sanctuary, on account of and in the name of the church, but rather by the appointment of Christ, as St. Paul Eph. 4:11. says: ^.o66pit äona in lloiniiüdus, "he has given some to be apostles, prophets, evangelists, teachers, governors," 2c. For the whole multitude cannot do these things, but must command or be commanded by one. Otherwise, what would become of each one if he wanted to speak or hand out, and no one would yield to the other? It must be commanded to one alone, and let him 1) alone preach, baptize, absolve, and administer the sacrament; and the rest all be satisfied of it, and consent thereto. Wherefore when thou seest these things, be thou sure that they are the people of God, and the holy Christian people.

1) "him" is missing from the first edition,

263 But it is true, that in this piece the Holy Ghost hath excepted women, and children, and unfit men, but hath chosen only competent men, as it is read now and then in the epistles of St. Paul, that a bishop should be a man of doctrine, and of godliness, and of a woman [1 Tim. 3:2.In sum, it should be a skillful, chosen man, to whom children, wives, and other persons are not competent, although they are competent to hear God's word, to receive baptism, sacrament, absolution, and are true holy Christians, as St. Peter says [1 Ep. 3, 7]. For such a difference also is given by nature and God's creation, that women (much less children or fools) cannot nor ought to have any rule, as experience gives, and Moses 1 Mos. 3:16. says, "Thou shalt be subject to man"; but the gospel does not abrogate such natural right, but confirms it as God's order and creatures.

Here the pope will persuade me through his screamers and devils: 1) St. Paul says not only of pastors and preachers, but also of apostles, evangelists, prophets, and other high spiritual orders, therefore there must be higher orders in the church, neither are pastors and preachers. Where now, Domine Luther? Where shall I go? There I go: If they themselves become apostles, evangelists, prophets, or show me one, oh, what a fool I am! if they show me one among them who is worthy of a pupil in the school, or who knows as much about Christian doctrine and holy scripture as a maiden of seven years, then I will give myself up captive. Now I know for certain that an apostle, evangelist, and prophet can do more, or even as much, as a girl of seven years, I am speaking of the holy Scriptures and of faith, for that they can do more of the teachings of men, and also more of mischief, I believe very well, and more strongly than I believe in God, because they show me before my eyes by deed. Therefore, as they are churches, so are they apostles, evangelists, and prophets; that is, they are the devil's apostles,

1) In the first edition: "Devil's Heron".

Evangelists and prophets. For the right apostles, evangelists and prophets preach God's word, and not against God's word.

265. When the apostles, evangelists, and prophets have ceased, others must have taken their place, and will continue to do so until the end of the world. For the church shall not cease until the end of the world; therefore apostles, evangelists, and prophets must remain, and be called what they will or can, who do the word and work of God. For the pope and his followers of God's word, and yet they themselves confess that it is true, must be very bad apostles, evangelists, and prophets, as the devil is with his angels. But how come I to the shameful, foul people of the pope? let them depart once more, and call them not to come again, or 2c.

026 As it was said above concerning the four other things of the great divine holiness, by which the holy church is sanctified, that thou shalt not consider who they are, nor how they are, from whom they are received; so in this thou shalt not inquire who he is, nor how he is, that giveth it thee, or that hath the ministry. For all things are given, not to him that hath them, but to him that shall have them by his ministry, that he may have them with thee whithersoever he will. Let him be what he will, and how he can; because he is in office, and is tolerated by the multitude, so let it go also; his person makes the word and sacrament of God neither worse nor better for thee. For it is not what he speaks or does, but Christ your Lord, and the Holy Spirit speaks and does all things, so long as he remains to teach and do in the right way; so that the church should not suffer, nor can suffer, public vice. But thou alone be content and let go, because thou single one cannot be the whole multitude, or the Christian holy people.

267 But thou must not turn to the pope, which saith that no husband may be called to such an office, but that all should be chaste virgins, according to the Nestorian consequence, that is, all ministers should be chaste, but they themselves may be unchaste. Behold, still thou comest in to me with thy pabst, and I would have thee no more. Well, then, be ill with me...

and unwell, I will also receive you Lutheran. 1)

268 The pope condemns the life of bishops or parish priests, and that is evident enough. At that he has not enough, condemns still much harder the viAnmiam, and that I say it yes clear, he makes fourfold viZnluos, if not fivefold. I will now call viZnmum two-faced, who twice freies, or takes another's widow. The first bisexual is he that taketh two virgins in succession to wife; the second, he that taketh a widow; the third, he that taketh a bride left a virgin by her dead bridegroom; The fourth, indeed, is disgraceful in that he must also be called a two-woman man, because he takes a virgin unknowingly, unwillingly, and afterwards finds her neither pure nor a virgin; but in short, he must be a two-woman man with the pope, much more than the third, who took the bride a virgin. These all stink and smell badly in spiritual law, and may not preach, baptize, administer the sacrament, or exercise any office of the church, if they were more holy than St. John, and their wives more holy than God's mother. So perfectly holy is the pope in his decrees!

269 But if a man had weakened a hundred virgins, defiled a hundred honest widows, and had a hundred whores lying behind his back, he might not only become a preacher or a priest, but also a bishop or a pope, and if he still did so, he would still be served in such offices; but if he gets a virgin bride, or a false virgin, he cannot be God's servant. It is of no use that he should be a true Christian, learned, pious, and useful; he is a two-faced man; he must leave office, and never come to it. How think'st thou? Is not this a new, higher holiness, neither is Christ himself, both with the Holy Ghost and his church? Christ disdaineth not, neither one-woman, nor two-woman, nor one-woman, nor two-woman, if they believe in him; he suffereth them to remain members of his holy Christian people; ye also need whereunto they are, or may be, useful. Although after

1) This "Lutheran Reception" is paragraphs 268 through 278.

of the holy scriptures is called a two-woman, he that hath at one time two living wives, as Lamech; but the pope is more learned, and is called a two-woman, he that hath two wives after one another, so also of wives; for he is much more learned, neither is God himself.

270 And that which is still more excellent, the pope himself also confesseth that the marriage of two women is lawful, and sinneth not against God, nor the world, nor the church, and that the same marriage is a sacrament of the church; neither must he be rejected from the church office; neither the third and fourth, which ought justly to be called initiated or virgin men. Why is this? Because such a marriage cannot be a sacrament or figure of Christ and the church; for Christ has only one bride, the church, and the bride only one husband, Christ, and both remain virgins. In this piece there are so many inconsistent foolish things that no one can tell them all, so that the canonists should be called donkey Christians. First of all, if marriage is to be a sacrament of Christ and the church, then no marriage must be a sacrament, but only that in which the bridegroom and bride both remain virgins; for Christ and the church remain virgins. Where then shall we take children and heirs? Where will the married state, instituted by God, remain? And summa, there will be no marriage, because Joseph and Mary, or the like; all other marriages must be no sacrament, perhaps also fornication.

271 Secondly, who hath taught or ordained these things, that we should keep them? St. Paul, Eph. 5:32, saith that man and wife are one great sacrament; yea, I say in Christ and the church. Dear, canst thou take me from these words of St. Paul, that marriage is a sacrament, as they say of sacraments? He says that man and woman are one body, which is a great sacrament. After this he interprets himself: I say of Christ and the church, and not of man and woman. So they say he speaks of man and woman. Paul wants Christ and the church to be a great sacrament or mystery, so they say that man and woman are a great sacrament. Why then do they consider it the least sacrament, yea, for all uncleanness and sin, wherein it is not possible to worship God?

nen? Further, can you also find in St. Paul's words that the marriage of the two-women and two-men is not man and woman, or One Body? If they are one body, why are they not also the sacrament of Christ and of the church? For St. Paul speaketh commonly of all husbands and wives that become one body, that they are single or widows, and calleth them sacrament (as ye understand sacrament). Whence then are ye so wise as to make a distinction of marriage, and take only that one marriage for the sacrament of Christ and of the church, when a man is united in marriage to a virgin, and exclude all other marriages? Who hath commanded you St. Paul's words thus to torture and compel?

272 Neither do ye keep the same marriage unto the sacrament. For the bridegrooms do not let their brides remain virgins, nor do they take husbands for the sake of remaining virgins, which they can do much better without husbands, but they want to bear children and should do so, as God created them to do. Now where is the sacrament of Christ and of the church, which both remain virgins? But is it fine argttirt a LZuru aä Historiam, vol econtra, ab historia all LZuram? Where did ye learn such dialsetieam? Christ and the Church are conjugal, and remain virgins in the flesh; therefore man and woman shall also remain virgins in the flesh. Item, Christ is only wedded to one virgin; therefore a Christian or priest must also be wedded to one virgin alone, otherwise the sacrament is not there? Why then do ye allow and say that the marriage of widows is also a sacrament, because it can be a marriage, and again, yet not a sacrament, because the woman was not a virgin? Are ye not mad and foolish and gross nestorii, who know not what ye say yea or nay, one in ^ntsesäsuts, another in Oons6gu6ut6? Out with you coarse asses and fools!

273 This error also came from this (is not the other from this), that they called and held the bishops and popes bridegrooms of the church; therefore they draw the saying of St. Paul [1 Tim. 3:2], "A bishop shall be the husband of one wife," that is, a bishop of one church, as Christ is of one wife.

The church is the bridegroom; therefore they shall not be viZawi. Truly, popes and bishops are fine fellows to be the bridegroom of the church. Yea, if it were the harlot, or the devil's daughter in hell! Right bishops are servants of this bride, and she is the wife and mistress of them. St. Paul calls himself *Diaconon*, a servant of the church [1 Cor. 3, 5.], does not want to be bridegroom nor lord of this bride, but Jesus Christ Son of God, so the right some is called bridegroom of this bride. St. John saith not, I am the bridegroom, but, I am the bridegroom's friend, and rejoice that I should hear his speech. For "he that hath the bride (saith he [John 3:29]) is the bridegroom," whose language one ought to hear with joy, and to think himself a servant after it.

274 But how fine they themselves hold this very gross folly and foolishness! A bishop may have three bishoprics, but he must be called a woman's husband. And even if he has only one bishopric, he may have a hundred, two hundred, five hundred, or more parishes or churches; nor is he the bridegroom of one church. The pope wants to be the bridegroom of all churches, large and small, nor is he called the husband of one church. These are not four or two women, who have so many brides at once. But he that taketh a virgin that hath been trusted is a viZuwus. Such unfeigned, monstrous foolishness shall God inflict upon us, if we despise his word, and will do all things better than he hath commanded us.

(275) Yea, they have an *Acutius* in their decree, 1) because St. Augustine holds against St. Jerome, that he who before baptism had a wife, after baptism also had one, was a two-woman. Dear asses, does it also follow from this that St. Augustine, although he considers this man to be a two-woman (which Scripture does not), wants to condemn him so that he may not serve God, as you do? And if it follow from this, have ye not a strong noli meis against it in D. 9? 2) How that ye hold the Acutius so firmly (which is contrary to the Scriptures)?

1) Decret. P. 1, Vist. 26, 6. 2. (Erl. Ausg.)
2) Decret. ?. 1, Vist. 9, 6. 3. (Erl. Ausg.)

and the I^oli Eis, together with other chapters, is thus passed over? Yes, this is the opinion, you want to be lords of the churches; what you say should be right: marriage should be right and a sacrament, if you want; again, marriage should be impurity, that is, a shitty sacrament that cannot serve God, if you want; marriage should bear children, but the woman should remain a virgin, or is not a sacrament of Christ and the church, if you want. The two-women are without fault, and have a right marriage and sacrament, if ye will; again, they are condemned from the service of God, because they have no sacrament of Christ and the church, if ye will. Behold, how the devil doth shudder and tremble, that teacheth you such an unreasonable thing!

(276) How could I think that St. Augustine's saying was an article of faith, when he himself did not think that his sayings were articles of faith, nor that his ancestors' sayings were articles of faith? If the dear fathers have so held and taught that viAamus means such a one (as has been said), what is that to us? We need not therefore so hold nor teach. We need not stake our salvation on man's word or work, as on hay and straw our house. But the canonists are such gross asses and fools with their idol at Rome, that they make vain articles of faith out of the "dear" fathers' sayings and doings, against their will and without their thanks. Let it be proved from the Scriptures that such men are called two-women and three-women, so that it would be right that they should not be ministers of the church, according to the teaching of St. Paul, 1 Tim. 3:2: "A bishop shall be the husband of one wife." But it hath often happened unto the fathers, that they have sewed an old rag upon a new cloth. So here it is right, and the new cloth, that no viZamus should be a minister; but that this or that one should be an ÖiZamus, that is an old lump of their conceit, because the Scripture saith it not. But in the Scripture he that hath two living wives is called a two-woman; and St. Paul is reckoned to have had a wife, Phil. 4:3, and to have died to her. Accordingly he must also be a two-woman, and leave the apostleship; for 1 Cor. 7, 8. he reckons

And yet he will have power with Barnaba, 1 Cor. 9:5, 6, to have another wife with him. Who will make us sure that the poor fishermen Peter, Andrew, and James were virgins and not widows, or that they had not two wives in succession?

The asses' heads do not mean chastity, as the fathers did, but would gladly mislead the poor souls, and cast them into the road, only that their nasty stink-book might be right, and that their art might not err, nor have erred. Else they see what chastity is thought to be. Can they not, after all, in their own opinionibus (and what is it, for vain opinionos are their best and most) finely say, Xou tsuotur; Ho6 touo; why cannot they do it here also? for otherwise they reject not one, but all the fathers at once in one heap in eausis ckocüäonäis, as their idol spouts and roars. But they would gladly govern the churches, not with certain wisdom, but with wanton opinionibus, and again make all the souls of the world to err and be uncertain, as they did before. But as they reject the fathers and theologians out of their canons, so we again reject them out of the church and out of the Scriptures. They ought not to teach us the Scriptures, nor to rule in the church; it behooves them not, neither can they; but they ought to wait upon their canonicals and contentions of prebends, which is their holiness. They have rejected us poor theologians together with the fathers from their books, for which we thank them kindly. Now they want to throw us out of the church and the Scriptures, and they are not fit for it themselves. This is too much, and it tears the sack; neither will we suffer it.

0278 I hold, indeed, that according to their wisdom no man ought to take a virgin, or after her death not to become a priest with them. For who can become his guarantor, or be good for him, that he may surely take a virgin? The way passeth over at the door, as they say. And if he find her not a virgin when he dare, he is a stinking two-woman man without fault. And if he be sure that he may become a priest, he must not take a virgin: for who shall make him sure?

But to ravish virgins, widows, and wives, to have many harlots, and to commit all manner of dumb sins, he may well do; then is he worthy to be a priest. But this is the sum of it: the pope, the devil, and his church are opposed to the married state, as Daniel says in chapter 11:37; therefore he will defile it so that he will not be able to hold the priesthood. This much must be said: Marriage is whoredom, sin, uncleanness, rejected of God. And if they say that it is holy and a sacrament, they lie out of a false heart. For if they held it holy and a sacrament with earnestness, they would not forbid the priests to marry. But because they forbid, they must hold it to be unclean and sinful, as they also plainly say, Nunäsmini, good l'ortis; or must (where some are so pious) be gross Nestorii and Eutyches, who set Antecedens, and deny the Consequens. So be it this time donkey pabst, and pabst donkey with his donkey lawyers received, will come again to ours.

279 Turn not, therefore, as I have said, to the papists, who and how he is that leadeth the church office. For the asses understand not St. Paul's word, neither know they what St. Paul's orammstioa is called a sacrament. Sacrament, saith he, [Eph. 5:32], is Christ and his church, that is, Christ and the church are one body, as man and woman; but it is great mystery, and must be comprehended by faith, it cannot be seen nor grasped; therefore it is a sacrament, that is, a secret thing, mysterium, invisible, hidden. But because not only virgin spouses, but also widow spouses, are one body, every marriage is a figure or sign of this great sacrament or mystery in Christ and the church. St. Paul does not speak either of virgins or widows; he speaks of marriage, since man and woman are One Body. Wherefore when thou seest such offices or ministers, know that certainly the holy Christian people must be; for the church cannot be without such bishops, pastors, preachers, priests; and again, neither can they be without the church, they must be with one another.

(280) Sixth, the holy Christian people are outwardly recognized by their prayers, praising and thanking God publicly. For where you see and

When you hear people praying and learning to pray the Lord's Prayer, and singing psalms or spiritual songs according to the word of God and the right faith, or publicly practicing the faith, the Ten Commandments, and the Catechism, then know that there is a holy Christian people of God. For prayer is also one of the holy things, by which all things become holy, as St. Paul says [1 Tim. 4:5]. So the Psalms are also prayer, in which one praises, thanks, and honors God. And faith and the ten commandments are also the word of God, and all things are holy things, by which the Holy Spirit sanctifies the holy people of Christ. But we speak of prayer and chant, which is intelligible, from which one can learn and improve. For the hearing of monks, nuns, and priests is not prayer, nor praise to God. For they do not understand it, and learn nothing from it, so they do it like the work of a donkey, for the sake of their belly, and no improvement, nor sanctification, nor God's will is sought in it.

281 In the seventh place, the holy Christian people are known outwardly by the sanctuary of the holy cross, that they must suffer all misfortunes and persecutions, all kinds of temptations and evils (as the Lord's Prayer prays) from the devil, the world, and the flesh, mourning inwardly, being stupid, being afraid, being poor outwardly, despised, sick, weak, in order that they may become like their Head, Christ. And the cause must also be this alone, that he hold fast to Christ and God's word, and so suffer for Christ's sake, Matt. 5:11: "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for my sake." They must be pious, quiet, obedient, ready to serve the authorities and everyone with body and goods, and do no harm to anyone. But no people on earth must suffer such bitter hatred; they must be worse than Jews, Gentiles, Turks, Summa, they must be called heretics, brutes, devils, accursed, and the most wicked people on earth, that even those do a service to God by whom they are hanged, drowned, murdered, martyred, chased away, tormented, and that no one has mercy on them, but also waters them with myrrh and gall where they thirst; Not because they are adulterers, murderers, thieves, or scoundrels, but because they desire Christ alone, and no other God. Wherefore when thou seest or hearest these things, know this,

That the holy Christian church is, as he saith Matt. 5:11, 12: "Blessed are ye, when men curse you, and cast your name into contempt, as an evil thing, and that for my sake: be ye glad and rejoice: for great is your reward in heaven." For with this sanctuary the Holy Spirit makes this people not only holy, but also blessed.

0282 And in the mean time turn not aside unto the sanctuary of the papists from dead saints, from the wood of the holy cross. For there are as many bones of the pale as legs of saints, and as many of the wood of the gallows as of the holy cross. And there is all deceit among them, that the priest may deceive the people for money, and deceive them from Christ. Even if it were holy, no one would make it holy. But if they condemn, curse, rebuke, blaspheme, and afflict you for Christ's sake, that makes you holy. For it kills the old Adam to learn patience, humility, gentleness, praise and thanksgiving, and to rejoice in suffering. This is called being sanctified by the Holy Spirit and renewed to a new life in Christ, and thus learning to believe, trust, hope, and love God, as Rom. 5:4, Tribulatio spem, etc., says. Now these are the right seven main parts of the high sanctification, by which the Holy Spirit exercises in us a daily sanctification and vivification in Christ. And this according to the first table of Moses, which we fulfill thereby, though not so abundantly as Christ did; but we always follow after, under his redemption, or forgiveness of sins, until we also once become wholly holy, and need no more forgiveness; for to that end it is all directed. I would have called them the seven sacraments; but because this word "sacrament" has been misused by the papists, and is used differently in Scripture, I leave them seven principal parts of Christian sanctification, or seven sanctuaries.

283 Now above these seven principal things there are also more outward signs, whereby the holy Christian church is known, namely, that the Holy Ghost sanctifieth us also according to the outer table of Moses, when he helpeth us to honour our father and mother heartily, and again to bring up children in a Christian manner, and to live honestly; when we obey our lords and rulers faithfully, and are faithful to them.
They, in turn, love, protect, and shield their subjects. Item, if we are not unkind to anyone, bear no anger, hatred, envy or revenge against our neighbor, but gladly forgive, gladly lend, help and advise; if we are not lewd and drunkards, proud, hopeful, splendid, but chaste, chaste, sober, kind, gentle and humble; not stealing, robbing, profiteering, stinging, overdoing, but mild, kind, gracious, compassionate; not false, lying, perjuring, but truthful, constant, and what more of such commandments are taught, as all these St. Paul teacheth abundantly now and then. For therefore we also must have the veoaloZ, not only that he may tell us lawfully what we ought to do, but also that we may see inwardly how far the Holy Ghost hath brought us with his Holy One, and how far we still lack, lest we should be sure and think that we have now done all. And so always growing in sanctification, and becoming more and more a new creature in Christ; it is called or68oit6, and aVunäetw maZis [1 Thess. 4:1, 10].

284. But though such signs may not be regarded as certain as those above, because some heathen also practice such works, and sometimes seem more holy than Christians, yet their thing is not so pure and simple in the heart, for God's sake, but seeks something else in it, because they have neither right faith nor knowledge of God, but here is the Holy Spirit, who sanctifies the heart, and brings forth such fruit in the good, refined heart, as Christ says in the parable Matt. 13:23. 13:23. And because the first table is higher, and there must be more sanctuary, I have tried to sum it all up in the other table; otherwise I might well have divided it into seven sanctuaries, or principal parts, according to the seven commandments.

(285) Now we have certain what, where, and who it is, the holy Christian church, that is, the holy Christian people of God, and we cannot lack it, of that we are well assured. Everything else besides these things may be lacking, and certainly is lacking, as we shall hear in part. From such a people one should take people to the concilium; that would be a concilium, that

would be governed by the Holy Spirit. So Lyra also writes that the church is not to be reckoned according to the high or spiritual classes, but according to the people who believe. I am surprised that he was not burned for this word, that he does not want to let popes, cardinals, bishops, and prelates be the church, which results in horrible heresies that are offensive to the holy Roman church and much too close to it. Elsewhere.

286 Therefore, when the devil saw that God was building such a holy church, he did not celebrate, and' built his chapel with it, which is larger than God's church, and did thus: He saw that God was taking external things, as baptism, word, sacrament, keys, etc., and thereby sanctifying his church (as he is always God's monkey, and wants to do all things according to God, and make them better), By sanctifying his church (as he is always God's monkey, and wants to do all things according to God, and to make things better), he also took external things before him, which should also sanctify; just as he does with the weather-makers, sorcerers, and devils' spells 2c., so he also has the Lord's Prayer and the Gospel read over it, so that it may be a great sanctuary. So he has had the popes and papists consecrate or sanctify water, salt, candles, herbs, bells, images, znus oei, kallia, altar, casels, plates, fingers, hands; who will tell it all? lastly, the monk's caps so sanctified that many people have died and been buried in them, as if they wanted to be saved by it. Now that would be fine, if God's word, blessing, or prayer were spoken over the creature, as children do over tables, and over themselves when they go to sleep and get up, of which St. Paul says [1 Tim. 4:5], "All creatures are good, and are sanctified by word and prayer." For from this the creature gets no new power, but is confirmed in its former power.

287 But the devil seeketh another, but would that by his monkey play the creature should have new power and authority. Just as water, through God's word, becomes a baptism, a bath to eternal life, washes away sin and makes us blessed, which is not the nature or power of water; and bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ; sins are forgiven by the laying on of hands, according to God's appointment: so the devil also wants his conjuring and monkey play to be powerful, and to be overpowering.

do something to nature. Holy water is said to eradicate sin, it is said to cast out devils, it is said to ward off poltergeists, it is said to protect child-babies, as the pope teaches us. Aquam sale, äs ps.; so shall holy salt also do; *Agnus Dei*, consecrated by the pope, shall do more than God himself is able to do, as such is described in verses which I should omit once glossiret. Bells shall chase away the devils in the weather; Antony's knives stab the devil; the blessed herbs drive away the poisonous worms; some blessings heal the cows, ward off the milk thieves, extinguish fires; some letters make safe in war and also otherwise, against iron, fire, water, animals 2c.; monasticism, mass and the like shall give more than common blessedness. And who can tell it all? No need has been so small, the devil has founded a sacrament or sanctuary on it, through which one finds counsel and help. He has also had prophetesses, soothsayers, and wise men who can reveal secret things and bring back stolen goods.

O, he is far, far above God, equipped with sacraments, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and his chapels far greater than God's church, has also far a greater people in his holiness than God. He is also more easily and more willingly believed in His promise, in His sacraments, in His prophets, and in Christ. He is the great God in the world, as Christ calls Him [John 12:31, 14:30, 16:11], "Prince of the world," and Paul 2 Cor. 4:4, "God of this world." With such monkey play he draws people away from the faith of Christ, and makes the Word and Sacraments of Christ despised, and in addition almost unrecognizable, because one can produce all things nearer than, to blot out sin, to help out of troubles, to be saved by the Sacrament of the devil, neither by the Sacrament of Christ. For by his Holy Spirit he wants to make people holy and devout in body and soul, and not let them remain in unbelief and sin. This is too difficult for those who do not like to be pious or to refrain from sinning, but they can easily get hold of this work of the Holy Spirit after they have learned how to

1) vsorst. ?. 3, vrst. 3, e. 20. (Erl. Ausg.)

Without the work of the Holy Spirit it is easier to be saved than by holy water, by *Agnus Dei*, by bulls and letters, by masses and monk's caps; therefore it is not necessary to look for or respect anything else.

289 Not only this, but the devil prepared himself in this way, so that he would even abolish the Word and Sacrament of God, and thought thus: If anyone should appear who would attack my church, Sacrament, and bishops, as if outward things did not make them blessed, then God's Word and Sacrament shall also perish with them. For they are also outward signs, and his bishops and church are also bodily men. If mine is not valid, his must be much less valid, because my church, bishops, and sacraments work and help in this life and in the present, so that it must be seen and grasped. For I am there, and soon help as one desires. But Christ's sacraments work on the future and invisible being, in the spirit, so that one can hardly smell his churches and bishops a little from afar, and the Holy Spirit pretends that he is not there, so that they suffer all misfortune and must be held as heretics before my church. However, my church is not only so close that it can easily be grasped, but my works also soon follow, so that everyone thinks that it is the right church of God. Such is the advantage I have and can enjoy.

290. So also, when we began to teach by the gospel that such outward things could not save, because they were evil creatures in the flesh, and were often used of the devil for sorcery, men, even great and learned men, fell away, that baptism, being an outward water, the word, being an outward human speech, the scripture, being an outward letter made by dints, the bread and wine, being baked by the baker, should be evil, because they were outward corruptible things. So they cried out, Spirit, Spirit, the spirit must do it, the letter killeth. So Muenzer called us Wittenberg theologians the scribes, and to the spiritual scholars he gave himself up.

1) Here we have adopted the conjecture of the Jena edition: "mine" instead of: "my".

And after him many more. Therein thou seest how the devil had thus armed himself, and had made himself known: if his outward doctrine and sacraments (which yet soon and visibly and mightily help) were attacked, the outward sacraments and words of Christ (which come slowly with help, or ever invisibly and weakly) must perish much more with them.

291 Therefore Loolosia, the holy Christian people, hath not evil outwardly word, sacraments, or offices, as the monkey of God, Satan, hath also, and much more, but hath commanded, ordained, and ordered them of God, so that he himself (not an angel) will work thereby with the Holy Ghost. And it is not angels, nor men, nor creatures, but God's own word, baptism, sacrament, or forgiveness, that is called ministry; without which he will do it, for the comfort and good of us poor, weak, stupid people, not by his mere, appearing, bright majesty. For who could suffer the same for a moment in such sinful poor flesh? As Moses saith [2 Mos. 33:20.): Nou viäodit wo iiouio ot vivot. So the Jews could not suffer his feet's shoe on Mount Sinai, Ex. 20:18. f., That is, in the weather and the clouds, how could they have suffered the sun of his divine majesty and the clear face with such dull eyes? but he will do it by means that are pleasant, clean, and sweet, which could not be better known by ourselves, than that a good, kind man should speak to us, preach, lay hands on us, forgive sins, baptize us, give us bread and wine to eat and drink. Who can be astonished at such sweet forms, and not rather rejoice with all his heart?

Well, this is good for us stupid people, in which we see how God deals with us as with dear children, and does not want (as he would have the right to do) to act majestically with us, and yet under this he exercises his majestic, divine works, power and authority, as forgiving sin, sweeping away sin, taking away death, giving grace and eternal life. Yes, such a thing is missing in the devil's sacraments and churches, so that no one can say that God commanded, commanded, instituted, instituted, that He Himself wants to be there and do everything Himself, but one must say: God did not command it.

But forbid; men have devised it, or rather the ape of God hath devised it, and deceived men with it. For he works nothing but what is temporal; or where it is spiritual, it is vain deceit. For he cannot eternally forgive and save sins with it, as he denies, by holy water, masses, and monasticism, though he can make a cow get her milk again, which he himself stole before by his prophetess and priestess, whom Christians call devil-whores, and where they are caught, burn them with fire, as is right, not for the theft of milk, but for blasphemy, that she strengtheneth the devil against Christ with his sacraments and churches.

293. Summa, if God were to give you a straw to pick up, or a feather to pluck up, with such a command, order, and promise, that by it you should have forgiveness of all sin, His grace, and eternal life, should you not accept, love, and praise it with all joy and gratitude, and therefore hold that same straw and feather more sacred, and let it be dearer to you than heaven and earth? For however small the straw or feather, yet by it thou getest such good as neither heaven nor earth, nor even all angels, can give thee. Why then are we such shameful people that we do not hold the baptismal water, bread, and wine, that is, Christ's body and blood, oral word, and the laying on of a man's hands for forgiveness, as highly sacred as we would hold the straw or feather, even though in them, as we hear and know, God Himself wants to work, and His water, word, hand, bread, and wine are to be, through which He wants to sanctify you and make you blessed in Christ, who has purchased such things for us and given the Holy Spirit from the Father for such a work?

294 Again, if you went to St. James in fear, or if you let yourself be murdered by Carthusians, Barefoots, and preachers 1) through such a strict life, so that you might be saved, and God had not sanctioned or instituted such a thing, what good would it do you? He knows nothing about it, but the devil and you have devised it, as special sacraments or

1) Preachers - Dominicans.

Priesthoods. If thou couldst bear heaven and earth, that thou mightest be saved, yet all is lost: and he that lifteth up the straw, where it is needful, doeth more than thou, if thou couldst bear ten worlds. Why is that? God wants us to obey his word, to use his sacraments, to honor his church, so he wants to make it gracious and gentle enough, and more gracious, even fifth, than we could desire. For it is said [Ex. 20:2, 3], "I am thy God, thou shalt have no other gods"; it is also said, "This is the one ye shall hear" [Matt. 17:5], and no other. Let this be enough said of the church. There is nothing more to be said of it, except that every part of it may be further elided. The other things must have a different opinion, of which we will also say.

295. Above such outward signs and sanctification the church has other more outward ways, of which and by which it is not sanctified, neither in body nor in soul, neither instituted nor commanded by God, but, as much has been said above, that it is necessary or useful from the outside, well and good; As that for preaching or prayer some feast days are kept, some hours, as mornings or afternoons, that church buildings or houses, altars, preaching stands, baptismal fonts, candlesticks, candles, bells, priests' garments, and the like are needed. Which pieces work nothing nor do otherwise than is their nature; even as eating and drinking do nothing more, for the children's Lsneäieite or Oratias sake. For the ungodly or crude people, who pray no Lonsäioite or Ors,tia8, that is, neither ask nor thank God, become just as fat and strong from eating and drinking as the Christians. Christians may well be sanctified and remain sanctified without such things, if one preaches on the pavement, without a house, without a pulpit, forgives sins, administers the sacrament without an altar, baptizes without a baptismal font; as it happens daily that one preaches at home, baptizes, administers the sacrament, but for other reasons. But for the sake of the children and simple folk it is good, and gives a good order, that they have a certain time, place, and hour, according to which they may be directed and meet together, as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. 14:40: "Let them be baptized without the altar, without the altar, without the altar, without the altar, without the altar, without the altar, without the altar, without the altar, without the altar, without the altar.

"Let all things be done in good order. And let no man (as no Christian does) despise such order without a cause, out of pride to make a disorder of all things; but let him keep such order for the good of the multitude, or else let him neither err nor hinder it. For that would be contrary to love and kindness.

(296) Nevertheless they shall remain free, as, if we cannot, from necessity, or other useful causes, preach at 6 or 7, at 12 or 1, on Sunday or Monday, in the choir or at St. Peter's, preach at other hours and days and places; only that we do not mislead the household, but carry them along in such change. For such things are altogether outward, and subject to reason (as the time, place, and person require) mightily and wholly; God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit ask nothing of them, any more than what and where we will eat, drink, clothe ourselves, dwell, be at liberty, walk, or stand; without which (as I have said) without cause no man shall undertake any thing of his own, and mislead or hinder the company. Just as at weddings or other parties, no one should do anything special or obstructive to the bride or the party, but should sit, walk, stand, dance, eat, and drink with the party. For one cannot order a table, a kitchen, a cellar, or a servant for every man. If he lacks anything, let him get up from the table and let the others sit and stay in peace. So here, too, everything should be done peacefully and orderly, and yet be free to change where time, person, or other causes demand it; there, the crowd also follows one another, because (as I said) it makes no Christian more holy or more unholy.

297 Although the pope has clicked the world full of books about it, and has made of it a vile rope, law, justice, articles of faith, sin, and holiness, that it would be well worth burning his decree with fire. For such a book might well have been guessed at, which has done great harm. It has pushed the Holy Scriptures under the bench, and has almost suppressed Christian doctrine, and has also brought the jurists with their imperial law under itself, thus destroying both the church and the church.

For this they have given us the coarse asses' heads, the canonists, the false wives, who thereby govern the church, and, what is still more deplorable, have left the best in it, and taken out the worst, and driven it into the church by force. For what is good in it could be found much better and more abundantly in the Holy Scriptures, even in St. Augustine, as far as teaching Christianity is concerned, and also in the books of the lawyers, as far as secular government is concerned. For the jurists themselves have intended to throw such a book out of jurisprudence and leave it to the theologians. But it would be better if it were thrown into the fire and reduced to ashes, even though there is something good in it. For how can there be vain evil where there is no good? But the evil is too much that it takes the place of the good, and (as I said) the good is to be found more abundantly in Scripture, also in the fathers and in the jurists; one wants to keep it, then, as a testimony on the libraire, so that one may see how the popes and some concilia, along with other teachers, have cheated and erred; therefore I also keep it.

298 Let us look upon such outward articles as a vest's garment, or a diaper, wherein a child is baptized. For a child is not baptized or sanctified by a vesture garment or diapers, but only by baptism; yet it is reasonable to put it in a cloth. If this becomes unclean or torn, another is taken, and the child grows without all the help of nappies or napkins; but that in this case measures are kept, and the nappies or napkins are not taken too much, so that the child is not suffocated. So the ceremonies should also have a measure, so that they do not become a burden or work in the end, but remain so light that they are not felt. Just as no one feels a burden or work at a wedding, if he keeps himself the same as the others and offers himself. Of the special fast I will write once, when I shall write of the German plague, eating and drinking. For it also almost belongs to the secular regiment.

299 Of the schools also have I written above, and much else, that one should be firm and

diligently about it. For although they are to be regarded as a pagan, external thing, in that boys learn languages and arts, they are highly necessary. For where Schiller is not taught, we shall not long have pastors and preachers, as we have well learned; for the school must give the church persons who can be made apostles, evangelists, prophets, that is, preachers, pastors, rulers. No matter what other people there are in the whole world who are to be chancellors, councillors, scribes, and the like, who also help to govern in the world. Above this, where the schoolmaster fears God, and teaches the boys to understand, sing, and practice the Word of God and the right faith, and keeps them in Christian discipline, the schools are (as said above) vain young, eternal concilia, which create more benefit than many other great concilia. For this reason, previous emperors, kings, and princes did well to build so many schools, high and small, monasteries and convents, with such diligence that they wanted to create a rich, large supply of people for the church, but their descendants shamefully turned them to abuse. So princes and lords should also do now, turn the monasteries' goods to the school, and endow many people for the studio; if our descendants abuse it, then we have done our part in our time.

300] In sum, the school must be next to the church, as in it young preachers and priests are begotten, and from it they are subsequently placed in the place of death. After that, the citizen's house is next to the school, as from it one must get pupils; after that, the town hall and castle, which citizens must protect, so that they beget children to the school, and schools send out children to the parish, and after that, parish priests can in turn make churches and God's children (be it citizen, prince, or emperor). God, however, must be the supreme and neighbor, who keeps such a ring or circle against the devil, and does everything in all classes, even in all creatures. So Ps. 127:1, 2. says that on earth alone there are two bodily regiments, the city and the house: "Where the LORD buildeth not the house"; item: "Where the LORD keepeth not the city." The first is, housekeeping, out of which come people.
The other is to rule the city, that is, the land, the people, the princes, and the lords (which we call the worldly authority). That is, to give everything, child, goods, money, animals 2c. The house must build, the city must guard, protect, and defend. Then comes the third, God's own house and city, that is, the church, which must have people from the house and protection and protection from the city.

These are the three hierarchies ordained of God, and we are not allowed to do any more, but we have enough and more than enough to do, that we may live rightly in these three, against the devil. For behold the house alone, what is to be done there, to be obedient to parents and masters of the house; in turn, to divinely feed, raise, govern, and provide for children and servants; that we would have enough to do with the right of the house, if there were nothing else to do. After that, the city, that is, the secular government, also gives us enough to do, where we are faithfully obedient; again, our subjects, land and people are to judge, protect and promote. The devil gives us enough to do, and God has given us sweat of the nose, thistle and thorns in abundance, so that we have plenty of these two rights to learn, to live, to do and to suffer. After this is the third right and rule; where the Holy Spirit rules, it is called a comforting, sweet, light burden [Matt. 11:30]; where it does not, it is not only heavy, sour, and terrible, but also impossible, as Paul says Rom. 8:3: *Impossibile legis*; and elsewhere: "The letter killeth" [2 Cor. 3:6].

(302) What then shall we do about these three high divine regiments, about the three, divine, natural, temporal rights, the blasphemous jugglery or regiment of the pope? Which wants to be everything, and yet is nothing, but seduces and tears us from these blessed divine estates and rights, and puts on us a larva or cap for it, and makes us fools and jesters to the devil, who walk idly and no longer know these three divine hierarchies or rights. Therefore let us suffer it no more, but do according to St. Peter's, Paul's, Augustine's doctrine, and be free from it, and turn the 2nd Psalm, v. 3, against them: "Let us break their bonds, and from

cast us their ropes." Yea, let us sing with St. Paul [Gal. 1:8], "Whosoever teacheth otherwise, though it were an angel from heaven, let him be accursed"; and say with St. Petro [Acts 15:16], "Why tempt ye God with laying on such burdens?" And so again be lords of the Pabst, and tread him under foot, as Ps. 91:13. saith, "Thou shalt walk upon the adder and basilisk, and the lion
and trample dragons under foot." And this we will do by the power and help of the seed of the woman, which hath bruised the serpent's head, [Gen. 3:15] and bruiseth it still, though we dare it to bite us in the heels again. Unto the same forsaken seed of the woman be praise and glory, together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one true God and Lord for ever and ever, Amen.

Appendix of some of Luther's letters.

to which one has referred in this sixteenth part of his writings.

Newly translated from the Latin.

No. 1.

(Wittenberg.) March 27, 1526.

To Spalatin in Altenburg.

This letter is found in our edition, Vol. XV, Appendix, No. 128.

No. 2.

Coburg. 1 June 1530.

To Jakob Probst in Bremen.

Of the prospects for the Diet at Augsburg and of the discussion at Marburg.

This letter is found in handwriting in Wolfenbüttel, *Cod. Helmst.* 108, f. 112 (with the wrong date: *Ultimo Decembris ao*. 30.) and in Aurifaber, vol. III, fol. 1I2. Printed in Ooelostiiri trist. Oorn. Vu^., torrr. I, tot. 54; in Luückorrs, p. I03; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 27, and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 352. German, in part, and with the wrong date 1529, in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 801, and in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 531; complete in Walch.

To the excellent and sincere servant of Christ, Mr. Jakob Probst, Licentiate of Theology, Servant of the Word in Bremen, his exceedingly dear brother.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Thou hast known, my dear Jacob, that I was absent, when your John Zelst [1]) came, and

1) Zelst was the Caplan Probsts at Unser Lieben Frauen Kirche in Bremen.

I am truly sorry. But since then I have also had to work in God's cause, since the burden of the entire empire lies on us. Today, the first day of June, the Emperor is still at Innsbruck and will perhaps go to Augsburg around Pentecost. 2) There is great hope that the Emperor will act mercifully, and he has indeed written to our Prince two or three times in a merciful manner, as have others of his Court, especially the Count of Nassau, Heinrich. Then he gave this sign of his mercy: since the dukes of Bavaria, Duke George and Margrave Joachim, passed Augsburg and hurried to Innsbruck to the emperor, so that they might seize the emperor, 3) and, by forestalling him, incite him against our prince, the emperor did not want to admit them, 4) since he also wanted to remain impartial in the matter against the others. And the highest chancellor, Mercurinus, has publicly said that he does not want to participate in violent attacks,

2) The news in this letter find mostly from Melanchthon's letter to Luther of May 26, No. 927 in this volume.
3) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 1444, tz 27.
4) In this Melanchthon, therefore also Luther, was not rightly reported. In fact, a kind of "Vorreichstag" was held in Innsbruck.

because he had seen enough at Worms what violent attacks could achieve. He desires that the affairs of the church be ordered peacefully. Perhaps God has awakened this Naaman [2 Kings 5] for us there. Let us only pray; our prayer has begun to be heard, let us not desist. There is a great riot in Augsburg, so that our prince spends 100 florins on bread alone every week and consumes 2000 florins weekly. This Diet will not be able to last long. Eck has poured out forty theses, which are full of the devil, against us, and offers himself for disputation against all, except against himself, and even most of all against himself. We laugh at this man's rage; there will be no opportunity to dispute now that the enemy has killed so many, nor will there be time at Augsburg.

I am staying within the borders of Saxon territory, right between Wittenberg and Augsburg. For it was not safe to take me to Augsburg. There you have almost the whole thing as it stands at present to Augsburg. Philip, Jonas, Spalatin, and Agricola are with the prince at Augsburg.

2) I write, as you desire, a letter of consolation to the Count in Friesland. 2) Further, I have delivered to the Prince the lies of Carlstadt, which you sent before, and I believe that the Prince has sent to the Count a letter of consolation.

1) The 41 theses are meant here, to which Eck gave the superscription: ^rtieuli Imttigri, which Melanchthon wrote in No. 904 of this volume. not the 404 theses, which Melanchthon mentions in Nö. 902.

2) Count Enno II. , successor of Count Edzard, who died on February 14, 1528. Under him Melchior Hofmaun and Carlstadt, also Zwinglians, came into the country and made great progress there, while the count adhered to Luther. Therefore he sent an embassy to Bugenhagen, who was then in Hamburg, asking him to come there for a short time and, by preaching the Gospel, to ward off the false teachers and the Anabaptists. Bugenhagen refused. On the other hand, in July 1529, the two Bremen clergymen Johann Timann and Joh. Pelt came, who worked there for a while and, before returning home, presented the count with a number of articles, from which a religious edict was drafted, which the count presented to all preachers called to Emden on January 13, 1530, for acceptance. The Zwinglian-minded remonstrated, but after Luther's expert opinion had been obtained, the count had it printed as church order and introduced it. (Erl. Briefw.)

I have written to you. I have also just informed you of the same thing by letter, I know that for certain; I am surprised if you have not received the letter.

(3) Furthermore, that the Sacramentans boast that I was defeated at Marburg, they do so in their own way. For they are not only liars, but liars themselves, pretending and pretending nothing, as Carlstadt and Zwingli testify by their deeds and words. But you see that at Marburg, in the articles they have presented, they have recanted the pernicious doctrine they have put forth concerning baptism, the use of the sacraments, likewise concerning the outward word, and other things in the books they have hitherto published. We have not recanted anything. But being also overcome in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, they would not recant this article, though they saw that they did not pass. For they feared their people, to whom they should not have returned if they had recanted. And how should they not have been defeated, since Zwingli's one and whole argument has been: a body cannot be without place and confined space. I countered him from philosophy: even heaven, so great a body, was naturally without place, and this they could not refute. But Oecolampad's one argument was this: The fathers call it a sign, therefore there is no body. But they promised with many words, that they would so far hold the same discourse with us: Christ's body is truly present in the Lord's Supper (but in a spiritual way), only so that we might condescend to call them brethren, and thus pretend to unity. This is what Zwingli publicly asked in tears in the presence of the landgrave and all, saying these words: "There are no people on earth with whom I would rather be one than with the Wittenbergers. "With the utmost diligence and effort they sought to be considered as one with us, so that they could never suffer this word from me: You have a different spirit from ours. They were completely inflamed, as often as they heard this

3) Scripture No. 23 in the 17th volume of the St. Louis edition.

heard. Finally, as it is written in the last article, we have admitted this, that though they were not brethren, yet they should not be deprived of our love (which is due even to an enemy). Thus it grieved them that they could not obtain the name of a brother, but had to go away as heretics, so that in the meantime we kept peace with one another in writings, whether God might want to open their hearts.

004 These things thou mayest safely say, as I am Christ's preacher, even as Christ is the truth. This also I write as the truth, that thou mayest have something to oppose the lies, when they will not rest. For they have behaved with unbelievable humility and kindness towards us, but, as is now evident, all in a fictitious way, so that they might move us to a feigned harmony and make us participants in and patrons of their error. O what a cunning devil, but a much wiser Christ, who has preserved us! I have already ceased to wonder when they lie impudently. I see that they cannot do otherwise, and I boast because of this case, seeing that, since Satan rules them, they no longer make a show of themselves with hidden attacks (insiäüs), but with lies publicly. Farewell. Of the articles which Johann Zelst should have told me, especially those which the ungodly people in Marienhafen 1) have placed, I hold that they can be violently overthrown by you. Coburg, June 1, 1530.

Mart. Luther.

No. 3.

(Coburg.) 2. June 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther wants to avoid too frequent visitors.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, 6oä. Leimst. 108, 1. 22d; and in Copenhagen, Ms. 1383,1. 241. Printed in Oosisstiuus, tom. I, toi. 60 b; in Luclclsus, p. 106; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 30; and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 361.

1. grace and peace in Christ! It was Hans Reineckvon Mansfeld and Georg Romer yesterday with me and Argula from

1) Carlstadt had settled in Marienhafen for a time in 1529.

Staufen today in the same way. But since I see that this place wants to be visited too much, I have decided, after the example of your Stromer, 2) to wander elsewhere for a while, either ostensibly or seriously, so that the rumor may arise that I am no longer staying here. Therefore you too may henceforth say and write like this with your own, so that they no longer seek me here. This I now indicate to thee with a Jonah-like haste. 3) For I will be hidden, and henceforth ye also keep me likewise hidden in your words and letters.

(2) Here they begin to persuade us that nothing will come of your Diet, and that the Emperor will be delayed by the cunning and artifices of the bishops, until, after all is consumed, you are forced to return home. For it is not expected that the one of Trier and the Count Palatine 4) will be present, and the Emperor, being able to do so by the artifice of the popes, seeks causes of delay in not coming to Augsburg. These things and words make me wonder. But the messenger hurries. Farewell in Christ. June 2, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 4.

Coburg. 23 April [5]) 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther writes of his whereabouts, his works, and his mood.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, 6o<I. Leimst. 108, I. 11 (undated); in Copenhagen, Als. 1393, p. 215 (datirt 22 April) and again there p. 260 (datirt: ^uKustns Ultimo 3uuii); in the Ooci. Hostoeb. (undated) and in the 6o<i. leu. b, k. I21 (datirt April 22). Printed in Loelestiuus, tom. I, toi. 39 I undated); in Lu<ickeus, v. 85 (datirt April 22; in the margin: al. 9. Llaii 6)); " in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 2 (datirt April 22), and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 302.

2) D. Heinr. Stromer in Leipzig.

3) In testiuautia louiaua. On May 22, Jonas addressed a letter to Luther (which is lost to us), which seems to have been very short and fleeting. (Erl. Briefw. VII. 376.)

4) Elector and Archbishop Richard von Greiffenklau and Elector Ludwig von der Pfalz did not come to the Imperial Diet, but were represented by their embassies. Cf. Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, Vol. I, p. 292.

5) For the date, see the first note to No. 1165.

6) If instead of "9. LIaii" is assumed: 9. 6al. Hlasi, the correct date is 23 April.

To his exceedingly dear brother, Magister Philip, the faithful and wise servant and disciple of Christ.

Grace and peace in the Lord Jesus! At last we have arrived at our Sinai, dearest Philip, but only we will make a Zion of this Sinai, and build there three tabernacles: one for the Psalter, one for the prophets, and one for Aesopus. But this is temporal. [1]) The place is exceedingly pleasant and very suitable for study, except that your absence makes it sad. I begin to be inflamed from the bottom of my heart against the Turk and Mahomet, seeing the unbearable raging of Satan, who rages so hopefully against bodies and souls. Therefore I will pray and plead and not cease until I know that my cry is heard in heaven. Thou art more afflicted with the native monsters of our realm. But it is we who are destined to see and suffer these two last woes, which rage at the same time and break in with the utmost impetuosity. But this very impetuosity is a witness and prophet of his end and of our redemption.

002 I pray Christ, that he would give thee a continued good sleep, and deliver thy heart from trouble, that is, from the fiery darts of Satan, and keep thee from them, amen. This I write, being idle, as I have not yet received my box of papers and things; for I have not yet seen either of the two officers. There is nothing lacking that belongs to the solitude, namely, the very large house that juts out at the castle is entirely ours, and the keys to all the chambers have been given to us. It is said that more than thirty people are kept here, among whom are twelve night watchmen, and two trumpetted (ärometnrü) excursionists on different towers. But what is this? Of course I have nothing else to write. In the evening, as I hope, the Kastner will be fine, then perhaps we will hear something new. God's mercy be with you, amen.

1) The old translator gave the words: 8ed Koe tsm "orals thus: "But for this time is required." These prefixes, however, are dark and ambiguous.

3. you greet me the Doctor Caspar[2]) and M. Spalatin, for the order to greet M. Agricola and Aquila I will give to Jonas. From the kingdom of the birds, at this third hour[3]) 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 5.

Coburg. 29 April 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther reports news, writes about his condition and his work.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Ood. Keimst. 108, k. 10k; in Copenhagen, ÄIs. 1393, k. 218; in the 6od. den. k, i. 122, and in the Ood. (doss. Printed in Luddeus, p. 98; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 10, and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 313.

Grace and peace in Christ! The fifth cry of the children has sanctified the house of Jonah; now such a temple, and so holy, must not be destroyed in any way, lest Jonah alone by crying should slay the destroyers. I send all the letters which I have received from Wittenberg, that ye may know nothing less than we do. As the messenger hastened, I have answered briefly; at another time, when I have leisure, I will write to them more expansively. As to Cruciger, I have given my wife charge. I charge you that you command this messenger of Jonas [4]) to receive letters home from us again. See what they do at Strasbourg. But Carlstadt will make my prophecy come true, since I have said that he does not believe that there is a God; but they may go and do what they will.

There is nothing new here, except that we are surprised that no letters have come from you yet. I sent letters to you the first day we parted, though I did not know what to write. But now, being prevented by the haste of the messenger, and overwhelmed with a multitude of letters, I have not received several [letters].

2) Lindemann, the personal physician of the Elector.
3) On the 23rd of April, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.
4) donensem. The wife of Jonas had sent the messenger to her husband in Augsburg. - In the old edition: "Jenischen".
5) the 23rd of April. This is how this divisiorüs is to be grasped. The old translator offers: "On the first day of division".

...can write. We are masters here, we are kept delicious and all too delicious. My shin does not want to heal yet. I suspect that a kind of flow is developing, which I would not like to prevent, and yet I do not know. I will write to Doctor Caspar about this. [1]) My exhortation to the clergy is progressing; both the material and the impetuosity of the attack are growing under my hands, so that I am compelled to drive back, almost by force, a great many lansquenets, who do not cease to impose themselves uninvited. The Lord, who blessed Jonas with the fifth son, bless you also with the third, a second George, Amen, Amen. From the Diet of Milan, or rather of the Jackdaws, [3]) the 29th of April, 1530.

Martin Luther.

No. 6.

Coburg. 28 May 4) 1530.

To Wenc. Link in Nuremberg.

Luther reports on his work, and news.

A copy from the original of this letter is found in Wolfenbüttel, Ooü. H<üin8t. 108,1.30 b. Printed in Ooklestinus, tom. I, col. 37; at Ln<ZÜ6U8, p. 89 at De Wette, vol. I V, p. 11 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 345.

1 Grace and peace in Christ! You certainly accuse me, my dear Wenceslaus, of silence, and even of carelessness, that you may also be ready to reproach me with the suspicion, as

1) Lindemann. The letter is not extant. - The "Admonition to the Clergy," 2c. No. 1000 in this volume.

2) These "Landsknechte" are not to be referred (with Köstlin, Mart. Luth. [3], vol. II, p. 201) to the soldiers of the castle guard who disturbed him by making noise, but (with Kolde, Mart. Luth., vol. II, p. 330) to the impetuous attacking thoughts.

3) Äl66ioian6N8ibu8 - Non6ÜuIan6N8ibu8, a play on words which can be rendered in German approximately by: Walen - Dahlen. - "Dahlen" also occurs elsewhere in Luther for jackdaws.

4) Only the Erlangen correspondence, according to the manuscript, has the date: "May 28," all other editions May 8. The above date is made very probable by the fact that Luther states in this letter that he has almost completed the Jeremiah, while he mentions nothing of it in the letter to Melanchthon of May 12 (in the next number).

whether I accuse you of either recklessness or sacrilege because of the tragedy of that Moab 5) since you yourself confess that, apart from the letter in which I asked you for Johann Ernst, 6) you also received four living and speaking letters 7). But I do not want to hold back on this reason of proof, you see, moreover, how much opportunity you show me here yourself to hurl everything back at you in an exceedingly abundant and powerful manner, and you may also, even if you wrote many comments to me, never have answered these four letters of mine sufficiently.

(2) I am indeed idle here, and live gloriously, and have resolved to translate what is left of the prophets into the German language, and have already nearly finished Jeremiah. Perhaps I shall also scatter some little psalms among the people, with the addition of my chips of thought (eoZit^tiuneulis), that I may not sit here in vain, and I shall further write to you more often, if only messengers can be had. I have also set myself the task of adapting Aesop's fables 8) for the childish and coarse people, so that they can be of some use to the Germans. So I have something to do. I do not deny that I would have liked to see you; but what GOtte liked, I also like. I know very well that I am completely useless on this journey, and that I might have done more good at home by teaching, but I could not resist the one who called me.

(3) I have no news from Wittenberg, except that Pomeranus writes that the gospel has also begun in Lübeck, and is attacking the Lüneburgers strongly, and things are progressing peacefully and righteously in those cities. Thanks be to God! Furthermore, news of new events is awaiting you. I fear very much that Germany,

5) "Moab" is the Duke George. The "tragedy" is the incident which culminates in "Luther's writing of secret and stolen letters." See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 20 ff. and the writing itself, idiä. Col. 518.

6) No. 917 in this volume.

7) Thus Luther names in a letter to Eoban Hesse in Nuremberg of April 23, 1530 (De Wette, Vol. IV, p. 6) those mentioned in the above-mentioned letter No. 917, namely Melanchthon, Jonas, Eisleben, and Spalatin.

8) St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 792.

especially the upper one, deserves a strong judgment from God because of the blasphemies, murders, contempt and other abominations against the Word of God, which increase daily, and the Turk does not defend himself in vain. May God have mercy on us! Fare well in the Lord, and pray again for me, as I pray for you. Greet your darling and your meadowlings, that is, your little daughters and their mother. From the Diet of the Jackdaws, which is held here. May 28, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 7.

(Coburg.) May 12, 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther writes of his labours being disturbed by headache, and warns Melanchthon against too much exertion 2c.

Handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Ooä. Mar. 108, 12; in Copenhagen, Lls. 1393, 1. 220 and in the Ooü.
Printed by OoeleKtinus, toin. I, toi. 47d; in öuckckous, p. 92; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 14 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 332.

To the exceedingly dear brother, N. Philipp Melanchthon, the very strong and faithful Christophorus.

Grace and peace in the Lord! My dear Philip, on the eighth of May we began to answer your letters dated from Nuremberg, but obstacles intervened that I have postponed it until now, and in the meantime we have also received a bundle of your letters to Augsburg. I have long since completed my attack on the clergy 1) and sent it to Wittenberg. I have also translated the two chapters of Ezekiel from Gog 2) and provided them with a preface, which will appear in print at the same time [with the admonition to the clergy]. After these were finished, I took the Prophets before my hand, and attacked the matter with great impetuosity; I had resolved to have all the Prophets translated before Pentecost. After that the Aesopus and others. And I would certainly have accomplished it, so the work went on.

1) No. 1000 in this volume.
2) St. Louis edition, vol. VI, 880.

But the old outward man became so weak that he could neither bear nor follow the impetuosity of the new inward man, for my head began to be filled with roaring, yes, with thunderclaps, and if I had not immediately let up, I would soon have fainted, which I have hardly escaped during the last two days. So it is now the third day that I have neither wanted nor been able to look at even one letter. "It will no longer do, I see well, the years are approaching." My Caput 3) has become a chapter, but will continue and also become a paragraph, finally a single sentence. Therefore, I am now completely idle and celebrating. But gradually this turmoil in the head subsides, supported by medicines and their help. There thou hast the cause why I have so delayed to answer. On the day your letter came from Nuremberg, Satan had his legation with me. I was alone, however, since Vitus and Cyriacus 4) were absent, and he certainly retained the victory to such an extent that he drove me out of the chamber and compelled me to go among the people. I can hardly wait for that day when we will finally see the great power of this spirit and its almost divine majesty.

(2) These are our internal matters; external are others, among which you also indicate to me that Geck [Eck] is warring anew, together with your Billicanus. "What else is there to do in the Diet?" Those rude asses think so of the things of the church, so are they minded. But they may have a good year. Magister Joachim 5) has sent me delicious food, or rather dates, and raisins, and has written to me twice in Greek. 6) But I, when I am restored, will write to him in Turkish, that he may also have something to read.

3) Luther plays here with the double meaning of eaput, head and main part; likewise oaxitulum, little head and chapter.
4) "Veit" is Veit Dietrich, whom Luther had taken with him to help him write. "Cyriacus" is a merchant.
5) Camerarius.
6) The one Greek letter is found in Kolde's leota, p. 450 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VII, p. 318; the other is missing.

what he doesn't understand?) For why does he write to me in Greek? Here I will stop, and at another time more, lest I stir up anew the appeased troubles of my head, which are already very irritable. But I pray; pray ye also.

Very gladly would I have written (as you will) to the younger prince about the landgrave (Naoeckone), also to the elder and to all of you, but I will do it in his time. The Lord be with you. Greetings to all your company. But hear thou what I wished to say above all things: behold, that, according to my example, thou mayest spoil thy head. Therefore I will command you and the whole company that they compel you under threat of banishment into the rules which serve to preserve your body, lest you become a suicide and then pretend that this is done out of obedience to God. For one serves God even by doing nothing, yes, by no thing more than by doing nothing. For for this cause hath he willed that the Sabbath should be so strictly kept above other things. See that you do not despise this. It is God's word what I write. May 12, 1530, your Martin Luther.

No. 8.

Coburg. 19 June 1530.

To Conrad Cordatus.

Luther advises Cordatus against the journey to Augsburg, and tells him what he knows about Augsburg, and how he is.

This letter is found handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Cocl. Hslmst. 108, tot. 24b; there duck. 214, tot. 59 and in dock. cksu. b. 212. printed in Luckcksus, x. 106; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 42, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 9. A piece of the same is found in Huckcksus, p. 110; in Ooswstiuus, tom. I, praise 137, and by Walch (in the following number) as a letter addressed to Hausmann, dated June 25. But of that day there is another letter to Hausmann, which is in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 47, and in Walch's old edition, vol. XXI, 1376.

1) Luther fulfilled this promise by inserting a tailor's shake verse in a letter of reply to Camerarius, written in Hebrew letters. Camerarius was not able to decipher this, not even the Hebraists he had consulted. So he finally went to Augsburg to get information from the scholars there. They, informed by Luther, enlightened him. Mathesius reports this in his 12th sermon. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 229.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have written this letter to you, dearest Cordatus, so that you may not doubt that I remember you, and may not suspect that I have forgotten my promise. For I am still in this wilderness, and there is not much hope that I shall be called to the Diet. But if I am called, you may be sure that I will send you word, as we have agreed. However, as the dear man Nicolaus Hausmann, your pastor, writes, I do not know whether it is advisable for you to go to the Diet and leave your office in the meantime, since there is still no hope at all that the princes will act on the matter of religion; or if they do act, they will do so in secret and among themselves according to the Emperor's decree, without any public disputation or interrogation. I would have answered this the other day, when I had received his letter, but no messenger soon appeared.

(2) We have not yet received any news, nor do those of us at Augsburg write to us?) From what the rumor testifies, we have gathered that it is certain that the emperor arrived at Augsburg on June 15; may Christ give grace and happiness to this, amen. Let us only pray and not cease. Christ lives and reigns; however unknown he may be to the wicked, yet to us he is the known and certain King of kings and the Lord of lords. I am quite well by the grace of God and your prayers, and although Satan has hindered me for some weeks by roaring in my head, I have translated Jeremiah into German. Now there is Ezekiel left, which I will tackle. But first I will give an alms to our poor printers, which consists of several copies, among which is also the Psalm Confitemini 3), which I will soon complete in two days.

Greetings to Mr. Nicolaus Hausmann, who is extremely dear to me. The letter from his brother

2) The following to the end of this paragraph forms the next number of this Annex in Walch's case.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1174. See also the note there.

I have taken him with me here and will answer him as soon as possible. 1) From the desert, June 19, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 9.

To Nicolaus Hausmann.

At this place Walch finds a piece of the preceding letter which is made into a special letter by wrong inscription and wrong date together with signature. See the previous number.

No. 10

Coburg. 19 June 1539.

To Gabriel Gemini.

Luther reports what he knows of Augsburg, of his condition and his works.

This letter is found handwritten in the 6od. Bostooü. Printed in Oooisstinns, tom. I, toi. 1025; in Buddeus, p. 107; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 43, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 11.

To Gabriel Didymus, pastor at Torgau.

Grace and peace in Christ! Through this messenger I am sending the letters to you, my dear Gabriel; whether you or Bernhard can do it most conveniently, I ask you both to diligently see to it that they are conveyed to Wittenberg. Perhaps you will learn something new from Bernhard. For our people from Augsburg have not answered us for a whole month. We have heard from the castlekeeper here that the emperor entered Augsburg on June 15, and so our Riedtesel has written. We know nothing else in this desert. We are well and live splendidly, only that I have suffered thunderous noise in my head for almost a month now, not a sound, whether the blame and cause is to be attributed to the wine, or Satan has made such a mockery of me. I have finished Jeremiah, and am about to translate Ezekiel and the other prophets. You pray with the congregation for the prince, for the prince and the whole Diet, and you shall know that the petitions are not in vain; for you already feel their manifest

1) Luther enclosed this answer to the letter to Nicolaus Hausmann on June 25th, and told him to send it to his brother Valentin.

and great strength. Farewell and greet the Pausbacken 2) sammt deine Elsa, und die beider: Prediger (*Presbyteros*) mit ihrer Familie. From the desert, June 19, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 11.

Coburg. 24 August 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther sends the writing from the schools and reports news from Wittenberg.

This letter is found handwritten at Wolfenbüttel in the 6od. Holrrist. 108, toi. 845; in the Ood. Bostooü. and in the 6od. den. 5, toi. 197. printed at Oosisstinns, toru. III, toi. 50; b^i Buddeus, p. 186; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 138, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 204.

Grace and peace in Christ! I believe that you have long since heard the news from Augsburg, my dear Philip, namely, that fourteen men have been chosen as new mediators, all of whose names we know, and that you, with the corner, are the first in leading the word, and Spalatin the scribe; 3) if this is true, it is wonderful. Moreover, that the pope, after the siege of Florence has been lifted, is besieged at Rome in Castel Sant'Angelo by a Roman army. For what else shall we hermits do, but that we may indicate (xxxxxxxxxxx) news to you in much wandering manner, while meanwhile you are as silent as the frogs of Seriphos. 4)

I am sending here the Sermon on the Schools, 5) a completely Lutheran writing, which, through Luther's *verbosity, does* not deny its author in anything, but represents him in the most complete way. That is my way. Likewise will be the booklet of the keys 6). Then, if Christ wills, I will deal with the article of justification.

2. our Wittenberg is plagued with the suspicion of the plague, which, it is thought, has brought students from

2) vnooatium, a word formed by Luther to 5U60N. Meant is Zwillings Söhnchen.
3) Compare the documents No. 1041 ff. in this volume.
4) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1731, note 1.
5) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 416.
6) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 902. See also the introduction there, p. 415.

Leipzig, for about four have died of the disease, and two houses are closed off. So Luft writes to me, the others are silent, for my mistress writes nothing about this. And "Häuptman" and the younger Prince Hans Ernst are still there, which is certainly a great proof that there is no danger. I write this so that the rumor does not disturb you.

May the Lord who sent you to Heiligenstadt (*Augustam*) 1) make you all holy (auAustos), amen. A new kind of sore (corrosio) has arisen in my neck, so that I suspect that either the evil juices are increased by the sharpness of the wine, or that after so many years of health the old remnants [of the previous illness] are returning, or that it is Satan's fist blows. 3) I am so sorry to hear this. But if Christ alone triumphs, nothing matters whether Luther perishes, who, since Christ is victor, will be victor. Greetings to all our people. I do not know whether my letters have been delivered to you by Cyriacus and Caspar Müller, nor whether they themselves have reached you, since they have now been away from here nearly three weeks and have written nothing to us. Farewell. From the desert, on the day of Bartholomew [August 24] 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 12.

Coburg. 15 September 1530.

To Melanchthon.

Luther reports the return of the Churprince; he wishes the end of the Reichstag.

This letter is found handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, 6< xl. t1;äm8t. 108, toi. 96; at Dresden, Oock. 6. 140, toi. 83 6; at the Ooä. HutEnd.; in the Oxi. kostoew. and in the 6oü. Isn. 6, tot. 116. printed at Ooewstüuus,

1) Augustus means in the first meaning: sanctified, holy. Hence we were permitted to render ^uAustum (Augsburg) by Heiligenstadt. Since the word is ambiguous, it could be translated as follows: "He who sent you to the imperial city, make all of you more of the empire.

2) in sutturs is likewise in the following number, 8 3; it is not to be translated: in the throat. Oorrosio will probably be a kind of lichen, not a "scratching in the throat".

3) De Wette offers inlsnua pUwAMn; the old translator read (perhaps more correctly) salsnm, for he translates: "das salty Geblüt". The Erl. Briefw. offers: "ulsuln.

toin. lll, koi. 876; in Buddeus, p. 204; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 188; in De Wette, vol. I V, p. 164 and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 258. In Walch twice: once here, and again incomplete and with wrong date in this volume No. 1074. We have omitted the latter redaction and referred to this number.

Grace and peace in Christ! Yesterday our younger prince came together with Count Albrecht, unexpected and sudden guests. And I have seen with joy that they have escaped from that turmoil, for God wished that I could see you shortly as escaped ones, if it is not granted to expect you as released ones. You have done enough and more than enough; now the rest of the time is for the Lord to do it, and He will do it. Only be a man and hope in Him. I am both indignant and comforted that Eck and his opponents are dragging out the matter with this trifling quibble, for if both forms of the sacrament were claimed by us to be necessary, we would condemn the whole church and the emperor himself. After all, the wretched people have this last resort, that they raise quibbles in the presence of the emperor. Rather, let us let them confidently abuse the emperor, by which they seriously challenge him who has already drawn his bow in heaven and laid deadly projectile upon it. For so say the Turks: It is not to be supposed that so great a nation shall be condemned.

(2) If this ground of proof be good, what article of faith is there left for us to confess or keep, if the articles of faith depend on quantity? But wherefore do I treat of this in letters? You may see that you are mindful of this, that you are one of those who are called Lot in Sodom, whose souls torment those with ungodly works day and night. But it follows ß2 Petr. 2, 9.j: "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the gyttfelige äps of temptation." Ye have confessed Christ , offered peace, obeyed Caesar, endured insults, been satiated with blasphemies, and have not repaid evil with evil: Summa, ye have done the holy work of GOD, as befits the saints, in a worthy manner. Rejoice also at last once in the

Lord, and be glad, ye righteous [Ps. 32:11.], ye have been long enough afflicted in the world; look up, lift up your heads, your redemption draweth nigh [Luc. 21:28.]. I will exalt you, as faithful members of Christ, among the saints (oÄuoniWdo); how then can ye seek any more honour? Or is it too little that mau have rendered faithful service to Christ, and behaved as a member worthy of him? Let this be far from you, that the grace of Christ should seem so small to you. But more of this by word of mouth.

(3) I have been of sound mind these days. I suppose that the winds, which now make the castle shake and roar outside, have been in my head and will one day return to my head. The prince gave me a golden ring, but that I might see that I was not born to wear gold, it fell from my thumb to the earth (for it is a little too loose and too wide for my fingers). I said, Thou art a worm, and not a man. It should have been given to Faber and Eck; for you lead or a rope would have been more suitable, or a rope at the neck. He wanted to give me the opportunity to return home and take me with him, but I asked him to leave me here so that I could wait for you when you returned and wipe off your sweat after this bath.

I wish and pray that you may have strong and good courage, so that you will not let yourselves be troubled by the appearances and appearances of the present things, since you know that everything is entirely in the hands of him who in a moment can not only cover the sky with clouds and make it clear again, but is also in the habit of doing so, and even takes pleasure in it. Into his bosom I commend sinners to you, who are confessors and not defenders of your sins. Salute all our brethren in the Lord, who shortly absolve you, Amen. From the desert, on Thursday about 1) the equinox [15 Sept.] 1530.

1) We have retained the reading *versus* in Schütze and De Wette, against post in Erl. Briesw.

You must not believe anything about the plague in Wittenberg. All is well, as you have seen from the last letters.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 13.

Coburg. 28 August 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

Luther calms down Jonas because of the settlement action and sends a letter of the landgrave.

This letter is found handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Oocl. Hörnst. 108, toi. 89d; in the Oock. RostOoN.; in the Ooä. lsu. d, toi. 193, and in the Oock. OotU. 451. printed in Ooelestinus, toin. lll, col. 63; in Lrulck^us, p. 200; in DeWette, vol. IV, p. 157and inErl. Briefw. vol. VIII, p. 236.

Grace and peace in Christ! I, my dear Jonas, have earnestly commanded Christ our cause, and he has promised me (for I believe him at any rate) that this cause is and will be his. Therefore, since I already see that the adversaries despair of violence and turn to cunning, I do not greatly fear, nay, I am rather hopeful, since I am sure that though we snore to our shame. ...yet he watches for his honor. They may boast that you have conceded many things, but they do not realize that this concession is the one greatest thing they have failed to do, and that they have lost on their side the one very good thing. "Let them go hither, the Speirish monk-larvae." 2) You may only want to know that the Gospel is excepted in all that you allow, as I did at Worms, for (as I see) the case and the course and the action are similar.

Eck, I see, also wants to be a victor of Augsburg, as he was of Leipzig. Amen, "saith Christ".

I send here (it is whimsical) the landgrave's letter to me. I have not answered it, because the hurried messenger went away. Thou wilt do in my name what he desires, and send me back, I pray thee, this letter, or bring it back to me thyself, for it pleases me well. See thou do not lose this letter in thy melancholy...

2) Compare No. 1027 in this volume, the first note, and No. 1058, § 1.

for with the same I test your fidelity and your vigilance. Farewell, my dear Jonas, and return cheerfully and safely.

I am certainly not yet freed from the roaring in my head, and the damage (urrosio) on my neck is getting worse. But I have lived and done enough. Let my hour come when it seems good to him whom I also rejoice to see, who laid down his life and blood for the sinner Luther. Farewell. From the desert, on the day of St. Augustine [August 28], not the monk, 1) 1530. Your Martin Luther.

No. 14.

Coburg. 23 September 1530.

To Conrad Cordatus.

About Luther's condition and the near end of the Reichstag.
This letter is found handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Oocl. Reimst. 108, col. 103 and in the Oock. Rostoek. Printed in Ooelestinus, tom. III, p. 89; in Luctcteus, p. 211; in De Wette, vol. IV, p. 173, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 271.

Grace and peace in Christ! This whole time, as long as I have been here, almost half of it has been lost to me through very arduous idleness, so exceedingly violent and obstinate has a roar, or rather a din similar to whirlwinds, taken possession of and tormented my head. My dear Cordatus, if it had not been for this, I might have completed everything I wished to complete in the rest of my life. Now I am forced to publish little interpretations in bits and pieces, so that I am not entirely idle. Now, however, the hubbub is beginning to subside and to give me a new break.

I have written everything I know about our Augsburg affairs to your bishop 2). Besides, I have nothing new. The princes are making off one by one. Ours is held back by the exceedingly bad

1) With this Luther will aim at the Roman Abbot Augustine, who was sent to England by Gregory I in 596.
2) Nicolaus Hausmann. The letter to the same is No. 1107 in this volume, simultaneously with this letter.

Satan is still firm there. The rest, as I believe, has also reached you through the younger prince. You, my dear Cordatus, pray the Lord for me, that he may guide and sustain me according to his good will. May he be with you and strengthen you by his Spirit, amen. Greetings to your Eva and all yours. From the castle of Coburg, 23 September 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 15.

Coburg. 21 July 1530.

To Justus Jonas.

On the inquiry of the Catholics whether the Lutherans wanted to hand over more articles; on Zwingli and Bucer, and so on.
This letter is found handwritten in Wolfenbüttel, Oocl. Reimst. 108, col. 67; in Copenhagen, Ns. 1393, col. 307; in the Oocl. RostoeN.; in the Oocl. Ootli. 451, and in the Ooä. 3en. d, toi. 194. printed in Ooelestinus, tom. II, col. 233d; in Luclcieus, p. 169; in DeWette, vol. IV, p. 109; in Schirrmacher, p. 134, and in Erl. Briefw., vol. VIII, p. 133. German (incomplete) at Chyträus, p. 95 d.

Grace and peace in Christ! We have received the parcel and the bundles of letters, my dear Jonas; you are awake for once. Moreover, Philip pardons you most artfully, who have confessed that you are surpassed by me in diligent writing; but it is easy to deceive a man such as I am, who is neither a rhetorician nor a dialectician, with these arts.

(2) But I am deceived in my hope, for I thought you would come, long since beaten by an edict of the emperor. But now I see what these questions 3) wanted: whether you would have any more articles to hand over. Namely, Satan is still alive and has well noticed that your Apology, 4) the "Silent Treaders," 5) the articles on Purgatory, on the service of the saints, and especially on the Antichrist, the pope, have transitions.

(3) Alas, the poor emperor, if he has set up this imperial diet to counter Luther's speeches [against papal doctrine] (uvUloAiio)

3) See No. 968 and No. 973 in this volume.
4) This is the Augsburg Confession, which was at first called npoloZin, that is, Schutzschrift.
5) Thus the Copenhagen manuscript, Buddeus and De Wette. Erl. Briefw.: "tread softly".

to hear! as if they did not care enough to answer the present apologue themselves.

(4) And that these frogs with their croakers should thus have access [to the emperor] seriously distresses me, in view of so great a work in the most important things, and 1) even if there had been nothing to do, they should not have been at liberty to do it. But this is done that I may be a true prophet, since I have always said that one labors in vain, and hope for a union in the doctrine, that it is enough if we can obtain worldly peace.

(5) To your wife (do not doubt) I will write everything and send it carefully. I am glad that Philip learns the mind of Campegius and the Welsh. Philosophy does not believe these things, for it has experienced them. I believe neither the confessor of the emperor nor any Welsh even one sound (*My==Muck*). For my Cajetan loved me so much that he wanted to shed blood for me, namely mine. "They are knaves." Howbeit it is true, when a Welshman is good, he is very good; but this is something

1) Instead of ut, we have assumed et.

...strange and like a black swan...

6. Zwingli and Bucer really please me! "So shall GOtt bring them forth to the day"! Admittedly with these people let us enter into a fraternization! But after the Emperor's departure they will again be other people. "If you are not tired of the Diet, I wonder, I am tired of it." I would like to be the victim of this last Concilium, as Johann Hus at Constance was the victim of the last papal welfare (lortuuuo)?"). Greetings, I beseech you, all ours. May the Spirit of Christ be mighty with you, Amen. From the desert, July 21, 1530.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 16.

Coburg. 11 September 1530.

To Melanchthon.

The letter Walch communicates here is a duplicate of No. 1103 in this volume, therefore omitted here.

2) The meaning of this somewhat obscure sentence will be: As John Hus was the sacrifice for the last triumph of the papacy, so I would like to be the sacrifice of this last council, so that the evangelical truth may gain the victory.

End of the sixteenth part.